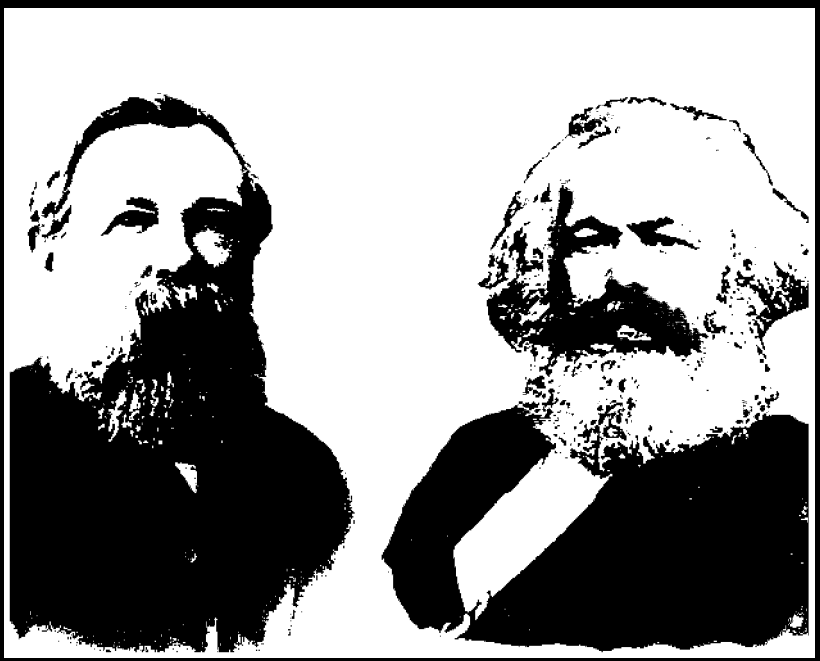
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# MARX & ENGELS COLLECTED WORKS



## VOLUME 10

Marx and Engels 1849-51

ganz1912

# KARL MARX
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## Volume
## 10

Marx and Engels 1849-51

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# Preface

Volume 10 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels covers the period from the autumn of 1849 to the summer of 1851.

The bourgeois-democratic revolutions which swept across the European continent in 1848-49 had ended in defeat. The last centres of insurrection in Germany, Hungary and Italy had been suppressed in the summer of 1849. In France, the victory of the counter-revolution was already clearing the way for the coup d'état of Louis Bonaparte on December 2, 1851. Everywhere workers' and democratic organisations were being destroyed and revolutionaries severely persecuted. Yet the events of the preceding years had left their mark. They had struck at the remnants of feudalism in the European countries, given an impulse to the further growth of capitalism and aggravated its contradictions.

Marx and Engels had already embarked upon their scientific analysis of the European revolutions of the mid-nineteenth century, in which the revolutionary energies of the whole of society had become concentrated in the proletariat—the most active and determined force of the revolution. And now they set out to deepen this analysis by defining the general and specific features of the 1848-49 revolutions and drawing the practical lessons for the consolidation of the proletariat as a class. During the immediately ensuing years they concentrated most of their attention on the theoretical summing up and generalisation of the experience of the revolutionary battles, determining the objective laws of class struggle and of revolution, and working out the strategy and tactics of the proletariat in the new conditions. As Lenin was later to point out, "Here as everywhere else, his [Marx's] theory is a *summing up of experience*, illuminated by a profound philosophical conception of the

world and a rich knowledge of history" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 412).

In this period Marx and Engels were not, however, solely concerned with theoretical work but with practical tasks of rallying the working-class organisations. They did not at first expect the break in revolutionary battles to last long. And they considered it essential to gather together the dispersed proletarian forces as quickly as possible, and to prepare them for new struggles. By the summer of 1850, however, they had realised that hopes of an early renewal of the revolution were groundless—but they continued to work for the unity of the most conscious elements of the working class and of its supporters, seeing this as a long-term task.

Marx moved to London at the end of August 1849—and there Engels joined him in November. Straight away, they did their utmost to revive and reorganise the Communist League. They tried to stimulate the work of the London German Workers' Educational Society, whose nucleus consisted of the Communist League's local communities, and joined the Society's Committee of Support for German Refugees, seeking to rally the proletarian revolutionary émigrés around the League. At the same time, they established close contacts with revolutionary leaders—with the Blanquist French émigrés in London and the Left-wing Chartists—joining with them in forming the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists in the spring of 1850 (see this volume, pp. 614-15). Especially important were their contacts with the revolutionary wing of the Chartist movement under G. Julian Harney and Ernest Jones, and their use of the Chartist journal *The Democratic Review* to propagate scientific communism and explain events on the Continent to British workers.

The "Letters from Germany" and "Letters from France"—published in *The Democratic Review*, and which associates of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have recently shown to have been written by Engels—are initial sketches, as it were, for Marx's major political and historical works summing up the results of the 1848-49 revolutions (*The Class Struggles in France* and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*), and likewise for Engels' "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany". Engels' articles contain the initial formulations of certain important ideas elaborated in these works—the tendency of the bourgeoisie to turn to counter-revolution, the leading revolutionary role of the proletariat, the worker-peasant alliance, and the permanent revolution. In the "Letters from France", for example, Engels expressed the hope that

in the next round of revolutions the working class would have the support of the broad mass of peasants. The peasants, he wrote, were "beginning to see that no government, except one acting in the interest of the working men of the towns, will free them from the misery and starvation into which ... they are falling deeper and deeper every day" (see this volume, p. 21).

Marx and Engels were convinced that to build and strengthen a proletarian party it was essential to have a publication which would continue the traditions of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. And in March 1850 they launched the journal *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—the theoretical journal of the Communist League, with Marx as editor. Its inaugural announcement defined the purpose of the journal: "A time of apparent calm such as the present must be employed precisely for the purpose of elucidating the period of revolution just experienced, the character of the conflicting parties, and the social conditions which determine the existence and the struggle of these parties" (see this volume, p. 5).

In its six modest-sized issues, the *Revue* published Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* and Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* and *The Peasant War in Germany*, which contain a wealth of important ideas. Marx and Engels also contributed book reviews, international reviews, and other articles, all of which appear in the present volume.

In *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (the title given by Engels to its 1895 edition) Marx for the first time applied to a whole period of history the method of analysis and explanation of historical materialism. And it was to contemporary history that he applied it. In his Preface to the 1895 edition Engels described this as "a development as critical, for the whole of Europe, as it was typical". Marx, he wrote, had set out "to demonstrate the inner causal connection" and so "to trace the political events back to effects of what were, in the final analysis, economic causes". (This Preface will appear in its chronological place in Volume 28 of the *Collected Works*.)

It was by analysing and drawing conclusions from the practical experience of revolutionary struggle that Marx was able to demonstrate the objective necessity of social revolutions, and to enrich the whole theory of revolution by the idea that revolutions are the "locomotives of history", accelerating historical progress and stimulating the constructive energy of the masses. He showed how in revolutionary periods history is speeded up—as was the

case in France when the different classes of society "had to count their epochs of development in weeks where they had previously counted them in half centuries" (see this volume, p. 97). Examining the course of events in France, where the class struggle had been especially acute, Marx found that the bourgeoisie as a class was losing its revolutionary qualities and that the working class had become the principal driving force of revolution and thereby also of historical progress. In the June uprising in 1848 the proletariat of Paris had acted as an independent force and displayed immense energy and heroism. This, he pointed out in *The Class Struggles in France,* was the first great battle between the two classes whose division split modern society in two, serving notice that, despite the defeat of the proletariat, former bourgeois demands had given place to "the bold slogan of revolutionary struggle: *Overthrow of the bourgeoisie! Dictatorship of the working class!*" (see this volume, p. 69).

This is the first time Marx used the phrase "dictatorship of the working class" (*Diktatur der Arbeiterklasse*) in print. And its appearance meant more than simply the use of a single phrase to express the idea of the proletariat winning political power, which Marx and Engels had already formulated in works written before the 1848 revolution. It marked a step forward in the whole conception of proletarian revolution, the "proletarian" or "working-class" dictatorship being envisaged as a genuinely democratic political organisation of society in which political power would represent and express the interests of the vast majority, the working people, as opposed to the dictatorship of the exploiting classes. Revolutionary socialism, Marx maintained, meant establishing the dictatorship of the working class as the effective power to bring about the socialist reconstruction of society.

"This Socialism," he wrote (see this volume, p. 127), "is the *declaration of the permanence of the revolution,* the *class dictatorship* of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the *abolition of class distinctions generally,* to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionising of all the ideas that result from these social relations."

*The Class Struggles in France* contains Marx's classical definition of the tasks of the working-class dictatorship in the decisive field—the economic reconstruction of society, that is to say: "The appropriation of the means of production, their subjection to the associated working class and, therefore, the abolition of wage labour, of capital and of their mutual relations" (see this volume, p. 78). This

definition separates off scientific communism from the vague demands for "community of property" characteristic of all varieties of utopian socialism and utopian communism.

In *The Class Struggles in France* Marx also went deeper in his criticism of non-proletarian socialist currents, showing their theoretical weaknesses and their untenability in practice. In particular, he exposed the fallacy in Louis Blanc's idea of class collaboration and state assistance to workers' associations as the means to achieving socialism. In his petty-bourgeois version of socialism, which Marx so exhaustively examined, Blanc had also assured the workers that the rulers of the bourgeois Second Republic were willing to resolve social problems by adopting his plan for the "organisation of labour". Blanc's unreal ideas and conciliatory tactics came to nothing, and Marx saw in their collapse the positive gain that the proletariat was liberated from such harmful illusions.

Other works written by Marx and Engels during this period likewise referred to how bitterly the workers were let down by the various systems of utopian socialism and the empty verbosity of petty-bourgeois democratic leaders. In the "Letters from France", for example, Engels described the gradual liberation of the working class from the influence of petty-bourgeois ideas: "The people ... will soon find socialist and revolutionary formulas which shall express their wants and interests far more clearly than anything invented *for them*, by authors of systems and by declaiming leaders" (see this volume, p. 35).

Finally, in *The Class Struggles in France*, Marx put forward, expounded and justified one of the key principles of the strategy and tactics of workers' revolutionary struggle—that the peasantry and urban petty-bourgeois strata were allies of the proletariat against the bourgeois system. Nothing but the victory of the proletariat, he showed, could deliver the non-proletarian sections of the working people from the economic oppression and degradation brought upon them by capitalism. He demonstrated the necessity for close alliance between the proletariat, the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie, and at the same time the necessity for the leading political role of the proletariat as the most revolutionary class. And he exposed the limited ideas and impotent politics of the petty-bourgeois democratic leaders, using the failure of the petty-bourgeois *Montagne* party on June 13, 1849, to prove how incapable was such a party to conduct any revolutionary struggle on its own.

*The Class Struggles in France* is, indeed, a major work in which, following the experience of the revolutions of 1848-49, Marx

achieved a new stage in developing the theory of scientific communism. A popular summary of the main conclusions was provided in Engels' article "Two Years of a Revolution" (see this volume, pp. 353-69). Published in *The Democratic Review*, this article by Engels is a model of revolutionary propaganda in the British workers' press.

The key problems of the theory of revolution and working-class strategy and tactics posed in *The Class Struggles in France* were also examined in the "Address of the Central Authority to the League" (March 1850), written jointly by Marx and Engels. This document summed up the experience of the revolution in Germany, and marked an important step forward in the elaboration of the programme and tactics of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Address contains a comprehensive and classical definition of the idea of permanent revolution which had been variously formulated in preceding writings by Marx and Engels. Their exhaustive analysis of the 1848-49 revolution showed that the revolutionary reconstruction of society was by nature a long and complex process which would pass through several stages. The objective laws of this process, they found, made feasible an uninterrupted development from the bourgeois-democratic through to the proletarian stage of the revolution. And they concluded that it was in the interests of the working class and its allies that no long period of calm should intervene. The proletarian party should therefore work for the continuous ("permanent") development of the revolution until the working class established its political power—and such a strategy was the most favourable one for the mass of the people and for social-historical progress. "It is our interest and our task," the Address declared, "to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, [and] the proletariat has conquered state power..." (see this volume, p. 281).

The Address indicates some of the practical measures for effecting the transition from the bourgeois-democratic to the proletarian revolution. The workers had, it says, to create their own centres of working-class power, alongside the official government, in the form of local self-governing bodies, workers' clubs and committees, by means of which the apparatus of government in the bourgeois-democratic revolution could be brought under effective control by the proletarian masses. And to carry the revolution further, Marx and Engels concluded, the workers had to arm themselves and set up an armed proletarian guard.

Later, in the new context of imperialism, Lenin was to draw on the conclusions about permanent revolution, formulated by Marx and Engels in the Address, in his teachings on the passage from bourgeois-democratic to socialist revolution, which carried further the Marxist conception of the strategy and tactics of the proletariat and of the revolutionary Marxist party.

In March 1850, when they wrote the "Address of the Central Authority to the League", Marx and Engels were still expecting an early new revolutionary outburst, with the petty-bourgeois democrats coming to power in Germany. This made them consider it doubly urgent to liberate the working class from the political and ideological influence of the petty-bourgeois democrats. The most effective means of doing so was to form an independent workers' party, with both clandestine and legal organisations, and with the underground communities of the Communist League serving as the nucleus of the non-clandestine workers' associations. While urging that the workers' party must dissociate itself both ideologically and in its organisation from the petty-bourgeois democrats, Marx and Engels did not deny the importance of agreements for joint struggle against the counter-revolution. But they insisted that in all circumstances the working class must conduct and consolidate its own independent policy.

A second "Address of the Central Authority to the League", in June 1850, lays especial emphasis on creating a strong proletarian party in Germany, and in other European countries, adapted to clandestine activity and yet using all legal opportunities for propaganda and for organising the masses.

Two works by Engels, dealing mainly with events in Germany but summarising, directly or indirectly, the experience of the 1848-49 revolutions, were published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* The series of essays entitled *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* were written by Engels in the wake of the Baden-Palatinate insurrection of the spring and summer of 1849, in which he had taken part. On Marx's advice, he wrote these essays as a pamphlet condemning the leaders of the German petty-bourgeois democrats for their chronic indecision and word-mongering. First-hand reports by a participant were blended with a historical study of the last phase of the revolution in Germany. Engels examined the nature of the revolutionary movement itself, the attitudes of the classes and parties involved in it, and the causes of its failure. And he drew his conclusions on the tactics of a revolutionary party in armed uprising or civil war.

Another of Engels' historical works, and one which has long occupied a prominent place in the legacy of Marxist historiography, was written for the *Revue—The Peasant War in Germany*. Though this dealt with events of a long past epoch, Engels wrote it with the contemporary scene in mind. For the defeat of the 1848-49 revolutions was bringing its inevitable aftermath of fatigue and disenchantment, and Engels sought to renew contemporary revolutionary convictions by reviving past revolutionary traditions of the people and by drawing attention, in particular, to the dormant revolutionary energy of the peasants, since their alliance with the working class would be decisive for any future success of the revolution. He sought to inspire his contemporary readers by his vivid portraits of sixteenth-century revolutionary leaders—Thomas Münzer, the plebeian revolutionary who was herald of the plebeian Reformation, the brilliant peasant general Michael Geismaier, and other indomitable fighters against feudal oppression.

*The Peasant War in Germany*, like Marx's *The Class Struggles in France*, is a model of how to apply the method of historical materialism to the elucidation of historical events. Throwing new light on a period of world history which was a crucial turning point in the history of Germany, Engels' study combines profound theoretical generalisations with precise political conclusions. He analyses the central problems of German sixteenth-century history, the part played by the anti-feudal peasant and plebeian movements, the specific features of the era when feudalism had already disintegrated, and the transition to capitalism had begun, and the consequences in Germany of the failure of the Peasant War. In most cases, German bourgeois historians had seen nothing but "violent theological bickering" behind the events of 1525 (see this volume, p. 411). But Engels was the first to make clear the profound social and economic causes of both the Reformation and the Peasant War, and to make clear that the political and ideological struggle of that time was, essentially, a class struggle.

*The Peasant War in Germany* is, indeed, organically related to the problems of the working-class and democratic movement in the middle of the nineteenth century. As Engels wrote in a preface to the second edition, in 1870, "the parallel between the German revolution of 1525 and the 1848-49 revolution was much too striking to be entirely renounced at the time". (The Preface of 1870 will appear in its chronological place in Volume 21 of the *Collected Works*.)

Engels described the Reformation and the Peasant War as the earliest of the bourgeois revolutions, and saw the main reason for the

failure of the Peasant War in the vacillation and treachery of the German burghers, whom he regarded as the historical predecessors of the bourgeoisie. The main force in the Peasant War was the peasants themselves along with the urban plebeians. But provincial limitations and the fact that "neither burghers, peasants nor plebeians could unite for concerted national action" were, Engels held, among the reasons for its defeat (see this volume, p. 481). The dispersed state of the revolutionary forces, and their parochial and particularist tendencies, he stressed, had likewise had a distinctly negative effect in the 1848-49 revolution.

The present volume contains a number of book reviews and critical articles examining the ideological impact of the revolutionary events of 1848-49, and attacking bourgeois and petty-bourgeois interpretations of the revolution. The revolutionary upheavals had meant a turning point in the evolution of the views of bourgeois ideologists. In face of the militant independent activity of the working class even previously progressive bourgeois historians and political theorists had lost their capacity for scientific evaluation of the process of history. This shift to the right is remarked upon, for example, in the review of Guizot's pamphlet ***Pourquoi la révolution d'Angleterre a-t-elle réussi?*** Guizot had previously acknowledged the necessity for revolutions and, in particular, the role of the class struggle of the third estate against the feudal aristocracy in the making of bourgeois society. But now he belittled the significance of revolutionary action. He set up as a model the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 in England, and made out that the English seventeenth-century revolution (1640-60) had been successful when it had followed the ways of compromise and had, by virtue of its religious character, secured England's further constitutional development without revolutionary explosions and upheavals. Criticising Guizot's reading of history, Marx and Engels produced a classical description of the English seventeenth-century revolution, its peculiarities and significance, and its difference from the French revolution of the eighteenth century.

A similar shift to the right among ideologists of the ruling class is illustrated by the case of Thomas Carlyle—the British Sage of Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. In a review of Carlyle's *Latter-Day Pamphlets* Marx and Engels demolished his subjective idealist concept of history, the "hero cult", and his counterposing of the "hero" to the masses. By exalting these "heroes", said Marx and Engels, Carlyle was only "justifying and exaggerating the infamies of the bourgeoisie" (see this volume, p. 310).

The glorification of personalities was typical of petty-bourgeois democrats as well—of their historians and writers, and also of police-sponsored champions who exaggerated the deeds of the petty-bourgeois opposition movement and thereby inflated their own individual merits as "saviours of society" from dangerous red revolutionaries. Marx and Engels denounced this decking up in false colours of members of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opposition in a caustic review of two books by the French police agents Chenu and de la Hodde. Having made it clear that the two authors were nothing but *agents provocateurs*, Marx and Engels voiced strong objections to the adventurist and conspiratorial tactics which opened the way for *provocateurs* to penetrate the revolutionary movement. They described the exponents of such tactics as "alchemists of the revolution" who sought only "to bring it artificially to crisis-point, to launch a revolution on the spur of the moment, without the conditions for a revolution" (see this volume, p. 318). This criticism of conspiracy and sectarianism could not have been more timely, since adventurism and adventurist illusions were widespread among the members of the Communist League and the petty-bourgeois emigrants.

In their review of Girardin's *Le socialisme et l'impôt* Marx and Engels continued their criticism of "bourgeois socialism", begun in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, and also made a critical examination of anarchist ideas. The latter were fairly widespread at the time in France—notably in the works and utterances of Proudhon—and in Germany too. This review of Girardin's pamphlet concurs with Engels' unfinished manuscript "On the Slogan of the Abolition of the State and the German 'Friends of Anarchy'", which condemns the anarchist proposals for "abolishing the state", examines their origin in Germany, and presents a relevant account of Stirner's anarcho-individualist ideas.

The international reviews included in this volume are of much interest, too. They contain a scientific analysis of the more important current economic and political events in Europe and North America, and several predictions which were confirmed by subsequent development.

Until the summer of 1850, Marx and Engels were convinced that the economic crisis which began in 1847 would continue to get worse, and would generate a new surge of revolution. This view was reflected in *The Class Struggles in France*, the March "Address of the Central Authority to the League", and in their first and second international reviews. Marx and Engels in fact overestimated the maturity of capitalism—or underestimated its potential of recovery

from economic crisis and of further development—and likewise overestimated the revolutionary potential of the working class at that time. It was this, in part, which had led to their over-optimistic predictions of early revolution. "History," wrote Engels in his introduction to Marx's *Class Struggles in France* in 1895 (to be included in Volume 28 of the *Collected Works*), "has proved us, and all who thought like us, wrong. It has made it clear that the state of economic development of the Continent at that time was not, by a long way, ripe for the elimination of capitalist production." In the summer of 1850, on resuming his economic researches and making a thorough examination of the economic situation, Marx found that the 1847 economic slump had run its course and that a new period of boom had begun. His study of the processes at work in the economy gave him a clearer and more accurate idea of the prospects of revolution. In their third international review Marx and Engels wrote: "With this general prosperity, in which the productive forces of bourgeois society develop as luxuriantly as is at all possible within bourgeois relationships, there can be no talk of a real revolution.... *A new revolution is possible only in consequence of a new crisis. It is, however, just as certain as this crisis*" (see this volume, p. 510).

In his subsequent economic research and analysis of social development Marx found that the influence of economic processes on society was not necessarily direct and that economic crisis would not always, or indeed usually, immediately precipitate an outbreak of revolution. Nonetheless, the thought that economic crises exercise a revolutionising influence on society and that, by aggravating the contradictions of capitalism, crises may stimulate the revolutionary movement, is an abiding part of Marxist theory. Lenin drew special attention to the theoretical importance of these propositions (see V. I. Lenin, *Précis of the Correspondence between Marx and Engels, 1844-1883*, second Russ. ed., 1968, p. 30).

In their third international review, Marx and Engels described yet another essential feature of the revolutionary process. Though Britain was, as they put it, "the demiurge of the bourgeois cosmos", the revolution had occurred on the Continent and a new revolutionary explosion should likewise be expected first of all in the continental countries. "Violent outbreaks must naturally occur rather in the extremities of the bourgeois body than in its heart, since the possibility of adjustment is greater here than there" (see this volume, p. 509). So probabilities favoured the beginning of the revolutionary transformation of society not in the centre but on the outskirts of the bourgeois world, in countries with a less developed capitalist economy than in Britain.

Apart from certain major theoretical works on history, and current book reviews and international reviews, this volume contains articles on current social problems, such as "The Ten Hours' Question" by Engels, "The Constitution of the French Republic" by Marx, and a few others, with their letters and statements to the press exposing the slander and persecution of revolutionary leaders by absolutist and bourgeois governments. "The Constitution of the French Republic", for example, which appeared in the Chartist *Notes to the People*, shows up the limited nature and class essence of bourgeois democracy and the flagrant difference between the proclamations of democratic rights and liberties in bourgeois written constitutions and the anti-democratic practices of bourgeois states, along with constitutional reservations which effectively reduced these rights and liberties to nothing.

Engels' manuscript "Conditions and Prospects of a War of the Holy Alliance against France in 1852" opened a new stage in his elaboration of a Marxist military theory—to which he and Marx attached great importance in the light of the lessons of the 1848-49 revolution. The manuscript examines the material basis of military science, the dependence of the art of war and the military establishment itself on the economy and the social system, the influence of revolutions on the development of warfare, and also the military potentials of the European states in the mid-nineteenth century. Engels wrote, too, about the army of the future socialist state, born in the flames of proletarian revolution—and his ideas about it have proved prophetic. He predicted that it would be unusually strong in combat, highly manoeuvrable, and possess a high degree of striking power since its development would be backed by the rapidly developing productive forces of the new society, its flourishing technology and culture.

Marx's and Engels' entire elaboration of the theory of scientific communism in the light of the experience of the 1848-49 revolution precipitated sharp ideological clashes inside the Communist League between them and their followers, on the one hand, and the sectarian faction of Willich-Schapper, on the other. The controversy focussed on the prospects of revolution and the related questions of proletarian strategy and tactics. The Willich-Schapper faction was for premature actions, including attempts to seize power, which would have been especially dangerous in that period of revolutionary low tide. The minutes of the September 15, 1850, sitting of the Central Authority of the Communist League (published in the Appendices to this volume) mirror clearly enough the issues involved. Speaking at the sitting, Marx insisted on the great harm

which would result for the revolutionary movement from any voluntarist adventurist "playing at revolution" which ignored the real situation and state of the proletarian movement. The tactical errors of the Willich-Schapper faction, he observed, stemmed from the poor theoretical and philosophical equipment of its members. "A German national standpoint," he said, "was substituted for the universal outlook of the *Manifesto*, and the national feelings of the German artisans were pandered to. The materialist standpoint of the *Manifesto* has given way to idealism" (see this volume, p. 626).

Despite Marx's proposals, which would have dissociated proletarian revolutionaries from the Willich-Schapper group and preserved the unity of the proletarian organisation, the sectarians managed to split the Communist League. They joined forces with other adventurist elements inside the League, and with petty-bourgeois émigrés, to attack Marx and Engels and their followers. In the end, Marx, Engels and their friends decided to resign from the London German Workers' Educational Society and from the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee, and to break off relations with the Blanquist French émigrés, who had sided with Willich and Schapper. The documents included in this volume and its Appendices portray the struggle of Marx and Engels and the proletarian revolutionaries who rallied to their side against adventurers and splitters in the working-class movement of that time.

The section in the volume headed "From the Preparatory Materials" contains rough manuscripts concerning, in the main, Marx's study of political economy.

The 1848-49 revolution and their reflections on it had impressed on Marx and Engels the urgency of working out the economic basis of the theory of scientific communism. And from 1850 onwards this became the principal strand in the development of Marxist thought. In 1850-53 Marx filled twenty-four notebooks with transcriptions of passages from various, mainly economic, works. Only one of this large collection of manuscripts illustrating Marx's understanding of economics at that time and his methods of research has been included in this volume.

The section contains Marx's manuscript entitled "Reflections", which sets out some of his own ideas, evidently related to his study of Tooke's *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle.* Taking as point of departure some of Tooke's and Adam Smith's principles on the circulation of commodities and money between different groups of producers and consumers in a bourgeois society (capitalists and ordinary individual consumers), Marx goes on to examine a number

of economic problems: the nature of money and its outwardly levelling role which disguises the class character of production relations in capitalist society; the futility of trying to transform capitalist society by reforming the circulation of money; the real causes of economic crises, which stem from the intrinsically contradictory nature of the capitalist mode of production; the superficial and false interpretation of these causes by bourgeois economists, who reduce them to mere swindling in monetary and commercial transactions, speculative fever, and the like. Many of the ideas contained in this manuscript were later developed in Marx's published economic works.

The Appendices to this volume contain documents illustrating the practical revolutionary activities of Marx and Engels in the period covered. Apart from the already mentioned agreements on the establishment of the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists, and materials related to the struggle in the Communist League against the Willich-Schapper group, the Appendices also contain appeals and reports by the Social-Democratic Committee of Support for German Refugees, newspaper accounts of Engels' speeches at various meetings, and documents concerning the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* They also contain the Rules of the Communist League drawn up by its new Central Authority in Cologne (the Central Authority was transferred there after the League split in the autumn of 1850), with Marx's marginal notes, other materials of the League, and some papers of a biographical nature.

Some of the works published in this volume have never before been translated into English. This applies to the second and third international reviews, the article "Gottfried Kinkel", the June Address of the Central Authority to the Communist League, the Statement against Arnold Ruge, a few of the book reviews and some of the statements and letters to editors of various newspapers, all of which were written jointly by Marx and Engels. Works translated into English for the first time also include Marx's article "Louis Napoleon and Fould", and Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*, "On the Slogan of the Abolition of the State and the German 'Friends of Anarchy'", "Conditions and Prospects of a War of the Holy Alliance against France in 1852", and others.

The materials in the section "From the Preparatory Materials" are also appearing in English for the first time. So are the materials

in the Appendices (save for the minutes of the sitting of the Central Authority of the Communist League of September 15, 1850, and the 1850 Rules of the Communist League). And in this volume the documents "Permit to Leave Switzerland Issued to Frederick Engels", "From the Indictment of the Participants in the Uprising in Elberfeld", and some of the transcripts of Engels' speeches, are being published for the first time in any edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels.

Those works that have been previously published in English are given either in new or in carefully revised translations. Particulars about their earlier publications in English are given in the notes. Also described in the notes are peculiarities in the arrangement of the text of certain works, in particular the manuscripts.

Most of the works appearing in this volume have been translated from the German. Translations from other languages are indicated at the end of the texts, as are reproductions of texts written by the authors in English.

The volume was compiled and the preface and notes written by Tatyana Yeremeyeva (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism). The name index together with the indexes of quoted and mentioned literature and of periodicals were prepared by Valentina Kholopova, and the subject index by Marlen Arzumanov (CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism).

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The volume was prepared for the press by Anna Vladimirova and Lyudgarda Zubrilova (Progress Publishers).

# KARL MARX
# and
# FREDERICK ENGELS

## WORKS

## September 1849-June 1851

The Northern Star,
AND NATIONAL TRADES' JOURNAL.
VOL. III. NO. 132. LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1849.

## Frederick Engels

# THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND *THE TIMES*[1]

### TO THE EDITOR OF *THE NORTHERN STAR*[a]

Sir,— *The Times* of Friday last[b] contains a letter signed "*Anti-Socialist*", denouncing to the English public, and to the English Home-Secretary,[c] some of the "hellish doctrines" developed in the London German Newspaper, by a certain Mr. Charles Heinzen, described as a "*shining light of the German Social Democratic party*". These "hellish doctrines" consist chiefly of a benevolent proposal for killing, in the next continental revolution, "a couple of millions of reactionaries".

We may safely leave it with you to qualify the conduct of the editors of *The Times*, in allowing their columns to be made the receptacle of direct police information and denunciation in political matters. We are however rather astonished to see in the "*leading journal of Europe*" Herr Heinzen described as "a shining light of the German Social Democratic party". "The leading journal of Europe" certainly might have known that Herr Heinzen, so far from serving as a shining light to the party in question, has, on the contrary, ever since 1842, strenuously, though unsuccessfully, opposed everything like Socialism and Communism. "The German *Social* Democratic party", therefore, never took, nor is it likely ever to take, the responsibility of anything said or written by Mr. Charles Heinzen.

As to the danger likely to result from the "hellish doctrines" aforesaid, *The Times* might have known that Mr. Heinzen, far from trying to put these doctrines into practice during the last eighteen months of revolutionary convulsions in Germany, hardly ever

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[a] George Julian Harney.— *Ed.*
[b] See *The Times* No. 20341, November 23, 1849.— *Ed.*
[c] George Grey.— *Ed.*

during that time put his foot upon German soil, and played no part whatever in any of those revolutions.

The idea, Sir, of a man who never did any damage even to the most diminutive of German princes, being able to do harm to the gigantic British empire, would be, in our eyes, an insult to the English nation. We therefore beg leave to move that the whole matter be wound up by *The Times* giving a vote of thanks to Mr. Charles Heinzen, for the *courage malheureux*[a] with which he combated Socialism and Communism. I am, Mr. Editor,

Yours very obediently,

*A German Social Democrat*

London, Nov. 28th, 1849

First published in *The Northern Star* No. 632, December 1, 1849

Reprinted from the newspaper

[a] Wretched courage.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG. POLITISCH-ÖKONOMISCHE REVUE*][2]

THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG.*
*Politisch-ökonomische Revue*
edited by
*Karl Marx*
will appear in January 1850.

The periodical bears the title of the newspaper of which it is to be considered the *continuation*. One of its tasks will consist in returning in retrospect to the period which has elapsed since the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.[3]

The greatest interest of a newspaper, its daily intervention in the movement and speaking directly from the heart of the movement, its reflecting day-to-day history in all its amplitude, the continuous and impassioned interaction between the people and its daily press, this interest is inevitably lacking in a review. On the other hand, a review provides the advantage of comprehending events in a broader perspective and having to dwell only upon the more important matters. It permits a comprehensive and scientific investigation of the *economic* conditions which form the foundation of the whole political movement.

A time of apparent calm such as the present must be employed precisely for the purpose of elucidating the period of revolution just experienced, the character of the conflicting parties, and the social conditions which determine the existence and the struggle of these parties.

The review will be published in monthly issues of at least *five* printers' sheets at a subscription price of 24 silver groschen per quarter, payable upon delivery of the first issue. Single issues 10 sgr. Messrs. *Schuberth* and Co., in Hamburg, will attend to retail distribution through *bookshops*.

Friends of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* are requested to circulate subscription lists in their respective areas and to send them without delay to the undersigned. Literary contributions and likewise news items for discussion in the review will be accepted only post-paid.

London, Dec. 15, 1849

*K. Schramm*

Manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*
4 Anderson Street, King's Road, Chelsea

Published in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 6, January 8, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time

# THE DEMOCRATIC REVIEW

## JANUARY, 1850.

Frederick Engels

## LETTERS FROM GERMANY[4]

### I

[*The Democratic Review*, January 1850]

Cologne, Dec. 18th; 1849

"Order reigns in Germany." Such is the present great motto of our rulers, be they princes, aristocrats, *bourgeois*, or any other fraction of that recently formed party which you might call in English the party of *Ordermongers*.[5] "Order reigns in Germany"; and yet never was there, not even under the "Holy Roman Empire"[6] of yore, such a confusion in Germany as there is at present under the reign of "Order".

Under the old system, before the revolution of 1848, we knew at least who governed us. The old Federal Diet of Frankfort[7] made itself felt by laws against the liberty of the press, by exceptional courts of law, by checks imposed even upon the mock constitutions with which certain German populations were allowed to delude themselves. But now! We hardly know, ourselves, how many Central Governments we have got in this country. There is, firstly, the Vicar of the Empire, instituted by the dispersed National Assembly,[8] and who, although without any power, sticks to his post with the greatest obstinacy.[a] There is secondly the "*Interim*",[9] a sort of thing—nobody knows exactly what—but something like a revival of the old Diet, got up under the old prevalent influence of Prussia, and which "Interim" is poking at the old Vicar (who more or less represents the Austrian interest), to resign his place into their hands.[10] In the meantime neither has the slightest power. Thirdly, there is the "Regency of the Empire",[11] elected in Stuttgart by the National Assembly during the latter days of its existence, and the remains of that Assembly, the "Decided Left" and the "Extreme Left", which two Lefts, along with the "Regency", represent the "moderate and

[a] Archduke John of Austria.—*Ed.*

philosophical" Democrats and Shopocrats of Germany. This "Imperial" government holds its sittings in a public house in Berne in Switzerland,[a] and has about as much power as the two preceding. Fourthly, there is what is called the Three-Kings'-League,[12] or the "Confined (or Refined, I don't know which) Federal State", got up for the purpose of making the King of Prussia[b] Emperor *over* all the lesser states of Germany. It is called the "Three-Kings'-League", *because* all kings, with the exception of the King of Prussia, are opposed to it! and it calls itself the "Confined Federal State", because, although travailing in birth ever since the 28th of May last,[13] there is no hope of its ever producing anything likely to live!! There are, fifthly, the Four Kings, of Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg,[c] who are determined to do as they like themselves, and not to submit to any of the above "Central Impotencies"; and lastly, there is Austria, trying every means to keep up her supremacy in Germany, and supporting, therefore, the Four Kings in their efforts for independence from Prussian ascendancy. The *real* governments, in the meantime, those who hold the power, are Austria and Prussia. They rule Germany by military despotism, and make and unmake laws at their liking. Between their dominions and dependencies lie, as *quasi* neutral ground, the four kingdoms, and it will be upon this ground, and particularly in Saxony, that the pretensions of the two great powers will meet each other. There is, however, no chance of a serious conflict between them. Austria and Prussia, both, know too well that their forces must remain united if they want to keep down the revolutionary spirit spread all over Germany, Hungary, and those parts of Poland belonging to the powers in question. In case of need, besides, "our beloved brother-in-law",[d] the orthodox Czar of all the Russias, would step in and forbid his lords-lieutenant of Austria and Prussia to quarrel any more amongst themselves.

This never equalled confusion of governments, of pretensions, of claims, of German Federal Law, has, however, one enormous advantage. The German Republicans were, up to this time, divided into Federalists and Unitarians; the first having their principal force in the south. The confusion ensuing upon every attempt to re-organise Germany into a Federative State, must make it evident that any such plan will prove abortive, impracticable, and foolish, and that Germany is too advanced in civilisation to be governable

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[a] See this volume, p. 249.— *Ed.*
[b] Frederick William IV.— *Ed.*
[c] Ernest Augustus, Frederick Augustus II, Maximilian II, William I.— *Ed.*
[d] The reference is to Nicholas I, married to Frederick William IV's sister.— *Ed.*

under any form but *the German Republic, One and Indivisible, Democratic and Social.*

I should have liked to have said a few words on the acquittal of Waldeck and Jacoby,[14] but want of room prevents me doing so. Suffice it to say, that for at least some months to come it will be quite impossible for the government in Prussia to obtain in political trials a verdict of guilty, excepting, perhaps, in some remote corners where the jury-class are as fanaticised as the Orangemen of Ulster.[15]

II

## CURIOUS REVELATIONS CONCERNING THE DESPOTS OF GERMANY.— INTENDED WAR AGAINST FRANCE.— THE COMING REVOLUTION

[*The Democratic Review*, February 1850]

### Cologne, Jan. 20th, 1850

The day after I sent you my last, news reached here of the "settlement of the question" who was to rule over all Germany. The "Interim", consisting of two Austrian and two Prussian delegates, have at last prevailed upon old Archduke John to retire from business. They have consequently taken the reins of a power which, however, will not be of long duration. It expires in the month of May next, and there is good reason to expect that even before that term certain "untoward events" will sweep away these four provisional rulers of Germany. The names of these four satellites of military despotism are very significant. Austria has sent M. Kübeck, minister of finance *under Metternich*, and General Schönhals, the right hand of the butcher Radetzki. Prussia is represented by General Radowitz, member of the Jesuit order, favourite of the king, and principal inventor of all those plots by which Prussia has succeeded, for the moment, in putting down the German revolution; and by M. Bötticher, governor, before the revolution, of the province of Eastern Prussia, where he is fondly (?) remembered as a "putter down" of public meetings and organiser of the spy system. What the doings of such a lot of rogues will be you will not need to be told. I will name one instance only. The Wurtemberg government, forced by the revolution, had contracted with the Prince of Thurn and Taxis—who, you know, has the monopoly of forwarding letters by post and conveying of passengers in a large part of Germany, to the exclusion of the governments—the Wurtemberg government, I say, had contracted with this robber on a national scale to part, for a handsome sum, with his monopoly in favour of the said government. Times having got better for those who live upon national plunder, Prince Thurn and Taxis values his monopoly higher than the sum

contracted for, and won't part with it. The Wurtemberg government, freed from the pressure from without, find this change of opinion quite reasonable; and both parties apply—the prince publicly, the government aforesaid secretly—to the "Interim", which, taking for pretext an article of the old act of 1815, declares the contract void and unlawful. This is all right. It is far better that M. Thurn and Taxis keeps his privilege a few months longer; the people, when they finish with the whole lot of privileges, will take it not only from him without giving him anything, but will, on the contrary, make him give up even the money he has robbed them of up to this time.

The military despotism in Austria is getting more intolerable every day. The press almost reduced to annihilation, all public liberties destroyed, the whole country swarming with spies—imprisonments, courts-martial, floggings in every part of the country—this is the practical meaning of those provincial constitutions which the government publish from time to time, and which they do not care a straw about breaking in the very moment of publication. There is, however, an end to everything, even to states of siege and the rule of the sword. Armies cost money, and money is a thing which even the mightiest emperor cannot create at his will. The Austrian government have, up to this time, managed to keep their finances afloat by tremendous issues of paper money. But there is an end to this, too; and, in spite of that Prussian lieutenant who once would challenge me to a duel, because I told him a king or emperor could not make as many paper dollars[a] as he liked—in spite of that profound political economist, the Emperor of Austria[b] sees his paper money, though inconvertible, at the discount of from twenty to thirty per cent against silver, and almost fifty per cent against gold. The foreign loan he intended has dropped to the ground through the exertions of Mr. Cobden. Foreign capitalists have subscribed to the amount of £500,000 only, and he wants fifteen times that sum; while his exhausted country cannot afford to lend him anything. The deficit, fifteen millions and a half at the end of September last, will, by this time, have reached from twenty to twenty-four millions—the greater part of the Hungarian war expenses being payable in the last quarter of 1849. Thus there is only one alternative for Austria: either bankruptcy, or a foreign war to make the army pay itself, and to reconquer commercial credit by battles gained, provinces conquered, and war contributions imposed. Thus Mr. Cobden, in opposing the

[a] Here and below the reference is to German talers.—*Ed.*

[b] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

Austrian and Russian loans[a] on the plea of the preservation of peace, has more than any one else contributed—for Russia is in the same awkward state as Austria—to hasten that coalesced campaign against the French Republic which cannot, under any circumstances, be long delayed.

In Prussia, we assist at another act of "royal conscientiousness". You know that Frederick William IV, the man who never broke his word, in November, 1848, dispersed by force the national representation, and forced upon his people a constitution[16] after his own heart; that he agreed that this beautiful piece of workmanship was to be revised by the first parliament to be assembled; that in this parliament the Second Chamber (House of Commons) was, even before they got to the revising business, dissolved, another electoral reform forced upon the people, by which universal suffrage was very nicely done away with, and a majority of landed nobility, of government officials, and of *bourgeois*, was secured. This Chamber, to vote for the election of which every democrat refused, so that it has been elected by one-fifth or one-sixth of the whole number of voters—this Chamber, in conjunction with the old First Chamber, set about revising the Constitution, and made it, of course, even more agreeable to the king than he himself had made it originally. They have now almost done with it. Now, you think, his Majesty will please to accept this amended Constitution, and take the oath prescribed in it? Not he, indeed. He sends his faithful parliament a royal message, stating that he is very much pleased with what his two Chambers have made of his Constitution, but that, before his "royal conscientiousness" permits him to take the oath aforesaid, his own Constitution must be altered in about a dozen points.[17] And what are these points? Why, his Majesty is modest enough not to require any more than the following trifles. 1. The First Chamber, now elected by the large landed proprietors and capitalists, to be a complete House of Lords, containing the royal princes, about one hundred hereditary peers chosen by his Majesty, sixty peers elected by the large landed proprietors, thirty by the large monied interest, six by the universities. 2. Ministers to be responsible to the king and country, not to the parliament. 3. All taxes now upon the budget to be levied for ever, without power of parliament to refuse. 4. A "Star Chamber",[18] or High Court of Justice, to try political offences—no mention being made of juries. 5. A special law to define and restrain the powers of the Second Chamber of parliament, &c. Now what do

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[a] Cobden's speech delivered on January 18, 1850. (See *The Times* No. 20390, January 19, 1850.)—*Ed.*

you think of this? His Majesty forces upon the good Prussians a new Constitution, to be amended by parliament. His parliament amends it by striking out everything like a remnant of popular rights. And the king, not content with that, declares that his "royal conscientiousness" forbids him to accept his own Constitution, amended in his own interest, without the above further modifications. Verily this is a truly "royal" sort of conscientiousness! There is little chance of even this present mock parliament bowing to such impudence. The consequence will be dissolution, and the end of all parliaments for the moment in Prussia. The secret of all this is the anticipation of the great coalition war, mentioned above. The "conscientious" gentleman on the throne of Prussia expects to have his rebellious country overrun by the month of March or April, by a million of Asiatic barbarians, to march, along with "his own glorious army",[19] against Paris, to conquer that fair country which produces his heart-cherished champagne. And the Republic once done away with, the scion of Saint Louis[a] restored to the throne of France, what then would be the use of constitutions and parliaments at home?

In the mean time the revolutionary spirit is rapidly reviving all over Germany. The most inveterate ex-Liberal[b] who, after March, 1848, joined the king to combat the people, now sees that—as the saying is in Germany—although he gave to the devil only the end of his little finger, that gentleman has since seized the whole hand. The incessant acquittals by juries in political trials are the best proofs of this. Every day brings a new fact in this way. Thus, a few days ago, the Mulheim workpeople—who, in May, 1849, tore up the railway, in order to stop the sending of troops to insurged Elberfeld—have been acquitted here at Cologne. In the south of Germany, financial difficulties and increased taxation show to every bourgeois that this present state cannot last. In Baden the very same ***bourgeois*** who betrayed the last insurrection, and hailed the arrival of the Prussians, are punished and driven to madness by these very same Prussians and by the government, which under their protection drives them to ruin and despair. And the working people and peasantry everywhere are on the *qui vive*, waiting for the signal of an insurrection which, this time, will not subside until the political dominion and social progress of the proletarians shall have been secured. ***And this revolution is drawing nigh.***

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[a] Count Chambord.—*Ed.*
[b] Ludolf Camphausen.—*Ed.*

## III

### THE PRUSSIAN KING SWEARING TO THE CONSTITUTION AND "SERVING THE LORD!"—GRAND CONSPIRACY OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE.—THE APPROACHING ONSLAUGHT ON SWITZERLAND.—PROJECTED CONQUEST AND PARTITION OF FRANCE!

[*The Democratic Review*, March 1850]

Cologne, Feb. 18th, 1850

At last His Majesty, the King of Prussia, has taken the oath to the so-called "Constitution".[20] Had it not been for the occasion of making a speech, there is no doubt but that royal farce would never have taken place. But his speech-loving majesty, for the sake of the speech, resolved to swallow the oath, quite as humbly as he has been seen to swallow so many unpalatable things before, such as the celebrated "Hat off!"[21] shouted to him by the people of Berlin on the 19th of March, 1848. The oath is of no consequence. What is the oath of a king, and particularly of a Frederick William IV! The speech is the principal feature, and a precious speech it is. Think of the Prussian Majesty declaring most seriously, and neither him nor any one else in the assembly bursting forth in laughter, that he is a *man of honour*, and that he is about to give what is dearest to him—his royal word! But, he continues—after a series of most whimsical oratorical efforts—he gives his word on one condition only: that it be made possible for him to govern with this constitution, and to fulfil the promise he made three years ago, viz., "I and my house will serve the Lord!"[22]

What this new-fashioned "man of honour" means by governing with the constitution and serving the Lord, is already becoming pretty clear. His Majesty's ministers have come out since that swearing farce; firstly, with two laws, doing almost entirely away with the liberty of the press and the right of association and of public meeting; secondly, with a demand for eighteen millions of dollars (two millions and a half sterling) for *increasing the army*. The meaning of this is evident. First destroy in detail the few sham liberties left to the people by the precious mock-constitution, and then raise the army to the war footing, and march with Russia and Austria against

France. There is no doubt of the bourgeois chambers agreeing to all this, and thus making it possible to the king to govern with the constitution, and serve the Lord with his house.

This Prussian credit for the army "to meet eventualities which might present themselves during spring", must be taken, together with the other measures of the Holy Alliance,[23] in order to make us see clearly through their plots. Prussia, besides these eighteen millions, is already treating for a loan of sixteen millions—ostensibly for the purpose of constructing the great Eastern Railway. You know, too well, since the Russian loan affair, what a splendid pretext for raising money railways are made by the governments of the Holy Alliance. Prussia, thus, will soon raise five millions sterling the whole of which will be at the disposal of the war-office. Russia, besides the five millions sterling already raised, is about to contract for another loan of thirty-six millions of roubles silver, or five millions sterling. Austria alone, after the shabby result of her late effort to raise money, must be satisfied with what she can get at home. Her deficit, as I stated in my last, really amounts to two hundred million florins (twenty millions sterling) in one year! Thus, while Russia and Prussia raise money to make war, Austria must make war in order to raise money!

There is no doubt that if there are no untoward events in France, the "holy" campaign will be opened next month against Switzerland,[a] and perhaps Turkey. Russia keeps in Poland, and its vicinity, an army of 350,000 men, ready to march at a moment's notice. She has already contracted for large supplies of victuals, to be delivered next month, not in Poland, but in Prussia, at Dantzic. The Prussian army—about 150,000 now—can in a month be raised to 350,000, by calling in the reserve and the first class of the Landwehr. The Austrian army—about 650,000—has never been diminished, but, on the contrary, increased by the Hungarian prisoners. The whole of the forces, which may be disposable for a foreign war, may be something like a million; but two-thirds of the Prussians and Austrians are infected with the democratic disease, and would most likely pass to the other side, as soon as an opportunity presented itself.

The first pretext for attacking Switzerland is the German refugees living in that country. This pretext will soon cease to exist, as the cowardly persecutions of the federal government directly or indirectly force all refugees to leave Switzerland. There are now perhaps 600 German refugees in that country, and even they will

[a] See this volume, p. 28.—*Ed.*

soon have to leave it. But then there is another pretext—the demand of Prussia to restore the Prussian king's authority in the ex-principality of Neufchatel, which made itself a republic in 1848.[24] And if even this be complied with, there will be the question of the Sonderbund raised again, in connection with the new federal constitution, which, in 1848, replaced the old reactionary treaty of 1814, guaranteed by the Holy Alliance.[25] Thus, there will be no chance for Switzerland escaping war and foreign occupation.

But the final aim of the Holy Alliance is the conquest and partition of France. The plan designed to finish at once this great revolutionary centre is as follows: France, once conquered, will be divided into three kingdoms—the South-west, or Aquitania (capital, Bordeaux), will be given to Henry, Duke of Bordeaux[a]; the East, or Burgundy (capital, Lyons), will be given to Prince Joinville; and the North, or France proper (capital, Paris), will be awarded to Louis Napoleon, for the signal services he has rendered to the Holy Alliance. Thus France, reduced to the old state of division it was in some centuries ago, would be utterly powerless. What do you say to this pretty scheme, which no doubt originated in the "historical" head of the king of Prussia?

But, be assured, the People—without whom the Holy Alliance have reckoned—will very soon put a stop to all these plots and schemes, and that as soon, too, as the Holy Alliance commence to put their plans into execution. For the people are wide awake, both in France and Germany, and, fortunately, they are strong enough to put down all their opponents, as soon as matters are brought to a general, decisive, and open contest. And then the enemies of democracy will, to their terror, see that the movements of 1848 and '49 were nothing, in comparison to the universal conflagration which will burn up the old institutions of Europe, and light the victorious nations to a future—free, happy, and glorious.

Written between December 18, 1849, and February 18, 1850

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[a] Count Chambord.— *Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## LETTERS FROM FRANCE[26]

### I

[*The Democratic Review*, January 1850]

Paris, December 20th, 1849

The great question of the day is the excise upon "potable liquors", now under discussion in the National Legislative Assembly. This question is of such importance, and contains, in fact, in itself, so much of the whole present situation, that it will not be amiss to devote to it the whole of this letter.

The tax on potable liquors is of very old date.[a] It formed one of the principal features of the financial system under the monarchy of the eighteenth century, and one of the main grievances of the people at the time of the first revolution. It was done away with by that revolution. But Napoleon restored it in a somewhat modified shape about the year 1808, at a time when, forgetting his revolutionary origin, he made the establishment of his dynasty in the midst of the ancient European royal families, his principal aim. The tax was so exceedingly obnoxious to the people, that at the downfall of Napoleon, the Bourbon family promised its immediate repeal, and Napoleon himself, at St. Helena, declared it had been that tax more than anything else which caused his fall, by setting against him the whole of the South of France. The Bourbons, however, never thought of redeeming their promise, and the tax remained as before up to the revolution of 1830, when, again, its abolition was held out to the country. This promise was no more fulfilled than the preceding one: and thus the excise existed when the revolution of 1848 broke out. The provisional government,[27] instead of immediately repealing it and substituting for it a heavy income-tax upon the large capitalists and landed proprietors, only promised

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 117-20 and 328.— *Ed.*

either its repeal, or at least its revision; the Constituent Assembly[a] even went so far as to continue the tax altogether. It was only in the last days of its existence, when royalism was rifer than ever, that the "honest" and "moderate" members of that Assembly voted the repeal of the tax on potable liquors, to take effect from the lst of January, 1850.

It is clear that the tax in question belongs essentially to the monarchical traditions of France. Repealed as soon as the mass of the people got the upper hand, it was restored as soon as either the aristocracy or the *Bourgeoisie*, represented by a Louis XVIII or a Louis Philippe, held the reins of government. Even Napoleon, though in many points opposed to both aristocracy and Bourgeoisie, and overthrown by the conspiracy of both—even the great Emperor thought himself obliged to re-establish this feature of the ancient traditions of Monarchical France.

The tax in itself weighs very unequally upon the different classes of the nation. It is a grievous burden upon the poor, while upon the rich the pressure is exceedingly light. There are about twelve millions of wine-producers in France; these pay nothing upon their consumption of wine, it being of their own growing; there are, further, eighteen millions of people inhabiting villages and towns under 4,000 inhabitants, and paying a tax from 66 centimes to 1 fr. 32 centimes per 100 litres of wine; and there are, finally, some five millions inhabiting towns of more than 4,000 inhabitants, and paying upon their wine the *droit d'octroi*,[28] levied at the gate of the town, and varying in the different localities, but at all events incomparably higher than what is paid by the preceding class. The tax, further, falls quite as heavy upon the most inferior as upon the higher-priced wines; the hectolitre which sells at 2, 3, 4 francs, and the one sold at 12 to 1,500 fr., both pay the same tax; and thus, while the rich consumer of choice champagne, claret, and Burgundy, pays almost nothing, the working man pays to the government upon his inferior wine a tax of 50, 100, and, in some cases, 500 or 1,000 per cent upon the original value. Of the revenue derived by this tax, 51 millions of francs are paid by the poorer classes, and 25 millions only by the wealthier citizens. There cannot, under such circumstances, exist the slightest doubt that this tax is exceedingly injurious to the production of wine in France. The principal markets for this produce, the towns, are to the wine-producer so many foreign countries where he has to pay, before bringing his produce to sale, a regular custom-house duty of from 50 to 1,000 per cent *ad valorem*.

[a] The Constituent National Assembly (May 4, 1848-May 1849).— *Ed.*

The other part of the market, the open country, is at least subject to a duty of from 20 to 50 per cent of the original value. The inevitable consequence of this is the ruin of the wine-growing parts of the country. It is true the production of wine has been augmenting in spite of the tax, but the population has outgrown this augmentation at a far quicker rate.

Why, then, has it been possible to keep up under the middle-class government such an obnoxious tax as this? In England, you will say, even Cobden and Bright would have swept it away long ago. And so they would. But in France, the manufacturers never found a *Cobden* or a *Bright* who stood up for their interests with invincible tenacity,[a] nor a *Peel* to give way to their claims.[29] The French financial system, although so much vaunted by the majority of the Assembly, is the most confused and artificial, *mixtum compositum*,[b] that ever was imagined. None of the reforms carried in England since 1842 were attempted in France under Louis Philippe. Postage Reform was considered almost as blasphemy in the blessed time of Guizot. The tariff was, and is now, neither a free-trade nor a mere revenue, nor a protectionist, nor a prohibitive tariff, but contains something of all, except free-trade. Old prohibitions and high duties, that for many years have been to no purpose, nay, that are decidedly injurious to trade, are to be found in all parts of the tariff. Yet no one dared touch them. Local taxation, in all towns of more than 1,000 inhabitants, is indirect, and collected upon the produce brought into town. Thus the freedom of trade even in the interior is interrupted every ten or fifteen miles by a sort of inland-custom-house.

This state of things, disgraceful even to a middle-class government, remained untouched from different causes. With all this oppressive taxation, with receipts of 1,400 or 1,500 millions of francs, there was a deficit at the end of every year, and a loan after every fourth or fifth year. The stockjobbers of the Paris Bourse found an inexhaustible source of profit-making, jobbing, and peddling in this low state of the Public Exchequer. They and their associates formed the majority in the two Chambers, and were thus the real dominators of the state, and always demanding fresh supplies of money. Financial Reform, besides, could not have been effected without sweeping measures, which would have brought the budget to its equilibre, changed the allotment of taxes, and, besides taxing these stockjobbers themselves, given a greater political weight to other fractions of the middle classes. And what consequences such

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[a] Cf. this volume, p. 116.— *Ed.*

[b] Mixture.— *Ed.*

a change would have had under the worm-eaten government of Louis Philippe you may judge, from the comparatively trifling pretext which led to the revolution of February.[30]

That revolution brought into office no man able to reform the financial system of France. The gentlemen of the *National*,[31] who took possession of that department, felt themselves borne down by the weight of the deficit. Many attempts were made at bit-by-bit reform; all proved abortive, excepting the abolition of the tax upon salt and the Postage Reform. At last, in a fit of despair, the Constituent Assembly voted the repeal of the wine tax, and now the "honest" and "moderate" men of order[32] in the present precious Assembly restore it! Nay, more: the Minister[a] intends restoring the salt tax, and re-augmenting the Postage; so that the old financial system, with its eternal deficiences and difficulties, and consequent absolute sway of the Paris Bourse, with its jobbing, peddling, and profitmongering, will very shortly be restored in France.

The people, however, do not seem likely to submit quietly to a measure which restores a heavy tax upon an article of prime necessity for the poor, while it almost exempts the rich. Social democracy has spread wonderfully over the agricultural districts of France; and this measure will convert the remainder of the millions who, twelve months ago,[b] voted for that ambitious blockhead, Louis Napoleon. The country once won for social democracy, there will be very few months, nay, weeks, indeed, ere the Red Flag floats from the Tuileries and the Elysée-National.[33] Then only will it be possible to radically upset the old, oppressive financial system, by at one stroke doing away with the National Debt, by introducing a system of direct, progressive taxation; and by other measures of a similarly energetic character.[c]

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[a] Achille Fould, Minister of Finance.— *Ed.*

[b] In December 1848 during the election of the President of the French Republic.— *Ed.*

[c] Cf. this volume, p. 116.— *Ed.*

II

## STRIKING PROOFS OF THE GLORIOUS PROGRESS OF RED REPUBLICANISM!

[*The Democratic Review*, February 1850]

Paris, January 21st, 1850

A great many important events have occurred since my last, but as the generality of readers will have been informed of them from the daily and weekly papers, I shall refrain from going over the same ground from beginning to end, and instead shall limit this letter to some general observations on the state of the country.

During the last twelve or fifteen months, the revolutionary spirit has made immense progress throughout France. A class, which by its social position was kept apart, as much as possible in civilised society, from taking an interest in public business, which by the old monarchical legislation was shut out from all political rights, which never read a newspaper, and which, nevertheless, forms the vast majority of Frenchmen—this class, at last, is rapidly coming to its senses. This class is the small peasantry, numbering about twenty-eight millions of men, women, and children, counting amongst its ranks from eight to nine millions of small landed proprietors, who possess, in the shape of freehold[34] property, at least four-fifths of the soil of France. This class has been oppressed by all governments since 1815, not excepting the provisional government, which imposed on it the tax of 45 additional centimes upon every franc of the land-tax,[35] which in France is very heavy. This class,borne down also by a band of usurers to whom their property almost without exception is mortgaged at extraordinary high interest, is at last beginning to see that no government, except one acting in the interest of the working men of the towns, will free them from the misery and starvation into which, notwithstanding their land-allotments, they are falling deeper and deeper every day.[a] This class,

[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 27-28, 122-23 and 262-63.—*Ed.*

which in a great measure forced the revolution of 1789, and which formed the basement upon which arose the vast empire of Napoleon, has now, in its immense majority, joined the revolutionary party and the working men of Paris, Lyons, Rouen, and the other large towns of France. The tillers of the soil now see clearly enough how they have been cheated by Louis Napoleon, to whose presidential majority they at least furnished six millions of votes, and who has repaid them with the re-imposition of the wine and brandy tax. And thus, the vast majority of the French people are now united to overthrow, as soon as a proper occasion shall present itself, the insolent sway of the capitalist class, which, hurled down by the storm of February, has again seized the helm of government, and exercises its rule far more arrogantly than ever it did under its own well-beloved Louis Philippe.

The history of the last months affords innumerable proofs of this most important fact. Take the circular of Minister d'Hautpoul to the *gendarmerie*, by which espionage is carried into the very heart of the most obscure village; take the law against the schoolmasters,[36] who, in French villages, are generally the best expression of the public opinion of their localities, and who are now to be placed at the mercy of government, because they now almost all profess social-democratic opinions; and many other facts. But one of the most striking proofs is to be found in the election which has just taken place in the department *du Gard*.[37] This department is known as the most ancient stronghold of the "Whites"—the Legitimists.[38] It was the scene of the most horrid outrages against the republicans in 1794 and '95, after the downfall of Robespierre; it was the central seat of the "white terrorism" in 1815, when Protestants and Liberals were publicly murdered, and outrages of the most horrible nature were committed on the wives, daughters, and sisters of those victims by Legitimist mobs, headed by the renowned Trestaillon, and protected by the government of legitimate Louis XVIII. Well, this department had to elect a deputy, in the place of a Legitimist, deceased[a]; and the result was, a great majority for a thoroughly Red candidate,[b] while the two Legitimist candidates were in a signal minority.[c]

Another proof of the rapid progress of this alliance of the working men in the towns and the peasantry of the country, is the new law on public education.[39] The most inveterate Voltairians of the bourgeoisie, even M. Thiers, see there is no way left to oppose that

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[a] Jean Baptiste de Beaune.—*Ed.*
[b] Étienne Favand.—*Ed.*
[c] E. de Grail and H. de Lourdoueix.—*Ed.*

progress but by surrendering their old theories and principles, and by prostrating public education at the feet of the priesthood!

Again. There is, now, a general rush of all public papers and public characters, that are not exactly reactionaries, to claim the once despised title of "Socialist". The oldest enemies of Socialism now proclaim themselves Socialists. The *National*, even the *Siècle*, monarchist under Louis Philippe, declare they are Socialists. Even Marrast, the infamous traitor of 1848, now hopes, though in vain, to get elected by proclaiming himself a Socialist. The people, however, are not thus to be duped, and the rope to hang that vagabond is ready, and only waiting for the occasion.

To-day they discuss in the National Assembly the law for killing the remaining 468 prisoners of the June insurrection,[40] by transporting them to, and setting them to work in the most unhealthy parts of Algeria. No doubt the law will pass by an immense majority. But before the unfortunate heroes of that grand battle of labour can reach the shore destined to bury them, there is little doubt but another popular storm will have swept away the voters of this law of murder, and carry, perhaps, to that land of banishment, those of the present majority who may have escaped a prompter, more radical, and most righteous revenge on the part of the people.

III

## SIGNS OF THE TIMES.— THE ANTICIPATED REVOLUTION

[*The Democratic Review*, March 1850]

Paris, February 19th, 1850

I must limit this letter somewhat in space, but the facts which have occurred in the course of this month are so striking, that they will speak for themselves. The revolution is advancing so rapidly, that every one *must* see its approach. In all spheres of society it is spoken of as imminent; and all foreign papers, even if opposed to democracy, declare it an unavoidable thing. Nay, more, you may with almost certainty foresee, that if no unexpected events give a turn to public affairs, the great contest between the united Ordermongers and the vast majority of the people, can hardly be postponed beyond the latter end of this spring. And what the result of that contest will be, is a matter admitting of no doubt. The people of Paris are so sure of having very shortly the most splendid case for a revolution they ever had, that there is a general order amongst them—"Avoid all petty squabbles, submit to anything which puts not a vital question to you." Thus, with all their efforts, the other day, when the trees of liberty were cut down, the government could not excite the working people to even a petty street-row, and the individuals dancing round the tree at the Porte Saint-Martin, which your *London Illustrated News* depicted in such a terrific manner,[a] consisted of a set of police spies who lost all their day's job through the coolness of the people.[41] Thus, in spite of what the government papers say to the contrary, the 24th of this month will pass off very quietly.[b] The government would give almost anything if they could have a row in Paris, with some fictitious conspiracies and outbreaks

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[a] See *The Illustrated London News* No. 412, February 9, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] The second anniversary of the February Revolution. Cf. this volume, p. 128.—*Ed.*

in the departments, in order to inflict the state of siege upon the capital and those departments which, on the 10th of March, will have to elect new deputies in lieu of the condemned of Versailles. A word on the new system of military despotism.[42] To keep the provinces in bondage, the government have invented the new system of commanders-in-chief. They have united a number of the seventeen military divisions of France into four grand districts, each of which is to be under the command of one general, who, thus, has almost the arbitrary power of an eastern satrap or a Roman proconsul. These four military districts are so arranged, that they surround Paris and the whole centre of France, as it were, with an iron circle, in order to keep it down. This measure, illegal as it is, has however been adopted not only on account of the people, but on account of the Bourgeois opposition too. The Legitimist and Orleanist[43] parties now see clear enough that Louis Napoleon is serving them very badly. They wanted him as a means to the re-establishment of monarchy, as an instrument to be shuffled aside when worn out, and they now see him aspiring to a throne for himself, and going a good deal faster than they want. They know well enough that at this moment there is no chance for monarchy, and that they must wait; and yet Louis Napoleon does everything in his power to come to a settlement, and to risk a revolution which may cost him his head, rather than wait his time. They know, too, that neither party, Legitimist or Orleanist, has gained so much ground upon the other as to make the victory of one of the two an undeniable necessity; and as before the 10th of December, 1848, they want another neutral man, who, while they await the course of events, may govern according to the common interests of both. Thus, these two parties, the only important fractions of the Ordermongers, are now against the prolongation of Louis Napoleon's presidency, although four months ago they would have done anything to carry it; they are again, for once, for the neutral ground of the republic, *with General Changarnier as president.* Changarnier seems to be in the plot; and Napoleon, who does not trust him but dares not dismiss him from his proconsulate at Paris, has put the four military districts as a fetter around him. This may explain why M. Pascal Duprat's (a traitor of June '48, who now courts popularity again) speech[a] against the new military system and against Louis Napoleon himself, was very tolerantly listened to by the majority. There occurred two curious incidents on this occasion. When M. Duprat said, according to a newspaper, Louis Napoleon

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[a] Duprat's interpellation made in the Legislative Assembly on February 16, 1850, dealt with the new system of military administration.—*Ed.*

had to choose between the position of his uncle,[a] or that of Washington, a voice from the left shouted, "or that of the Emperor Soulouque of Haiti".[b] A general burst of laughter hailed this comparison of the French would-be-emperor to a personage, than whom none offers more matter for ridicule to all the *Charivaris* of Paris; and yet not even the President of the Assembly interposed.[c] You see what even this precious majority thinks of Louis Napoleon! The Minister of War[d] then got up, and, turning to the left, concluded a most violent speech with these words: "And now, gentlemen, if you like to commence we are ready!"[e] This expression of the Minister will show you more than anything, how generally a violent struggle is expected.

In the meantime, the Social-Democratic party are actively preparing for the elections. Although there is a chance for the "honest and moderate", to elect one or two of their candidates in Paris, where some sixty thousand working men have been, under a variety of pretexts, struck off the voting register; yet there is no doubt that the socialists will have a signal triumph in the departments. The government themselves are expecting it. They therefore have prepared a measure for doing away with what is now openly called the conspiracy of "Universal Suffrage". They intend to make the suffrage indirect; the voters to elect a limited number of electors, who again name the representative. In this the government are sure of the support of the majority. But as this amounts to an open overthrow of the constitution, which cannot be revised before 1851, and by an assembly elected for the purpose, they expect violent resistance on the part of the people. These, therefore, are to be intimidated by the foreign armies making their appearance on the Rhine at the time this measure is brought into the House. If this really come to pass—and Louis Napoleon seems foolish enough to risk such a thing—then you may expect to hear something like the thunder of a revolution. And then, the Lord have mercy upon the souls of all Napoleons, Changarniers, and Ordermongers!

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[a] Napoleon I Bonaparte.—*Ed.*
[b] See *Le Moniteur universel* No. 48, February 17, 1850.—*Ed.*
[c] André Dupin.—*Ed.*
[d] Alphonse d'Hautpoul.—*Ed.*
[e] Cf. this volume, pp. 32 and 128.—*Ed.*

## IV

### THE ELECTIONS.—GLORIOUS VICTORY OF THE REDS.— PROLETARIAN ASCENDANCY.—DISMAY OF THE ORDERMONGERS.— NEW SCHEMES OF REPRESSION AND PROVOCATIONS TO REVOLUTION[44]

[*The Democratic Review*, April 1850]

Paris, March 22nd, 1850

*Victory!* Victory! The people have spoken, and they have spoken so loud that the artificial fabric of bourgeois rule and bourgeois plotting has been shaken to its very foundation. *Carnot, Vidal, Deflotte,* representatives of the people for Paris, elected by from 127,000 to 132,000 votes, that is the answer of the people to the odious provocations of the government and parliamentary majority. Carnot, the only man of the "National" fraction who, under the provisional government, instead of flattering the bourgeoisie, brought down on his head a handsome share of its hatred; Vidal, an openly pronounced communist of long standing; Deflotte, vice-president of Blanqui's club, one of the foremost, active invaders of the Assembly on the 15th of May, 1848,[45] in June following, one of the leading combatants on the barricades, sentenced to transportation, and now stepping directly from the hulks into the legislative palace—really, this composition is significant! It shews, that if the triumph of the Red party is owing to the union of the small trading class with the proletarians, this union is based upon totally different terms to that momentary alliance which brought about the overthrow of monarchy. Then, it was the small trading class, the petty bourgeoisie, who, in the provisional government, and still more so in the Constituent Assembly, took the lead, and very soon set aside the influence of the proletarians. Now, on the contrary, the working men are the leaders of the movement, and the petty bourgeoisie, equally pressed down and ruined by capital, and rewarded with bankruptcy for their services rendered in June, 1848, are reduced to follow the revolutionary march of the proletarians. The country farmers are in the same position, and thus

the whole mass of those classes that now are opposed to the government—and they form the vast majority of Frenchmen—are headed and led on by the proletarian class, and find themselves obliged to rely, for their own emancipation from the pressure of capital, upon the total and entire emancipation of the working men.[a]

The elections in the departments, too, have been very favourable to the Red party. They having carried two-thirds, the Ordermongers one-third of their candidates.

This party, or aggregation of parties, has admirably understood the broad hint given by the people. They now see certain ruin before their eyes if they allow the general election of 1852 both for the Assembly and the new President to come off with the present system of suffrage. They know, that the people are so fast rallying round the red flag, that it will be impossible for them to carry on the government even until that term. On one side the President and the Assembly[b]; on the other, the vast mass of the people every day organising themselves stronger and stronger into an invincible phalanx. Thus the conflict is inevitable; and the longer the Ordermongers wait, the greater hope there will be for the victory of the people. They know it, and therefore they must strike the decisive blow as soon as possible. To provoke an insurrection as soon as possible, and to fight it to the utmost, is the only chance left for them. The "Holy Alliance", besides, after the elections of the 10th of March, can have no more doubts as to the course they must pursue. Switzerland, now, is out of the question.[c] Revolutionary France is again standing up before them in all her terrible grandeur. France, then, must be attacked, and as soon as possible. The "Holy Alliance" are getting low in cash, and there is now very little chance of getting fresh supplies of that desirable commodity. The different armies cannot be maintained at home much longer, they must either be disbanded or they must be made to maintain themselves by quartering upon the enemy. Thus, you see that, if in my last I told you that the revolution and war were fast approaching, events are fully bearing out my prediction.

The Ordermongers have for the moment again set aside their party squabbles. They have re-united to attack the people. They change the garrison of Paris, of which three-fourths voted for the red list; and, yesterday, a law re-establishing the newspaper stamp, another law doubling the caution money to be deposited by all

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 127 and 128.—*Ed.*

[b] *The Democratic Review* has "president of the Assembly", which is a misprint.—*Ed.*

[c] Cf. this volume, p. 15.—*Ed.*

newspapers, and a third, suspending the liberty of electoral meetings, were laid on the table of the Assembly by the government. Other laws will follow: one to grant powers to the police to expel from Paris any working man not born there; another, to empower the government to *transport, without judgment, to Algiers, any citizen who shall have been convicted of being a member of a secret society,* and many more, the whole to be crowned by a more or less direct attack upon universal suffrage. Thus, you see, they provoke revolt, by battering down all the rights and privileges of the working classes. Revolt will follow, and the people, united with the mass of the national guard, will very soon hurl down that infamous class government which, in its utter impotency to do anything but odiously oppress, has, nevertheless, the impudence to call itself the "Saviour of Society"!!!

[*The Democratic Review*, May 1850]

Paris, April 20th, 1850

The outbreak of the revolution, which has become inevitable since the elections of the 10th of March, has been retarded by the cowardice both of the government and of the men who, for the moment, have taken the lead of the Paris movement. The government and the National Assembly were so terror-struck by the vote of the 10th of March, and by the repeated proofs of mutinous spirit in the army, that they dared not come immediately to any conclusion. They resolved upon passing new repressive laws, a list of which I gave you in my last; but if the ministry and some of the leaders of the majority had confidence in these measures, the mass of the members had not, and even the government very soon lost its confidence again. Thus, the more stringent of these repressive laws were not brought forward, and even those that were—the laws on the press and on electoral meetings—met with a very doubtful reception from the majority.

The Socialist party, on the other hand, did not profit by the victory as it ought to have done. The reason for this is very plain. This party consists not only of the working men, but it includes, now, the great mass of the shopkeeping class too, a class whose socialism is indeed a great deal tamer than that of the proletarians. The shopkeepers and small tradesmen know very well that their own salvation from ruin is entirely dependent upon the emancipation of the proletarians; that their interests are indissolubly tied up with those of the working men. But they know also, that if the proletarians conquered political power by a revolution, they, the shopkeepers, would be entirely set aside, and be reduced to accept from the hands of the working class any thing they might give them. If the present government, on the

contrary, be overthrown by peaceful means, the shopkeepers and small tradesmen, being the least obnoxious of the classes now in opposition, would very quietly step in and take hold of the government, giving, at the same time, the working people as small a share of it as possible. The small trading class, then, were quite as much terrified at their own victory as the government was at its own defeat. They saw a revolution starting up before their eyes, and they strove immediately to prevent it. There was a means for this ready at hand. Citizen Vidal, in addition to being elected for Paris, had been elected for the Lower Rhine too. They managed to make him accept for the Lower Rhine, and thus there is to be a new election in Paris. But it is evident, that as long as there is an opportunity given to the people to obtain peaceful victories, they will never raise their cry "to arms"; or if, nevertheless, provoked into an émeute, they will fight with very little chance of victory.

The new election was fixed for the 28th of this month; and the government immediately profited by the favourable position created by the amiable shopocracy. Ministers disinterred old police regulations, in order to expel from Paris a number of working men, for the moment without work; and showed that they could do even without the proposed law against electoral meetings, by directly putting a stop to all of them. The people knowing that the day before an election, they could not fight to any advantage, submitted. The social and democratic press, entirely in the hands of the shopocracy, of course did every thing to keep them quiet. The behaviour of this press has, ever since the affair of the "trees of liberty", been most infamous. There have been numbers of occasions for the people to rise; but the press has always preached peace and tranquillity while the representatives of the shopocracy in the electoral committee and other organised bodies have always managed to lessen the chances of a street victory, by opening peaceful outlets for the popular exasperation.

The false position in which the Red party has been forced, and the advantage given by the new election to the Ordermongers, is fully shewn by the names of the two opposing candidates. The red candidate, Eugène Sue, is an excellent representative of that well-meaning, "soft sawder", sentimental shopocrat-socialism, which, far from recognising the revolutionary mission of the proletarians, would rather mock-emancipate them by the benevolent patronage of the petty trading class. As a political man, Eugène Sue is a nullity; as a demonstration, his nomination is a step backwards from the position conquered on the 10th of March. But it must be confessed, that if sentimental socialism is to have the honour of the

day, his name is the most popular to be put forward, and he has a great chance to be elected.

The Ordermongers, on the other side, have so far recovered, that they now oppose to Eugène Sue, whose name signifies nothing or very little, a name which signifies everything—M. Leclerc,[a] the bourgeois Lacedemonian of the insurrection of June.[46] Leclerc is a direct reply to Deflotte, and a direct provocation to the working men, more direct than any other name could possibly be. Leclerc, candidate for Paris—that is a repetition of the words of General d'Hautpoul:—"Now, gentlemen, whenever you please to descend into the streets, we are ready!"[b]

The repeated election in Paris, as you see, offers no advantage, but, on the contrary, has already put to a great deal of disadvantage the proletarian party. But there is another fact to be noticed. The election of the 10th of March was carried under the old list; that of the 28th of April is to come off under the new revised list of voters for 1850, which came into force on the 1st of April; and in this revised list there are *from twenty to thirty thousand working men struck off* under various pretexts.

However, even if this time the Ordermongers obtain a small majority, they will not be the gainers. The fact remains, that, with universal suffrage, they can no longer govern France. The fact remains, that the army is largely infected with socialism, and only awaits an occasion for open rebellion. The fact remains, that the working people of Paris are in better spirits than ever for putting an end to the present state of things. Never before did they come out so openly as they have done this time in the electoral meetings, till they were suppressed. And the government, forced to attack universal suffrage, will thereby give the people an occasion for a combat, in which there is for the proletarians the certainty of victory.

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 135 and 516.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 26 and 128.—*Ed.*

## VI[47]

[*The Democratic Review*, June 1850]

[End of May 1850]

"If the proletarians suffer the suffrage to be taken from them, they submit *to the undoing of the Revolution of February, as far as they are concerned.* For them the republic will no longer exist. They will be shut out from it. Will they allow this?

"The law certainly will pass. Not a tittle of it will be weakened. The will of the majority, upon this point, has already shown itself clearly.[48] And as matters stand to-day, no one can tell what will follow, whether the people will rise and hurl down the government and Assembly, or whether they will wait until another occasion. Paris seems quiet; there is no direct sign of an approaching revolution; but a spark will suffice to call forth a tremendous explosion.

"That explosion would have taken place before now but for the treacherous conduct of the popular chiefs, who have been doing nothing but preaching 'peace', 'tranquillity', and 'majestic calm'.[a] This, however, cannot last long. The situation of France is eminently revolutionary. The Ordermongers cannot stand where they are. They must advance a step every day in order to maintain themselves. If this law should pass without provoking a revolution, they will come out with fresh, more violent, and more direct attacks on the constitution and the Republic. They want an *émeute*, and they will have a revolution, and have it soon, too. For it must be borne in mind that this is a question of *weeks*, perhaps *days*, not of *years*."

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[a] An allusion to Victor Hugo's speech made in the Legislative Assembly on May 21, 1850, in which he called for "*calme majestueux*".—*Ed.*

## VII

[*The Democratic Review*, July 1850]

Paris, June 22nd, 1850

The Electoral "Reform" Law has passed, and the people of Paris have not moved. Universal Suffrage has been destroyed, without the slightest attempt at disturbance or demonstration, and the working people of France are again what they were under Louis Philippe: political Pariahs, without recognised rights, without votes, without muskets.

It really is a curious fact, that Universal Suffrage in France, won easily in 1848, has been annihilated far more easily in 1850. Such ups and downs, however, correspond much with the French character, and occur very often in French history. In England such a thing would be impossible. Universal Suffrage, once established there, would be won for ever. No government would dare to touch it. Only think of the minister who should be foolish enough to consider seriously re-establishing the Corn Laws.[49] The immense laughter of the whole nation would hurl him down.

The people of Paris have, undoubtedly, committed a serious mistake, in not profiting of the occasion for insurrection given by the destruction of Universal Suffrage. The army was well disposed, the small trading class was forced to go with the people, and the Mountain,[50] nay, even the party of Cavaignac knew that in case of a defeated insurrection they would inevitably be made to suffer for it, whether they stood with the people or not. Thus, at least, the moral support of the small trading class and of its parliamentary organs, the Mountain, was sure this time, as soon as the insurrection had broken out; and with that the resistance of a large portion of the army would be broken. But the occasion has been missed, partly from the cowardice of the parliamentary chiefs and the press, partly from the peculiar state of mind the people of Paris are in at present.

The working people of the capital are at present in a state of transition. The different socialist systems which, up to this time, have been discussed amongst them, no longer suffice to them; and it must be confessed, take all French systematic Socialism together, and there is not much in it of a very revolutionary nature. On the other hand the people, so many times deceived by their chiefs, have such a deep distrust towards all men who ever have acted as their leaders—not excepting even Barbès or Blanqui[51]—that they are resolved not to make any movement in order to bring any of these leaders into office. Thus the whole working-class movement is about to take a different, far more revolutionary aspect. The people, once thinking for themselves, freed from the old socialist tradition, will soon find socialist and revolutionary formulas which shall express their wants and interests far more clearly than anything invented *for them*, by authors of systems and by declaiming leaders. And then, arrived thus at maturity, the people will again be enabled to avail themselves of whatever talent and courage may be found among the old leaders, without becoming the tail of any of them. And this state of the popular mind in Paris accounts for the indifference displayed by the people, at the destruction of Universal Suffrage. The great struggle is postponed for the day in which one or both of the two rival powers of the state, the President or the Assembly, will try to overthrow the Republic.

And this day must soon arrive. You recollect what was boasted in all the reactionary papers, about the cordial understanding between the President and the majority. Now, this cordial understanding has just resolved itself into the most deadly struggle between the two rivals. The President has been promised, as the price for his adhesion to the Electoral Law, an annual addition to his salary of 3,000,000 fr. (£120,000), which additional pay was most awfully wanted by the debt-ridden Louis Napoleon, besides being considered as the preliminary step to the prolongation of his presidency for ten years. The Electoral Law was hardly passed, when the ministers stepped in and asked for the three millions a year. But all at once the majority got frightened. They, who no longer consider the imbecile Louis Napoleon as a serious pretender, far from being ready to consent to the prolongation of his presidency, on the contrary want to get rid of him as soon as possible. They name a select committee to report on the Bill, and that committee reports against its adoption. Great consternation at the Elysée-National. Napoleon threatens abdication. A most serious collision between the two powers of the state is imminent. The ministry, a lot of bankers, a number of other "friends of order" interpose, with no result. Several

"transactions" are proposed; in vain. At last an amendment is come to, which seems to satisfy all parties more or less. The majority, not quite sure as to the consequences of a rupture with the President, and having, as yet, not quite concluded the compact which is to unite the Legitimists and Orleanists into one party, seems to recoil a little, and to be ready to grant the money in another shape. The discussion is to come off on Monday; what the result will be no one can say. However, a serious rupture with Napoleon is, I think, not yet in the line of policy of the royalist majority.

The compact which is to unite the Orleanists and Legitimists, the younger and the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, is, at present, more than ever spoken of. It is a fact that most active negotiations are carried on with regard to this subject. The journey of Messrs. Thiers, Guizot, and others to the death-bed of Louis Philippe, at St. Leonards, had no other object than this. I shall not repeat to you the various versions as to the state of this affair, and the results obtained by the journey above mentioned. The daily papers have said more than enough about that. A fact, however, it is, that the Orleanist and Legitimist parties are in France pretty much agreed as to the conditions, and that the only difficulty is to have these conditions adopted by the two rival branches. Henry, Duke of Bordeaux,[a] is to be made king, and as he has no children, the adoption of the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, and heir to the throne by regular succession, is a matter almost of course, and offering no difficulties. The tricolour flag, besides, is to be maintained. The expected death of old Louis Philippe would facilitate this solution. He seems to have submitted to it, and the Duke of Bordeaux, too, appears to have accepted the agreement. The Duchess of Orleans, mother of the Count of Paris, and her brother-in-law, Joinville, are said to be the only obstacles in the way of a settlement. Louis Napoleon is to be paid off with ten millions of hard cash.

There is no doubt but this, or a similar settlement, will finally be come to; and as soon as this is done, the direct attack upon the Republic will follow. In the meantime, a preliminary engagement is to be commenced by the councils-general of the departments. They have been just called together before their regular time of meeting, and are expected to call upon the National Assembly to revise the constitution. The same thing was considered last year, but thought premature by the councils themselves. There is no doubt they will show considerably more pluck this time, particularly after the

[a] Count Chambord.— *Ed.*

successful blow at the Suffrage. And then the occasion will come for the people to show that if they abstained from showing their power for a time, they are not willing to be thrust back to the most infamous epoch of the Restoration.

P. S.—I have just read a small pamphlet sold at three sous (halfpence) and given out gratis with the *République.* This pamphlet contains the most astounding disclosures as to the plots and conspiracies of the royalists, as far back as the spring of 1848. It is by one Borme,[52] a witness examined in the trial of Barbès and Blanqui, at Bourges.[53] He confesses himself a paid royalist agent, who at that trial committed gross perjury. He contends that the whole movement of the 15th of May, 1848, originated with the royalists, and many other things of a most curious character. There is something, too, which regards *The Times.* Borme gives name and address. He lives in Paris. The pamphlet is one which must call forth more disclosures still. I call your most earnest attention to it.

## VIII

[*The Democratic Review*, August 1850]

Paris, July 23, 1850

As I anticipated in my last, the dotation to Louis Bonaparte finally passed the Assembly—in substance allowing him the sum he wanted, in form humiliating him deeply before the eyes of all France.[54] The Assembly then resumed its work of repression—taking up the press law. Atrocious as this law was when produced from the hand of its originator, M. Baroche, it was innocent and harmless compared with what the spite of the majority has made it. The majority, in its furious and yet impotent hatred against the press, has dealt out its blows almost blindfolded, not caring whether it hits the "good" or the "bad" press. Thus the "law of hatred" has been enacted. The caution money is raised. The stamp is re-established on newspapers. An extra stamp is put upon the "roman-feuilleton", that part of the newspaper which is dedicated to the publication of novels—a measure which would be quite incomprehensible if it was not a reply to the election of Eugène Sue, the effect of whose socialist novels has not yet been forgotten by the majority. All works published in weekly numbers or monthly parts of less than a certain size, are subjected to the stamp in the same manner as newspapers. And lastly, every paragraph appearing in a newspaper must be provided with the signature of the author.

This law, as the blind fury of the majority has made it, falls heavily, not only upon the socialist and republican press, but on the counter-revolutionary press: and perhaps far more heavily upon this than upon the opposition press. The names of the republican writers are pretty well known, and it matters little whether they sign their paragraphs or not; but let the *Journal des Débats*, the *Assemblée nationale*, the *Pouvoir*, the *Constitutionnel*, &c., be obliged to come out with the names of their contributors, and their leaders will

immediately lose all influence even upon their class of readers. The name of a great daily paper, particularly an old-established one, is, to respectable people, always a respectable firm; but let these firms, Bertin and Co., Véron and Co., Delamarre and Co., once be dissolved into their literary components, let that mysterious "Co." once decompose into venal "penny-a-liners" of old standing, who, for hard cash, have defended all possible causes, such as Granier de Cassagnac, or into foolish old women calling themselves statesmen, such as Capefigue, let all the little men who raise loud voices and spout big articles once creep out into daylight under the new law, and you will see what a sad figure the respectable press will make.[a]

It is true that, under the new law, by the enhanced price of newspapers a very numerous class of readers will be excluded from this mode of getting information. Both newspapers, cheap periodicals, and other popular publications will be above the reach of numerous working-men, and particularly of the majority of the country-people. But the press was always an auxiliary means merely to agitate the peasantry; this class being far more sensible to their own material sufferings and to the increase of taxation than to the declamations of the press; and as long as the present bourgeois government cannot find out the means—which it never can—to alleviate the weight of usury and taxation upon the peasantry, as long will there be discontent and "revolutionary tendencies", manifested amongst this newly-roused class. As to the working-men in the towns, they cannot be entirely excluded from seeing the newspapers, and if cheap periodical publications are stopped, they will make up for that by increasing secret societies, secret debating-clubs, &c. But if the government, with respect to diminishing the number of revolutionary tracts and periodicals, have obtained some result, they have obtained it at the cost of ruining the whole of the publishing and bookselling trades; for it is impossible that these trades can subsist under the restrictions imposed by the new law. And thus this is very likely to contribute much to breaking up the party of order both in and out of the Assembly.

As soon as the law on the press was voted, the Assembly proceeded to give Louis Napoleon another broad hint that he was not to exceed the limits the constitution had placed him in. The Bonapartist paper, *Le Pouvoir*, had an article commenting in not very favourable terms upon the Assembly. An old law of the Restoration was dug up, and the publisher of the *Pouvoir*, arraigned at the bar for breach of

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[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 138 and 520-21.—*Ed.*

privilege, and sentenced to 5,000fr. (£200)[a] fine, which fine was, of course, immediately paid.[55] The penalty was not very severe, but the act of the Assembly was sufficiently significant. "We strike low but we mean to hit higher," said a member, and was loudly applauded.

The Assembly then resolved to suspend its sitting for three months, from the 11th of August next. As provided by the constitution, it had to elect a commission of twenty-five members, which is to remain at Paris during the adjournment, and to watch the executive power.[56] The chiefs of the majority, believing Louis Napoleon to be sufficiently humiliated, drew up a list of these candidates, including none but members of the majority, Orleanists, Moderate Legitimists, some Bonapartists, no Republicans nor ultra-Legitimists. But in the vote all the Bonapartists have been thrown out, and in their stead some Moderate Republicans and several ultra-Legitimists have been elected, thus again showing the disposition of the Assembly to have none of the *coup d'état* which Louis Napoleon is always dreaming of.[b]

I do not expect that there will be anything serious until the experiment is made to upset the Republic; be it by the President, or be it by one of the royalist factions. This would, no doubt, rouse the people from their torpor; and this is an event which must take place between now and May 1852, but at what precise epoch it is impossible to predict.[57]

Written between December 20, 1849, and June 23, 1850

Reprinted from the journal

Published in *The Democratic Review*, January-August 1850, marked by the editors in some issues (January-March, and May): "From Our Own Correspondent"

[a] Cf. this volume, pp. 140 and 520-21.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., pp. 140 and 521.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## ANNOUNCEMENT[58]

Circumstances beyond the control of the editorial board delayed publication of the first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The second issue will therefore appear a fortnight after the first at the latest, and will contain amongst others the following articles:

1848-49. II. June 13, 1849.—III. Repercussions of June 13 on the Continent.—IV. Current Situation; England.[59]—By *Karl Marx.*

The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution. III. The Palatinate.—IV. To Die for the Fatherland.[60]—By *Frederick Engels.*

The third issue will contain among other items:

What Is Bourgeois Property? II. Landed Property.—Lectures given at the German Workers' Educational Society in London,[61] by *Karl Marx.*

The Last Days of the German Parliament. By *W. Wolff.*

The Financial State of Prussia, etc., etc.[62]

Care will be taken that in future the paper is published between the first and the tenth of each month.

*The Editorial Board*

Written in late February 1850

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Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

# Neue
# Rheinische Zeitung.

## Politisch-ökonomische Revue,

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Cover of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*

# KARL MARX

# THE CLASS STRUGGLES IN FRANCE

## 1848 to 1850[63]

Written from January to November 1, 1850

First published in the journal *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 5-6, 1850
Signed: *Karl Marx*

Printed according to the journal checked with the text of the 1895 edition

With the exception of only a few chapters, every more important part of the annals of the revolution from 1848 to 1849 carries the heading: *Defeat of the Revolution!*

What succumbed in these defeats was not the revolution. It was the pre-revolutionary traditional appendages, results of social relationships which had not yet come to the point of sharp class antagonisms—persons, illusions, conceptions, projects from which the revolutionary party before the February Revolution was not free, from which it could be freed not by the *victory of February*, but only by a series of *defeats*.

In a word: the revolution made progress, forged ahead, not by its immediate tragi-comic achievements, but on the contrary by the creation of a powerful, united counter-revolution, by the creation of an opponent in combat with whom alone the party of insurrection ripened into a really revolutionary party.

To prove this is the task of the following pages.

## I

### THE DEFEAT OF JUNE 1848

After the July Revolution,[a] when the liberal banker Laffitte led his *compère*, the Duke of Orleans, in triumph to the *Hôtel de Ville*, he let fall the words: "*From now on the bankers will rule.*" Laffitte had betrayed the secret of the revolution.

It was not the French bourgeoisie that ruled under Louis Philippe, but *one faction* of it: bankers, stock-exchange kings, railway kings, owners of coal and iron mines and forests, a part of the landed proprietors associated with them—the so-called *finance aristocracy*. It sat on the throne, it dictated laws in the Chambers, it distributed public offices, from cabinet portfolios to tobacco bureau posts.

The *industrial bourgeoisie* proper formed part of the official opposition, that is, it was represented only as a minority in the Chambers. Its opposition was expressed all the more resolutely, the more unalloyed the autocracy of the finance aristocracy became, and the more it itself imagined that its domination over the working class was ensured after the mutinies of 1832, 1834 and 1839, which had been drowned in blood.[64] *Grandin*, Rouen manufacturer and the most fanatical instrument of bourgeois reaction in the Constituent as well as in the Legislative National Assembly, was the most violent opponent of Guizot in the Chamber of Deputies. *Léon Faucher*, later known for his impotent efforts to climb into prominence as the Guizot of the French counter-revolution, in the last days of Louis Philippe waged a war of the pen for industry against speculation and its train-bearer, the government. *Bastiat* agitated in the name of

[a] Of 1830.— *Ed.*

Bordeaux and the whole of wine-producing France against the ruling system.

The *petty bourgeoisie* of all gradations, and the *peasantry* also, were completely excluded from political power. Finally, in the official opposition or entirely outside the *pays légal*,[a] there were the *ideological* representatives and spokesmen of the above classes, their savants, lawyers, doctors, etc., in a word: their so-called *men of talent.*

Owing to its financial straits, the July monarchy was dependent from the beginning on the big bourgeoisie, and its dependence on the big bourgeoisie was the inexhaustible source of increasing financial straits. It was impossible to subordinate the administration of the state to the interests of national production without balancing the budget, without establishing a balance between state expenditures and state revenues. And how was this balance to be established without limiting state expenditures, that is, without encroaching on interests which were so many props of the ruling system, and without redistributing taxes, that is, without shifting a considerable share of the burden of taxation onto the shoulders of the big bourgeoisie itself?

On the contrary, the faction of the bourgeoisie that ruled and legislated through the Chambers had a *direct interest* in the *indebtedness of the state.* The *state deficit* was really the main object of its speculation and the chief source of its enrichment. At the end of each year a new deficit. After the lapse of four or five years a new loan. And every new loan offered new opportunities to the finance aristocracy for defrauding the state, which was kept artificially on the verge of bankruptcy—it had to negotiate with the bankers under the most unfavourable conditions. Each new loan gave a further opportunity, that of plundering the public which had invested its capital in state bonds by means of stock-exchange manipulations, into the secrets of which the government and the majority in the Chambers were initiated. In general, the instability of state credit and the possession of state secrets gave the bankers and their associates in the Chambers and on the throne the possibility of evoking sudden, extraordinary fluctuations in the quotations of government securities, the result of which was always bound to be the ruin of a mass of smaller capitalists and the fabulously rapid enrichment of the big gamblers. As the state deficit was in the direct interest of the ruling faction of the bourgeoisie, it is clear why the *extraordinary* state

[a] Those enjoying the franchise.—*Ed.*

expenditure in the last years of Louis Philippe's reign was far more than double the extraordinary state expenditure under Napoleon, indeed reached a yearly sum of nearly 400,000,000 francs, whereas the whole average annual export of France seldom attained a volume amounting to 750,000,000 francs. The enormous sums which, in this way, flowed through the hands of the state facilitated, moreover, swindling contracts for deliveries, bribery, defalcations and all kinds of roguery. The defrauding of the state, practised wholesale in connection with loans, was repeated retail in public works. What occurred in the relations between Chamber and Government became multiplied in the relations between individual departments and individual *entrepreneurs*.

The ruling class exploited the *building of railways* in the same way as it exploited state expenditures in general and state loans. The Chambers piled the main burdens on the state, and secured the golden fruits to the speculating finance aristocracy. One recalls the scandals in the Chamber of Deputies, when by chance it leaked out that all the members of the majority, including a number of ministers, had been interested as shareholders in the very railway constructions which as legislators they caused to be carried out afterwards at the cost of the state.

On the other hand, the smallest financial reform was wrecked due to the influence of the bankers. For example, the *postal reform*. Rothschild protested. Was it permissible for the state to curtail sources of revenue out of which interest was to be paid on its ever-increasing debt?

The July monarchy was nothing but a joint-stock company for the exploitation of France's national wealth, the dividends of which were divided among ministers, Chambers,[a] 240,000 voters and their adherents. Louis Philippe was the director of this company—Robert Macaire[65] on the throne. Trade, industry, agriculture, shipping, the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, were bound to be continually endangered and prejudiced under this system. Cheap government, *gouvernement à bon marché*, was what it had inscribed in the July days on its banner.

Since the finance aristocracy made the laws, was at the head of the administration of the state, had command of all the organised public authorities, dominated public opinion through the actual state of

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[a] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* had *Bauern* (peasants). In the Errata given by the editors of the journal this word was corrected to *Kammern* (Chambers). In the copy of the *Revue* with Marx's corrections *Bauern* was changed to *Bankiers*.—*Ed.*

affairs and through the press, the same prostitution, the same shameless cheating, the same mania to get rich was repeated in every sphere, from the Court to the Café Borgne,[a] to get rich not by production, but by pocketing the already available wealth of others. Clashing every moment with the bourgeois laws themselves, an unbridled assertion of unhealthy and dissolute appetites manifested itself, particularly at the top of bourgeois society—lusts wherein wealth derived from gambling naturally seeks its satisfaction, where pleasure becomes *crapuleux*,[b] where money, filth and blood commingle. The finance aristocracy, in its mode of acquisition as well as in its pleasures, is nothing but the *rebirth of the lumpenproletariat on the heights of bourgeois society.*

And the non-ruling factions of the French bourgeoisie cried: *Corruption!* The people cried: *À bas les grands voleurs! À bas les assassins!*[c] when in 1847, on the most prominent stages of bourgeois society, the same scenes were publicly enacted that regularly lead the *lumpenproletariat* to brothels, to workhouses and lunatic asylums, to the bar of justice, to the dungeon and to the scaffold. The industrial bourgeoisie saw its interests endangered, the petty bourgeoisie was filled with moral indignation, the imagination of the people was offended, Paris was flooded with pamphlets—*La dynastie Rothschild, Les juifs rois de l'époque,*[d] etc.—in which the rule of the finance aristocracy was denounced and stigmatised with greater or less wit.

*Rien pour la gloire!*[e] Glory brings no profit! *La paix partout et toujours!*[f] War depresses the quotations of the three and four per cents! the France of the Bourse jobbers had inscribed on her banner. Her foreign policy was therefore lost in a series of mortifications to French national sentiment, which reacted all the more vigorously when the rape of Poland was brought to its conclusion with the incorporation of Cracow by Austria, and when Guizot came out actively on the side of the Holy Alliance in the Swiss Sonderbund war.[66] The victory of the Swiss liberals in this bogus war raised the self-respect of the bourgeois opposition in France; the bloody uprising of the people in Palermo worked like an electric shock on

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[a] Cafés of dubious character.—*Ed.*

[b] Debauch.—*Ed.*

[c] Down with the big thieves! Down with the assassins!—*Ed.*

[d] G. Dairnvaell, *Rothschild Ier, ses valets et son peuple*, Paris, 1846; and *Histoire édifiante et curieuse de Rothschild Ier, Roi des juifs*, Paris, 1846; A. Toussenel, *Les juifs, rois de l'époque. Histoire de la féodalité financière*, T. 1-2, Paris, 1847.—*Ed.*

[e] Nothing for glory!—*Ed.*

[f] Peace everywhere and always!—*Ed.*

the paralysed masses of the people and awoke their great revolutionary memories and passions.*

The eruption of the general discontent was finally accelerated and the mood for revolt ripened by *two economic world events.*

The *potato blight* and the *crop failures* of 1845 and 1846 increased the general ferment among the people. The dearth of 1847 called forth bloody conflicts in France as well as on the rest of the Continent. As against the shameless orgies of the finance aristocracy, the struggle of the people for the prime necessities of life! At Buzançais, hunger rioters executed [67]; in Paris, oversatiated *escrocs*[a] snatched from the courts by the royal family!

The second great economic event which hastened the outbreak of the revolution was a *general commercial and industrial crisis* in England. Already heralded in the autumn of 1845 by the wholesale reverses of the speculators in railway shares, staved off during 1846 by a number of incidents such as the impending abolition of the corn duties, the crisis finally burst in the autumn of 1847 with the bankruptcy of the London wholesale grocers, on the heels of which followed the insolvencies of the land banks and the closing of the factories in the English industrial districts. The after-effect of this crisis on the Continent had not yet spent itself when the February Revolution broke out.

The devastation of trade and industry caused by the economic epidemic made the autocracy of the finance aristocracy still more unbearable. Throughout the whole of France the bourgeois opposition *agitated at banquets* for an *electoral reform* which should win for it the majority in the Chambers and overthrow the Ministry of the Bourse. In Paris the industrial crisis had, moreover, the particular result of throwing a multitude of manufacturers and big traders, who under the existing circumstances could no longer do any business in the foreign market, onto the home market. They set up large establishments, the competition of which ruined the small *épiciers* and *boutiquiers*[b] *en masse.* Hence the innumerable bankruptcies among this section of the Paris bourgeoisie, and hence their revolutionary action in February. It is well known how Guizot and the Chambers answered the reform proposals with an unambiguous

* Annexation of Cracow by Austria in agreement with Russia and Prussia on November 11, 1846.—Swiss Sonderbund war: November 4 to 28, 1847.—Rising in Palermo: January 12, 1848; at the end of January, nine days' bombardment of the town by the Neapolitans.—*Note by Engels to the edition of 1895.*

[a] Swindlers.—*Ed.*
[b] Grocers and shopkeepers.—*Ed.*

challenge, how Louis Philippe too late resolved on a ministry led by Barrot, how things went as far as hand-to-hand fighting between the people and the army, how the army was disarmed as a result of the passive conduct of the National Guard, how the July monarchy had to give way to a Provisional Government.

The *Provisional Government* which emerged from the February barricades necessarily mirrored in its composition the different parties which shared in the victory. It could not be anything but a *compromise between the different classes* which together had overturned the July throne, but whose interests were mutually antagonistic. The *great majority* of its members consisted of representatives of the bourgeoisie. The republican petty bourgeoisie was represented by Ledru-Rollin and Flocon, the republican bourgeoisie by the people from the *National*,[a] the dynastic opposition by Crémieux, Dupont de l'Eure, etc.[68] The working class had only two representatives, Louis Blanc and Albert. Finally, Lamartine in the Provisional Government: this essentially represented no real interest, no definite class; for such was the February Revolution, the general uprising with its illusions, its poetry, its imaginary content and its rhetoric. Moreover, the spokesman of the February Revolution, according to both his position and his views, belonged to the *bourgeoisie*.

If Paris, as a result of political centralisation, rules France, the workers, in moments of revolutionary earthquakes, rule Paris. The first act in the life of the Provisional Government was an attempt to escape from this overpowering influence by an appeal from intoxicated Paris to sober France. Lamartine disputed the right of the barricade fighters to proclaim a republic on the ground that only the majority of Frenchmen had that right; they must await the majority vote, the Paris proletariat must not besmirch its victory by a usurpation.[b] The bourgeoisie allows the proletariat only *one* usurpation—that of fighting.

Up to noon of February 25 the republic had not yet been proclaimed; on the other hand, all the ministries had already been shared out among the bourgeois elements of the Provisional Government and among the generals, bankers and lawyers of the *National*. But the workers were determined this time not to put up with any fraud like that of July 1830. They were ready to take up the fight anew and to get a republic by force of arms. With this

[a] A. Marrast and L. A. Garnier-Pagès.—*Ed.*

[b] From Lamartine's speech made in the Chamber of Deputies on February 24, 1848. Marx gives a summary of this speech.—*Ed.*

message, *Raspail* betook himself to the *Hôtel de Ville*. In the name of the Paris proletariat he *commanded* the Provisional Government to proclaim a republic; if this order of the people were not fulfilled within two hours, he would return at the head of 200,000 men. The bodies of the fallen were scarcely cold, the barricades were not yet cleared away, the workers not yet disarmed, and the only force which could be opposed to them was the National Guard. Under these circumstances the doubts born of considerations of state policy and the juristic scruples of conscience entertained by the Provisional Government suddenly vanished. The time limit of two hours had not yet expired when all the walls of Paris were resplendent with the historic, momentous words:

*République française! Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité!*

Even the memory of the limited aims and motives which drove the bourgeoisie into the February Revolution was extinguished by the proclamation of the republic on the basis of universal suffrage. Instead of only a few factions of the bourgeoisie, all classes of French society were suddenly hurled into the orbit of political power, forced to leave the boxes, the stalls and the gallery and to act in person upon the revolutionary stage! With the constitutional monarchy vanished also the semblance of a state power independently confronting bourgeois society as well as the whole series of subordinate struggles which this semblance of power called forth!

By dictating the republic to the Provisional Government and through the Provisional Government to the whole of France, the proletariat stepped into the foreground forthwith as an independent party, but at the same time challenged the whole of bourgeois France to enter the lists against it. What it won was the terrain for the fight for its revolutionary emancipation, but by no means this emancipation itself.

The first thing that the February republic had to do was, rather, to *complete the rule of the bourgeoisie* by allowing, beside the finance aristocracy, *all the propertied classes* to enter the orbit of political power. The majority of the great landowners, the Legitimists,[69] were emancipated from the political nullity to which they had been condemned by the July monarchy. Not for nothing had the *Gazette de France* agitated in common with the opposition papers; not for nothing had La Rochejaquelein taken the side of the revolution in the session of the Chamber of Deputies on February 24. The nominal proprietors, who form the great majority of the French people, the *peasants*, were put by universal suffrage in the position of arbiters of the fate of France. The February republic finally brought

the rule of the bourgeoisie clearly into view, since it struck off the crown behind which capital kept itself concealed.

Just as the workers in the July days had fought for and won the *bourgeois monarchy*, so in the February days they fought for and won the *bourgeois republic*. Just as the July monarchy had to proclaim itself a *monarchy surrounded by republican institutions*, so the February republic was forced to proclaim itself a *republic surrounded by social institutions*. The Paris proletariat *compelled* this concession, too.

Marche, a worker, dictated the decree[a] by which the newly formed Provisional Government pledged itself to guarantee the workers a livelihood by means of labour, to provide work for all citizens, etc. And when, a few days later, it forgot its promises and seemed to have lost sight of the proletariat, a mass of 20,000 workers marched on the *Hôtel de Ville* with the cry: *Organisation of labour! Formation of a special Ministry of Labour!* Reluctantly and after long debate, the Provisional Government nominated a permanent special commission[b] to *find* means of improving the lot of the working classes! It consisted of delegates from the corporations of Paris artisans and was presided over by Louis Blanc and Albert. The Luxembourg palace was assigned to it as its meeting place. In this way the representatives of the working class were banished from the seat of the Provisional Government, the bourgeois part of which retained the real state power and the reins of administration exclusively in its hands; and *side by side* with the ministries of Finance, Trade, and Public Works, *side by side* with the Bank and the Bourse, there arose a *socialist synagogue* whose high priests, Louis Blanc and Albert, had the task of discovering the promised land, of preaching the new gospel and of providing work for the Paris proletariat. Unlike any profane state power, they had no budget, no executive authority at their disposal. They were supposed to break the pillars of bourgeois society by dashing their heads against them. While the Luxembourg sought the philosopher's stone, in the *Hôtel de Ville* they minted the current coinage.

And yet the claims of the Paris proletariat, so far as they went beyond the bourgeois republic, could win no other existence than the nebulous one of the Luxembourg.

In common with the bourgeoisie the workers had made the February Revolution, and *alongside* the bourgeoisie they sought to assert their interests, just as they had installed a worker in the Provisional Government itself alongside the bourgeois majority.

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[a] The decree on the right to work adopted on February 25, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] Commission du gouvernement pour les travailleurs.—*Ed.*

*Organisation of labour!* But wage labour, that is the existing, the bourgeois organisation of labour. Without it there is no capital, no bourgeoisie, no bourgeois society. *A special Ministry of Labour!* But the ministries of Finance, of Trade, of Public Works—are not these the *bourgeois* Ministries of Labour? And *alongside* these a *proletarian* Ministry of Labour had to be a ministry of impotence, a ministry of pious wishes, a Luxembourg Commission. Just as the workers thought they would be able to emancipate themselves side by side with the bourgeoisie, so they thought they would be able to consummate a proletarian revolution within the national walls of France, side by side with the remaining bourgeois nations. But French relations of production are conditioned by the foreign trade of France, by her position on the world market and the laws thereof; how was France to break them without a European revolutionary war, which would strike back at the despot of the world market, England?

As soon as it has risen up, a class in which the revolutionary interests of society are concentrated finds the content and the material for its revolutionary activity directly in its own situation: foes to be laid low, measures dictated by the needs of the struggle to be taken; the consequences of its own deeds drive it on. It makes no theoretical inquiries into its own task. The French working class had not attained this level; it was still incapable of accomplishing its own revolution.

The development of the industrial proletariat is, in general, conditioned by the development of the industrial bourgeoisie. Only under its rule does the proletariat gain that extensive national existence which can raise its revolution to a national one, and does it itself create the modern means of production, which become just so many means of its revolutionary emancipation. Only its rule tears up the material roots of feudal society and levels the ground on which alone a proletarian revolution is possible. French industry is more developed and the French bourgeoisie more revolutionary than that of the rest of the Continent. But was not the February Revolution levelled directly against the finance aristocracy? This fact proved that the industrial bourgeoisie did not rule France. The industrial bourgeoisie can rule only where modern industry shapes all property relations to suit itself, and industry can win this power only where it has conquered the world market, for national bounds are inadequate for its development. But French industry, to a great extent, maintains its command even of the national market only through a more or less modified system of prohibitive tariffs. While, therefore, the French proletariat, at the moment of a revolution, possesses in

Paris real power and influence which spur it on to an effort beyond its means, in the rest of France it is crowded into separate, scattered industrial centres, being almost lost in the superior numbers of peasants and petty bourgeois. The struggle against capital in its developed, modern form, in its decisive aspect, the struggle of the industrial wage-worker against the industrial bourgeois, is in France a partial phenomenon, which after the February days could so much the less supply the national content of the revolution, since the struggle against capital's secondary modes of exploitation, that of the peasant against usury and mortgages or of the petty bourgeois against the wholesale dealer, banker and manufacturer, in a word, against bankruptcy, was still hidden in the general uprising against the finance aristocracy. Nothing is more understandable, then, than that the Paris proletariat sought to assert its own interests *side by side* with the interests of the bourgeoisie, instead of enforcing them as the revolutionary interests of society itself, that it let the *red* flag be dipped before the *tricolour.*[70] The French workers could not take a step forward, could not touch a hair of the bourgeois order, until the course of the revolution had aroused the mass of the nation, the peasants and petty bourgeois, standing between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, against this order, against the rule of capital, and had forced them to attach themselves to the proletarians as their protagonists. The workers could buy this victory only through the tremendous defeat in June.

The Luxembourg Commission, this creation of the Paris workers, must be given the credit of having disclosed, from a Europe-wide tribune, the secret of the revolution of the nineteenth century: *the emancipation of the proletariat.* The *Moniteur* blushed when it had to propagate officially the "wild ravings"[71] which up to that time lay buried in the apocryphal writings of the Socialists and reached the ear of the bourgeoisie only from time to time as remote, half terrifying, half ludicrous legends. Europe awoke astonished from its bourgeois doze. Therefore, in the minds of the proletarians, who confused the finance aristocracy with the bourgeoisie in general; in the imagination of the good old republicans who denied the very existence of classes or, at most, admitted them as a result of the constitutional monarchy; in the hypocritical phrases of the factions of the bourgeoisie which until then had been excluded from power, the *rule of the bourgeoisie* was abolished with the introduction of the republic. At that time all the royalists were transformed into republicans and all the millionaires of Paris into workers. The phrase which corresponded to this imaginary abolition of class relations was *fraternité*, universal fraternisation and brotherhood. This pleasant

dissociation from class antagonisms, this sentimental reconciliation of contradictory class interests, this visionary elevation above the class struggle, this *fraternité* was the real catchword of the February Revolution. The classes were divided by a mere *misunderstanding* and Lamartine baptised the Provisional Government of February 24 "un gouvernement qui suspende *ce malentendu terrible qui existe entre les différentes classes*".[a] The Paris proletariat revelled in this magnanimous intoxication of fraternity.

The Provisional Government, on its part, once it was compelled to proclaim the republic, did everything to make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie and to the provinces. The bloody terror of the first French republic was disavowed by the abolition of the death penalty for political offences; the press was opened to all opinions; the army, the courts, the administration remained with a few exceptions in the hands of their old dignitaries; none of the July monarchy's great offenders was brought to book. The bourgeois republicans of the *National* amused themselves by exchanging monarchist names and costumes for old republican ones. To them the republic was only a new ball dress for the old bourgeois society. The young republic sought its chief merit not in frightening, but rather in constantly taking fright itself,[b] and in winning existence and disarming resistance by easy compliance and non-resistance. At home to the privileged classes, abroad to the despotic powers, it was loudly announced that the republic was of a peaceful nature. Live and let live was its professed motto. What is more, shortly after the February Revolution the Germans, Poles, Austrians, Hungarians and Italians revolted, each people in accordance with its immediate situation. Russia and England—the latter itself agitated, the former cowed—were not prepared. The republic, therefore, had no *national* enemy to face. Consequently, there were no great foreign complications which could fire the energies, hasten the revolutionary process, drive the Provisional Government forward or throw it overboard. The Paris proletariat, which looked upon the republic as its own creation, naturally acclaimed each act of the Provisional Government which facilitated the firm emplacement of the latter in bourgeois society. It willingly allowed itself to be

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[a] "A government that removes *this terrible misunderstanding which exists between the different classes.*" (From Lamartine's speech made in the Chamber of Deputies on February 24, 1848. Italics by Marx.)—*Ed.*

[b] In his copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue* Engels changed the words *beständig zu erschrecken* (constantly taking fright) to *anständig zu erscheinen* (looking inoffensive).— *Ed.*

employed on police service by Caussidière in order to protect property in Paris, just as it allowed Louis Blanc to arbitrate wage disputes between workers and masters. It made it a *point d'honneur* to preserve the bourgeois honour of the republic unblemished in the eyes of Europe.

The republic encountered no resistance either abroad or at home. This disarmed it. Its task was no longer the revolutionary transformation of the world, but consisted only in adapting itself to the relations of bourgeois society. Concerning the fanaticism with which the Provisional Government undertook this task there is no more eloquent testimony than its *financial measures.*

*Public credit* and *private credit* were naturally shaken. *Public credit* rests on confidence that the state will allow itself to be exploited by the wolves of finance. But the old state had vanished and the revolution was directed above all against the finance aristocracy. The tremors of the last European commercial crisis had not yet ceased. Bankruptcy still followed bankruptcy.

*Private credit* was therefore paralysed, circulation restricted, production at a standstill before the February Revolution broke out. The revolutionary crisis increased the commercial crisis. And if private credit rests on confidence that bourgeois production in the entire scope of its relations, that the bourgeois order, will not be touched, will remain inviolate, what effect must a revolution have had which questioned the basis of bourgeois production, the economic slavery of the proletariat, which set up against the Bourse the sphinx of the Luxembourg? The raising up of the proletariat is the abolition of bourgeois credit; for it is the abolition of bourgeois production and its order. Public credit and private credit are the economic thermometer by which the intensity of a revolution can be measured. *The more they fall, the more the fervour and generative power of the revolution rises.*

The Provisional Government wanted to strip the republic of its anti-bourgeois appearance. And so it had, above all, to try to peg the *exchange value* of this new form of state, its *quotation* on the Bourse. Private credit necessarily rose again, together with the current Bourse quotation of the republic.

In order to allay the very *suspicion* that it would not or could not honour the obligations assumed by the monarchy, in order to build up confidence in the republic's bourgeois morality and capacity to pay, the Provisional Government took refuge in braggadocio as undignified as it was childish. *In advance* of the legal date of payment it paid out the interest on the 5 per cent, $4^1/_2$ per cent and 4 per cent bonds to the state creditors. The bourgeois aplomb, the self-

assurance of the capitalists, suddenly awoke when they saw the anxious haste with which it was sought to buy their confidence.

The financial embarrassment of the Provisional Government was naturally not lessened by a theatrical stroke which robbed it of its stock of ready cash. The financial pinch could no longer be concealed and *petty bourgeois, domestic servants and workers* had to pay for the pleasant surprise which had been prepared for the state creditors.

It was announced that no money could be drawn on *savings bank accounts* for amounts of over one hundred francs. The sums deposited in the savings banks were confiscated and by decree transformed into an irredeemable state debt. This embittered the already hard pressed *petty bourgeois* against the republic. Since he received state debt certificates in place of his savings bank books, he was forced to go to the Bourse in order to sell them and thus deliver himself directly into the hands of the Bourse jobbers, against whom he had made the February Revolution.

The finance aristocracy, which ruled under the July monarchy, had its high church in the *Bank*. Just as the Bourse governs state credit, the Bank governs *commercial credit*.

Directly threatened not only in its rule but in its very existence by the February Revolution, the Bank tried from the outset to discredit the republic by making the lack of credit general. It suddenly stopped the credits of the bankers, the manufacturers and the merchants. As it did not immediately call forth a counter-revolution, this manoeuvre necessarily reacted on the Bank itself. The capitalists drew out the money which they had deposited in the vaults of the Bank. The possessors of bank-notes rushed to the pay office in order to exchange them for gold and silver.

The Provisional Government could have forced the Bank into *bankruptcy* without forcible interference, in a legal manner; it would only have had to remain passive and leave the Bank to its fate. The *bankruptcy of the Bank* would have been the deluge which in a trice would have swept from French soil the finance aristocracy, the most powerful and dangerous enemy of the republic, the golden pedestal of the July monarchy. And once the Bank was bankrupt, the bourgeoisie itself would have had to regard it as a last desperate attempt at rescue, if the government had formed a national bank and subjected national credit to the control of the nation.

The Provisional Government, on the contrary, fixed a *compulsory quotation* for the notes of the Bank. It did more. It transformed all provincial banks into branches of the *Banque de France* and allowed it to cast its net over the whole of France. Later it pledged the *state*

*forests* to the Bank as a guarantee for a loan that it contracted from it. In this way the February Revolution directly strengthened and enlarged the bankocracy which it should have overthrown.

Meanwhile the Provisional Government was writhing under the incubus of a growing deficit. In vain it begged for patriotic sacrifices. Only the workers threw it their alms. Recourse had to be had to a heroic measure, to the imposition of a *new tax*. But who was to be taxed? The Bourse wolves, the bank kings, the state creditors, the *rentiers*, the industrialists? That was not the way to ingratiate the republic with the bourgeoisie. That would have meant, on the one hand, to endanger state credit and commercial credit, while, on the other, attempts were made to purchase them with such great sacrifices and humiliations. But someone had to fork out the cash. Who was sacrificed to bourgeois credit? *Jacques le bonhomme*, the *peasant*.

The Provisional Government imposed an additional tax of 45 centimes in the franc on the four direct taxes. The government press cajoled the Paris proletariat into believing that this tax would fall chiefly on the big landed proprietors, on the possessors of the milliard granted by the Restoration.[72] But in truth it hit the *peasant class* above all, that is, the large majority of the French people. *They had to pay the costs of the February Revolution*; in them the counter-revolution gained its main material. The 45 centimes tax was a question of life and death for the French peasant; he made it a life-and-death question for the republic. From that moment the *republic* meant to the French peasant the *45 centimes tax*, and he saw in the Paris proletariat the spendthrift who did himself well at his expense.

Whereas the Revolution of 1789 began by shaking the feudal burdens off the peasants, the Revolution of 1848 announced itself to the rural population by the imposition of a new tax, in order not to endanger capital and to keep its state machine going.

There was only *one* means by which the Provisional Government could set aside all these inconveniences and jerk the state out of its old rut—*a declaration of state bankruptcy*. Everyone recalls how Ledru-Rollin in the National Assembly subsequently proclaimed with what virtuous indignation he repudiated this presumptuous proposal of the Bourse wolf Fould,[a] now French Finance Minister. Fould had handed him the apple from the tree of knowledge.

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[a] From Ledru-Rollin's speech delivered in the Constituent Assembly on April 21, 1849.—*Ed.*

By honouring the bills drawn on the state by the old bourgeois society, the Provisional Government succumbed to the latter. It had become the hard pressed debtor of bourgeois society instead of confronting it as the pressing creditor that had to collect the revolutionary debts of many years. It had to consolidate the shaky bourgeois relationships in order to fulfil obligations which are only to be fulfilled within these relationships. Credit became a condition of life for it, and the concessions to the proletariat, the promises made to it, became so many *fetters* which *had* to be struck off. The emancipation of the workers—even as a *phrase*—became an unbearable danger to the new republic, for it was a standing protest against the restoration of credit, which rests on undisturbed and untroubled recognition of the existing economic class relations. Therefore, it was necessary *to have done with the workers.*

The February Revolution had cast the army out of Paris. The National Guard, that is, the bourgeoisie in its different gradations, constituted the sole power. Alone, however, it did not feel itself a match for the proletariat. Moreover, it was forced gradually and piecemeal to open its ranks and admit armed proletarians, albeit after the most tenacious resistance and after setting up a hundred different obstacles. There consequently remained but one way out: *to play off one part of the proletariat against the other.*

For this purpose the Provisional Government formed 24 battalions of *Mobile Guards*, each a thousand strong, composed of young men from 15 to 20 years.[73] They belonged for the most part to the *lumpenproletariat*, which in all big towns forms a mass sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat, a recruiting ground for thieves and criminals of all kinds, living on the crumbs of society, people without a definite trade, vagabonds, *gens sans feu et sans aveu*, varying according to the degree of civilisation of the nation to which they belong, but never renouncing their *lazzaroni*[74] character; at the youthful age at which the Provisional Government recruited them, thoroughly malleable, as capable of the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices as of the basest banditry and the foulest corruption. The Provisional Government paid them 1 franc 50 centimes a day, that is, it bought them. It gave them their own uniform, that is, it made them outwardly distinct from the blouse-wearing workers. In part it had assigned them officers from the standing army as leaders; in part they themselves elected young sons of the bourgeoisie whose rodomontades about death for the fatherland and devotion to the republic captivated them.

And so the Paris proletariat was confronted with an army, drawn from its own midst, of 24,000 young, strong, foolhardy men. It gave

cheers for the Mobile Guard on its marches through Paris. It acknowledged it to be its foremost fighters on the barricades. It regarded it as the *proletarian* guard in contradistinction to the bourgeois National Guard. Its error was pardonable.

Besides the Mobile Guard, the government decided to rally round itself an army of industrial workers. A hundred thousand workers, thrown on the streets by the crisis and the revolution, were enrolled by the Minister Marie in so-called national *ateliers*. Under this grandiose name was hidden nothing else than the employment of the workers on tedious, monotonous, unproductive *earthworks* at a wage of 23 sous. *English workhouses*[75] *in the open*—that is what these national *ateliers* were. The Provisional Government believed that it had formed, in them, a *second proletarian army against the workers themselves*. This time the bourgeoisie was mistaken in the national *ateliers*, just as the workers were mistaken in the Mobile Guard. It had created an *army for mutiny*.

But *one* purpose was achieved.

*National ateliers* was the name of the people's workshops, which Louis Blanc preached in the Luxembourg palace. Marie's *ateliers*, devised in direct *antagonism* to the Luxembourg, offered occasion, thanks to the common label, for a plot of errors worthy of the Spanish comedy of servants. The Provisional Government itself surreptitiously spread the report that these national *ateliers* were the invention of Louis Blanc, and this seemed the more plausible because Louis Blanc, the prophet of the national *ateliers*, was a member of the Provisional Government. And in the half naive, half intentional confusion of the Paris bourgeoisie, in the artificially moulded opinion of France, of Europe, these workhouses were the first realisation of socialism, which was put in the pillory with them.

In their appellation, though not in their content, the *national ateliers* were the embodied protest of the proletariat against bourgeois industry, bourgeois credit and the bourgeois republic. The whole hate of the bourgeoisie was, therefore, turned upon them. It had found in them, simultaneously, the point against which it could direct the attack, as soon as it was strong enough to break openly with the February illusions. All the discontent, all the ill-humour of the *petty bourgeois* too was directed against these national *ateliers*, the common target. With real fury they reckoned up the sums that the proletarian loafers swallowed up, while their own situation was becoming daily more unbearable. A state pension for sham labour, so that's socialism! they grumbled to themselves. They sought the reason for their misery in the national *ateliers*, the declamations of the Luxembourg, the processions of the workers

through Paris. And no one was more fanatic about the alleged machinations of the Communists than the petty bourgeoisie, who hovered hopelessly on the brink of bankruptcy.

Thus in the imminent skirmish between bourgeoisie and proletariat, all the advantages, all the decisive posts, all the middle strata of society were in the hands of the bourgeoisie, at the same time as the waves of the February Revolution rose high over the whole Continent, and each new post brought a new bulletin of revolution, now from Italy, now from Germany, now from the remotest parts of South-Eastern Europe, and maintained the general ecstasy of the people, giving it constant testimony of a victory that it had already forfeited.

*March 17* and *April 16* were the first skirmishes in the big class struggle, which the bourgeois republic hid under its wings.

*March 17* revealed the ambiguous situation of the proletariat, which permitted of no decisive act. Its demonstration originally pursued the purpose of pushing the Provisional Government back onto the path of revolution, of effecting the exclusion of its bourgeois members, according to circumstances, and of compelling the postponement of the election days for the National Assembly and the National Guard.[76] But on March 16 the bourgeoisie represented in the National Guard staged a hostile demonstration against the Provisional Government. With the cry: *À bas Ledru-Rollin!*[a] it surged to the *Hôtel de Ville.* And the people were forced, on March 17, to shout: Long live Ledru-Rollin! Long live the Provisional Government! They were forced to take sides *against* the bourgeoisie in support of the bourgeois republic, which seemed to them to be in danger. They strengthened the Provisional Government, instead of subordinating it to themselves. March 17 went off in a melodramatic scene, and whereas the Paris proletariat on this day once more displayed its giant body, the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Provisional Government was all the more determined to smash it.

*April 16* was a *misunderstanding* engineered by the Provisional Government in alliance with the bourgeoisie. The workers had gathered in great numbers in the Field of Mars and in the Hippodrome to prepare their elections to the general staff of the National Guard. Suddenly throughout Paris, from one end to the other, a rumour spread as quick as lightning, to the effect, that the workers had met armed in the Field of Mars, under the leadership of Louis Blanc, Blanqui, Cabet and Raspail, in order to march thence on the *Hôtel de Ville,* overthrow the Provisional Government and

[a] Down with Ledru-Rollin! — *Ed.*

proclaim a communist government. The general alarm is sounded—Ledru-Rollin, Marrast and Lamartine later contended for the honour of having initiated this—and in an hour 100,000 men are under arms; the *Hôtel de Ville* is occupied at all points by the National Guard; the cry: Down with the Communists! Down with Louis Blanc, with Blanqui, with Raspail, with Cabet! thunders throughout Paris. Innumerable deputations pay homage to the Provisional Government, all ready to save the fatherland and society. When the workers finally appear before the *Hôtel de Ville*, in order to hand over to the Provisional Government a patriotic collection which they had made in the Field of Mars, they learn to their amazement that bourgeois Paris had defeated their shadow in a very carefully calculated sham battle. The terrible attempt of April 16 furnished the excuse *for recalling the army to Paris*—the real purpose of the clumsily staged comedy—and for the reactionary federalist demonstrations in the provinces.

On May 4 the *National Assembly*,[a] the result of the *direct general elections*, convened. Universal suffrage did not possess the magic power which republicans of the old school had ascribed to it. They saw in the whole of France, at least in the majority of Frenchmen, *citoyens* with the same interests, the same understanding, etc. This was their *cult of the people*. Instead of their *imaginary* people, the elections brought the *real* people to the light of day, that is, representatives of the different classes into which it falls. We have seen why peasants and petty bourgeois had to vote under the leadership of a bourgeoisie spoiling for a fight and of big landowners frantic for restoration. But if universal suffrage was not the miracle-working magic wand for which the republican worthies had taken it, it possessed the incomparably higher merit of unchaining the class struggle, of letting the various middle strata of bourgeois society rapidly get over their illusions and disappointments, of tossing all the sections of the exploiting class at one throw to the apex of the state, and thus tearing from them their deceptive mask, whereas the monarchy with its property qualifications only let certain factions of the bourgeoisie compromise themselves, allowing the others to lie hidden behind the scenes and surrounding them with the halo of a common opposition.

In the Constituent National Assembly, which met on May 4, the *bourgeois republicans*, the republicans of the *National*, had the upper hand. Even Legitimists and Orleanists[77] at first dared to show

[a] Here and below (up to p. 94) the reference is to the Constituent National Assembly which was in office between May 4, 1848, and May 1849.—*Ed.*

themselves only under the mask of bourgeois republicanism. The fight against the proletariat could be undertaken only in the name of the republic.

*The republic dates from May 4, not from February 25,* that is, the republic recognised by the French people; it is not the republic which the Paris proletariat thrust upon the Provisional Government, not the republic with social institutions, not the vision which hovered before the fighters on the barricades. The republic proclaimed by the National Assembly, the sole legitimate republic, is a republic which is no revolutionary weapon against the bourgeois order, but rather its political reconstitution, the political reconsolidation of bourgeois society, in a word, *a bourgeois republic.* This contention resounded from the tribune of the National Assembly, and in the entire republican and anti-republican bourgeois press it found its echo.

And we have seen how the February republic in reality was not and could not be other than a *bourgeois* republic; how the Provisional Government, nevertheless, was forced by the immediate pressure of the proletariat to announce it as a *republic with social institutions;* how the Paris proletariat was still incapable of going beyond the bourgeois republic otherwise than in its *fancy,* in *imagination*; how everywhere it acted in its service when it really came to action; how the promises made to it became an unbearable danger for the new republic; how the whole life process of the Provisional Government was comprised in a continuous fight against the demands of the proletariat.

In the National Assembly all France sat in judgment upon the Paris proletariat. The Assembly broke immediately with the social illusions of the February Revolution; it roundly proclaimed the *bourgeois republic,* nothing but the bourgeois republic. It at once excluded the representatives of the proletariat, Louis Blanc and Albert, from the Executive Commission[78] appointed by it; it threw out the proposal for a special Labour Ministry, and received with acclamation the statement of the Minister Trélat: "Now it is only a matter of *leading labour back to its old conditions.*"[a]

But all this was not enough. The February republic was won by the workers with the passive support of the bourgeoisie. The proletarians rightly regarded themselves as the victors of February, and they made the arrogant claims of victors. They had to be vanquished

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[a] From Trélat's speech made in the Constituent Assembly on June 20, 1848. Marx is quoting his own article published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 29, June 29, 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7, p. 148).— *Ed.*

in the streets, they had to be shown that they were worsted as soon as they did not fight *with* the bourgeoisie, but *against* the bourgeoisie. Just as the February republic, with its socialist concessions, required a battle of the proletariat, united with the bourgeoisie, against the monarchy, so a second battle was necessary in order to sever the republic from the socialist concessions, in order to officially work out the *bourgeois republic* as dominant. The bourgeoisie had to refute, arms in hand, the demands of the proletariat. And the real birthplace of the bourgeois republic is not the *February victory*; it is the *June defeat.*

The proletariat hastened the decision when, on the 15th of May, it pushed its way into the National Assembly, sought in vain to recapture its revolutionary influence and only delivered its energetic leaders to the jailers of the bourgeoisie.[79] *Il faut en finir!* This situation must end! With this cry the National Assembly gave vent to its determination to force the proletariat into a decisive struggle. The Executive Commission issued a series of provocative decrees, such as that prohibiting congregations of people,[80] etc. The workers were directly provoked, insulted and derided from the tribune of the Constituent National Assembly. But the real point of the attack was, as we have seen, the *national ateliers.* The Constituent Assembly imperiously pointed these out to the Executive Commission, which only waited to hear its own plan proclaimed the command of the National Assembly.

The Executive Commission began by making admission to the national *ateliers* more difficult, by turning the day wage into a piece wage, by banishing workers not born in Paris to Sologne, ostensibly for the construction of earthworks. These earthworks were only a rhetorical formula with which to embellish their exile, as the workers, returning disillusioned, announced to their comrades. Finally, on June 21, a decree appeared in the *Moniteur* which ordered the forcible expulsion of all unmarried workers from the national *ateliers* or their enrolment in the army.[81]

The workers were left no choice; they had to starve or take action. They answered on June 22 with the tremendous insurrection in which the first great battle was fought between the two classes that split modern society. It was a fight for the preservation or annihilation of the *bourgeois* order. The veil that shrouded the republic was torn asunder.

It is well known how the workers, with unexampled bravery and ingenuity, without leaders, without a common plan, without means and, for the most part, lacking weapons, held in check for five days the army, the Mobile Guard, the Paris National Guard, and the

National Guard that streamed in from the provinces. It is well known how the bourgeoisie compensated itself for the mortal anguish it suffered by unheard-of brutality, massacring over 3,000 prisoners.

The official representatives of French democracy were steeped in republican ideology to such an extent that it was only some weeks later that the significance of the June fight began to dawn on them. They were stupefied by the gunpowder smoke in which their fantastic republic dissolved.

The immediate impression which the news of the June defeat made on us, the reader will allow us to describe in the words of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[a]:

"The Executive Committee, that last official vestige of the February revolution, vanished like a ghost in the face of these grave events. Lamartine's fireworks have turned into the incendiary rockets of Cavaignac. *Fraternité*, the brotherhood of antagonistic classes, one of which exploits the other, this *fraternité* which in February was proclaimed and inscribed in large letters on the façades of Paris, on every prison and every barracks—this *fraternité* found its true, unadulterated and prosaic expression in *civil war*, civil war in its most terrible aspect, the war of labour against capital. This brotherhood blazed in front of all the windows of Paris on the evening of June 25, when the Paris of the bourgeoisie held illuminations while the Paris of the proletariat was burning, bleeding, groaning in the throes of death. This brotherhood lasted only as long as there was a fraternity of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

"Pedants sticking to the old revolutionary tradition of 1793; socialist doctrinaires who begged alms for the people from the bourgeoisie and who were allowed to deliver lengthy sermons and compromise themselves so long as the proletarian lion had to be lulled to sleep; republicans who wanted to keep the old bourgeois order *in toto*, but without the crowned head; members of the dynastic opposition on whom chance imposed the task of bringing about the downfall of a dynasty instead of a change of government; legitimists, who did not want to cast off their livery but merely to change its style—these were the allies with whom the people had fought their February revolution....

"The February revolution was the *nice* revolution, the revolution of universal sympathies, because the contradictions which erupted in it against the monarchy were still *undeveloped* and peacefully

[a] Quoted from Marx's article "The June Revolution" (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 144-48).—*Ed.*

dormant, because the social struggle which formed their background had only achieved a nebulous existence, an existence in phrases, in words. The *June revolution* is the *ugly* revolution, the nasty revolution, because the phrases have given place to the real thing, because the republic has bared the head of the monster by knocking off the crown which shielded and concealed it.—*Order!* was Guizot's war-cry. *Order!* shouted Sébastiani, the Guizotist, when Warsaw became Russian. *Order!* shouts Cavaignac, the brutal echo of the French National Assembly and of the republican bourgeoisie. *Order!* thundered his grape-shot as it tore into the body of the proletariat. None of the numerous revolutions of the French bourgeoisie since 1789 assailed the existing *order*, for they retained the class rule, the slavery of the workers, the *bourgeois* order, even though the political form of this rule and this slavery changed frequently. The June uprising did assail this order. Woe to the June uprising!" (*N. Rh. Z.*, June 29, 1848.)

Woe to June! re-echoes Europe.

The Paris proletariat was *forced* into the June insurrection by the bourgeoisie. This sufficed to mark its doom. Its immediate, avowed needs did not drive it to engage in a fight for the forcible overthrow of the bourgeoisie, nor was it equal to this task. The *Moniteur* had to inform it officially that the time was past when the republic saw any occasion to bow and scrape to its illusions, and only its defeat convinced it of the truth that the slightest improvement in its position remains a *utopia within* the bourgeois republic, a utopia that becomes a crime as soon as it wants to become a reality. In place of its demands, exuberant in form, but petty and even bourgeois still in content, the concession of which it wanted to wring from the February republic, there appeared the bold slogan of revolutionary struggle: *Overthrow of the bourgeoisie! Dictatorship of the working class!*

By making its burial place the birthplace of the *bourgeois republic*, the proletariat compelled the latter to come out forthwith in its pure form as the state whose admitted object it is to perpetuate the rule of capital, the slavery of labour. Having constantly before its eyes the scarred, irreconcilable, invincible enemy—invincible because his existence is the condition of its own life—bourgeois rule, freed from all fetters, was bound to turn immediately into *bourgeois terrorism*. With the proletariat removed for the time being from the stage and bourgeois dictatorship recognised officially, the middle strata of bourgeois society, the petty bourgeoisie and the peasant class, had to adhere more and more closely to the proletariat as their position became more unbearable and their antagonism to the bourgeoisie

more acute. Just as earlier they had to find the cause of their distress in its upsurge, so now in its defeat.

If the June insurrection raised the self-assurance of the bourgeoisie all over the Continent, and caused it to league itself openly with the feudal monarchy against the people, who was the first victim of this alliance? The Continental bourgeoisie itself. The June defeat prevented it from consolidating its rule and from bringing the people, half satisfied and half out of humour, to a standstill at the lowest stage of the bourgeois revolution.

Finally, the defeat of June divulged to the despotic powers of Europe the secret that France must maintain peace abroad at any price in order to be able to wage civil war at home. Thus the peoples who had begun the fight for their national independence were abandoned to the superior power of Russia, Austria and Prussia, but, at the same time, the fate of these national revolutions was made subject to the fate of the proletarian revolution, and they were robbed of their apparent autonomy, their independence of the great social revolution. The Hungarian shall not be free, nor the Pole, nor the Italian, as long as the worker remains a slave!

Finally, with the victories of the Holy Alliance, Europe has taken on a form in which every fresh proletarian upheaval in France directly involves a *world war*. The new French revolution is forced to leave its national soil forthwith and ***conquer the European terrain***, on which alone the social revolution of the nineteenth century can be accomplished.

Thus only the June defeat has created all the conditions under which France can seize the *initiative* of the European revolution. Only after being dipped in the blood of the *June insurgents* did the tricolour become the flag of the European revolution—the *red flag*!

And we exclaim: ***The revolution is dead!—Long live the revolution!***

## II

## JUNE 13, 1849

February 25, 1848, had granted the *republic* to France, June 25 thrust the *revolution* upon her. And revolution, after June, meant: *overthrow of bourgeois society*, whereas before February it had meant: *overthrow of the form of government.*

The June fight had been led by the *republican* faction of the bourgeoisie; with victory political power necessarily fell to its share. The state of siege laid gagged Paris unresisting at its feet, and in the provinces there prevailed a moral state of siege, the threatening, brutal arrogance of victory of the bourgeoisie and the unleashed property fanaticism of the peasants. No danger, therefore, from *below*!

The collapse of the revolutionary might of the workers was also a collapse of the political influence of the *democratic republicans*, that is, of the republicans in the sense of the *petty bourgeoisie*, represented in the Executive Commission by Ledru-Rollin, in the Constituent National Assembly by the party of the *Montagne* and in the press by the *Réforme*.[82] Together with the bourgeois republicans they had conspired on April 16 against the proletariat, together with them they had warred against it in the June days. Thus they themselves blasted the background against which their party stood out as a power, for the petty bourgeoisie can preserve a revolutionary attitude toward the bourgeoisie only as long as it has the backing of the proletariat. They were dismissed. The sham alliance concluded with them reluctantly and secretly during the epoch of the Provisional Government and the Executive Commission was openly broken by the bourgeois republicans. Spurned and repulsed as allies, they sank down to subordinate

henchmen of the tricolour-men, from whom they could not wring any concessions, but whose domination they had to support whenever it, and with it the republic, seemed to be put in jeopardy by the anti-republican bourgeois factions. Lastly, these factions, the Orleanists and the Legitimists, were from the very beginning in a minority in the Constituent National Assembly. Before the June days, they dared to react only under the mask of bourgeois republicanism; the June victory made for a moment the whole of bourgeois France greet its saviour in Cavaignac, and when, shortly after the June days, the anti-republican party regained independence, the military dictatorship and the state of siege in Paris permitted it to put out its antennae only very timidly and cautiously.

Since 1830, the *bourgeois republican* faction, in the person of its writers, its spokesmen, its men of talent and ambition, its deputies, generals, bankers and lawyers, had grouped itself round a Parisian journal, the *National*. In the provinces this journal had its branch newspapers. The coterie of the *National* was the *dynasty of the tricolour republic*. It immediately took possession of all state dignities, of the ministries, the prefecture of police, the post-office directorship, the positions of prefect, the higher army officers' posts now become vacant. At the head of the executive power stood its general, *Cavaignac*; its editor-in-chief, Marrast, became permanent President of the Constituent National Assembly. As master of ceremonies he at the same time did the honours, in his salons, of the respectable republic.

Even revolutionary French writers, awed, as it were, by the republican tradition, have strengthened the mistaken belief that the royalists dominated the Constituent National Assembly. On the contrary, after the June days, the Constituent Assembly remained the *exclusive representative of bourgeois republicanism*, and it emphasised this aspect all the more resolutely, the more the influence of the tricolour republicans collapsed outside the Assembly. If the question was one of maintaining the *form* of the bourgeois republic, then the Assembly had the votes of the democratic republicans at its disposal; if one of maintaining the *content*, then even its mode of speech no longer separated it from the royalist bourgeois factions, for it is the interests of the bourgeoisie, the material conditions of its class rule and class exploitation, that form the content of the bourgeois republic.

Thus it was not royalism but bourgeois republicanism that was realised in the life and work of this Constituent Assembly, which in the end did not die, nor was killed, but decayed.

For the entire duration of its rule, as long as it gave its grand

performance of state on the proscenium,[83] an unbroken sacrificial feast was being staged in the background—the continual sentencing by courts-martial of the captured June insurgents or their deportation without trial. The Constituent Assembly had the tact to admit that in the June insurgents it was not judging criminals but wiping out enemies.

The first act of the Constituent National Assembly was the setting up of a *commission of enquiry* into the events of June and of May 15, and into the part played by the socialist and democratic party leaders during these days. The enquiry was directly aimed at Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin and Caussidière. The bourgeois republicans burned with impatience to rid themselves of these rivals. They could have entrusted the venting of their spleen to no more suitable subject than M. *Odilon Barrot*, the former chief of the dynastic opposition, the incarnation of liberalism, the *nullité grave*,[a] the thoroughly shallow person who not only had a dynasty to revenge, but even had to settle accounts with the revolutionists for thwarting his premiership. A sure guarantee of his relentlessness. This Barrot was, therefore, appointed chairman of the commission of enquiry, and he constructed a complete legal process against the February Revolution, which process may be summarised thus: March 17, *demonstration*; April 16, *conspiracy*; May 15, *attempt*; June 23, *civil war*! Why did he not stretch his erudite criminologist's researches as far back as February 24? The *Journal des Débats* answered[b]: February 24—that is the *foundation of Rome*. The origin of states gets lost in a myth, in which one may believe, but which one may not discuss. Louis Blanc and Caussidière were handed over to the courts. The National Assembly completed the work of purging itself which it had begun on May 15.

The plan formed by the Provisional Government, and again taken up by Goudchaux, of taxing capital—in the form of a mortgage tax—was rejected by the Constituent Assembly; the law that limited the working day to ten hours was repealed; imprisonment for debt was once more introduced; the large section of the French population that can neither read nor write was excluded from jury service. Why not from the franchise also? Journals again had to deposit caution money; the right of association was restricted.

But in their haste to give back to the old bourgeois relationships their old guarantees, and to wipe out every trace left behind by the

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[a] Self-important nonentity.— *Ed.*

[b] "France. Paris, 27 août", editorial article in the *Journal des Débats* for August 28, 1848.— *Ed.*

waves of the revolution, the bourgeois republicans encountered a resistance which threatened them with unexpected danger.

No one had fought more fanatically in the June days for the salvation of property and the restoration of credit than the Parisian petty bourgeois—keepers of cafés and restaurants, *marchands de vins*, small traders, shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, etc. The shopkeeper had pulled himself together and marched against the barricades in order to restore the traffic which leads from the road into the shop. But behind the barricade stood the customers and the debtors; before it the shop's creditors. And when the barricades were thrown down and the workers were crushed and the shopkeepers, drunk with victory, rushed back to their shops, they found the entrance barred by a saviour of property, an official agent of credit, who presented them with threatening notices: Overdue promissory note! Overdue house rent! Overdue bond! Doomed shop! Doomed shopkeeper!

*Salvation of property!* But the house in which they lived was not their property; the shop which they kept was not their property; the commodities in which they dealt were not their property. Neither their business, nor the plate from which they ate, nor the bed on which they slept belonged to them any longer. It was precisely from them that *this property had to be saved*—for the houseowner who let the house, for the banker who discounted the promissory note, for the capitalist who made the advances in cash, for the manufacturer who entrusted the sale of his commodities to these retailers, for the wholesale dealer who had credited the raw materials to these handicraftsmen. *Restoration of credit!* But credit, having regained strength, proved itself a vigorous and jealous god, for it turned out the debtor who could not pay out of his four walls, together with wife and child, surrendered his sham property to capital, and threw the man himself into the debtors' prison, which had once more reared its head threateningly over the corpses of the June insurgents.

The petty bourgeois saw with horror that by striking down the workers they had delivered themselves without resistance into the hands of their creditors. Their bankruptcy, which since February had been dragging on in chronic fashion and had been apparently ignored, was openly declared after June.

Their *nominal property* had been left unassailed as long as it was of consequence to drive them to the battlefield in *the name of property*. Now that the great issue with the proletariat had been settled, the small matter of the *épicier* could be settled as well. In Paris the mass of overdue paper amounted to over 21,000,000 francs; in the

provinces to over 11,000,000. The proprietors of more than 7,000 Paris firms had not paid their rent since February.

While the National Assembly had instituted an *enquête* into the *political guilt*, going right up to February, the petty bourgeois, on their part, now demanded an *enquête* into the *civil debts* up to February 24. They assembled *en masse* in the Bourse hall and threateningly demanded, on behalf of every businessman who could prove that his insolvency was due solely to the stagnation caused by the revolution and that his business had been in good condition on February 24, an extension of the term of payment by order of a commerce court and the compulsory liquidation of creditors' claims in consideration of a moderate percentage payment. As a legislative proposal, this question was dealt with in the National Assembly in the form of "*concordats à l'amiable*". The Assembly vacillated; then it suddenly learnt that, at the same time at the Porte St. Denis, thousands of wives and children of the insurgents had prepared an amnesty petition.

In the presence of the resurrected spectre of June, the petty bourgeoisie trembled and the Assembly retrieved its implacability. The *concordats à l'amiable*, the amicable settlement between debtor and creditor, was rejected in its most essential points.

Thus, long after the democratic representatives of the petty bourgeois had been repulsed within the National Assembly by the republican representatives of the bourgeoisie, this parliamentary breach received its bourgeois, its real economic meaning by the petty bourgeois as debtors being handed over to the bourgeois as creditors. A large part of the former were completely ruined and the remainder were allowed to continue their businesses only under conditions which made them absolute serfs of capital. On August 22, 1848, the National Assembly rejected the *concordats à l'amiable*; on September 19, 1848, in the midst of the state of siege, Prince Louis Bonaparte and the prisoner of Vincennes, the Communist Raspail, were elected representatives of Paris.[84] The bourgeoisie, however, elected the Jewish money-changer and Orleanist Fould. From all sides at once, therefore, open declaration of war against the Constituent National Assembly, against bourgeois republicanism, against Cavaignac.

It needs no argument to show how the mass bankruptcy of the Paris petty bourgeois was bound to produce after-effects far transcending the circle of its immediate victims, and to convulse bourgeois commerce once more, while the state deficit was swollen anew by the costs of the June insurrection, and state revenues sank continuously through the hold-up of production, the restricted

consumption and the decreasing imports. Cavaignac and the National Assembly could have recourse to no other expedient than a new loan, which forced them still further under the yoke of the finance aristocracy.

While the petty bourgeois had harvested bankruptcy and liquidation by order of court as the fruit of the June victory, Cavaignac's Janissaries, the *Mobile Guards*, found their reward in the soft arms of the courtesans, and as "the youthful saviours of society" they received all kinds of homage in the salons of Marrast, the *gentilhomme* of the tricolour, who at the same time served as the Amphitryon and the troubadour of the respectable republic. Meanwhile, this social favouritism and the disproportionately higher pay of the Mobile Guard embittered the *Army*, while at the same time all those national illusions vanished with which bourgeois republicanism, through its journal, the *National*, had been able to attach to itself a part of the army and peasant class under Louis Philippe. The role of mediator which Cavaignac and the National Assembly played in *North Italy* in order, together with England, to betray it to Austria—this one day of rule destroyed eighteen years of opposition on the part of the *National*. No government was less national than that of the *National*, none more dependent on England, and, under Louis Philippe, the *National* lived by paraphrasing daily Cato's dictum: *Carthaginem esse delendam*[a]; none was more servile towards the Holy Alliance, and from a Guizot the *National* had demanded the tearing up of the Treaties of Vienna.[85] The irony of history made Bastide, the ex-editor for foreign affairs of the *National*, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, so that he might refute every one of his articles in every one of his dispatches.

For a moment, the army and the peasant class had believed that, simultaneously with the military dictatorship, war abroad and "*gloire*" had been placed on the order of the day in France. But Cavaignac was not the dictatorship of the sabre over bourgeois society; he was the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the sabre. And of the soldier they now required only the gendarme. Under the stern features of antique-republican resignation Cavaignac concealed humdrum submission to the humiliating conditions of his bourgeois office. *L'argent n'a pas de maître!* Money has no master! He, as well as the Constituent Assembly in general, idealised this old election cry of the *tiers état* by translating it into political speech: The bourgeoisie has no king; the true form of its rule is the republic.

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[a] Carthage must be destroyed (an allusion to bellicose remarks made by the leaders of the *National* party in reference to England during the July monarchy).—*Ed.*

And the "great organic work" of the Constituent National Assembly consisted in working out this *form*, in producing a republican *constitution*. The re-christening of the Christian calendar as a republican one, of the saintly Bartholomew as the saintly Robespierre, made no more change in the wind and weather than this constitution made or was supposed to make in bourgeois society. Where it went beyond a *change of costume*, it put on record the *existing* facts. Thus it solemnly registered the fact of the republic, the fact of universal suffrage, the fact of a single sovereign National Assembly in place of two limited constitutional chambers. Thus it registered and settled the fact of the dictatorship of Cavaignac by replacing the stationary, non-responsible, hereditary monarchy with an ambulatory, responsible, elective monarchy, with a quadrennial presidency. Thus it elevated no less to an organic law the fact of the extraordinary powers with which the National Assembly, after the horrors of May 15 and June 25, had providently invested its President in the interest of its own security. The remainder of the constitution was a work of terminology. The royalist labels were torn off the mechanism of the old monarchy and republican labels stuck on. Marrast, former editor-in-chief of the *National*, now editor-in-chief of the constitution, acquitted himself of this academic task not without talent.

The Constituent Assembly resembled that Chilean official who wanted to regulate property relations in land more firmly by a cadastral survey just at the moment when subterranean rumblings already announced the volcanic eruption that was to pull away the ground from under his very feet. While in theory it demarcated the forms in which the rule of the bourgeoisie found republican expression, in reality it held its own only by the abolition of all formulas, by force *sans phrase*, by the *state of siege*. Two days before it began its work on the constitution, it proclaimed a prolongation of the state of siege. Formerly, constitutions had been made and adopted as soon as the process of social revolution had reached a point of rest, the newly formed class relationships had established themselves and the contending factions of the ruling class had had recourse to a compromise which allowed them to continue the struggle among themselves and at the same time to keep the exhausted masses of the people out of it. This constitution, on the contrary, did not sanction any social revolution; it sanctioned the momentary victory of the old society over the revolution.

The first draft of the constitution,[86] made before the June days, still contained the *"droit au travail"*, the right to work, the first clumsy formula wherein the revolutionary demands of the proletariat are

summarised. It was transformed into the *droit à l'assistance*, the right to public relief, and what modern state does not feed its paupers in some way or other? The right to work is, in the bourgeois sense, an absurdity, a miserable, pious wish. But behind the right to work stands the power over capital; behind the power over capital, the appropriation of the means of production, their subjection to the associated working class and, therefore, the abolition of wage labour, of capital and of their mutual relations. Behind the *"right to work"* stood the June insurrection. The Constituent Assembly, which in fact put the revolutionary proletariat *hors la loi*, outside the law, had on principle to throw the *proletariat's* formula out of the constitution, the law of laws, had to pronounce its anathema upon the "right to work". But it did not stop there. As Plato banned the poets from his republic,[a] so it banished for ever from its republic— *the progressive tax*. And the progressive tax is not only a bourgeois measure, which can be carried out within the existing relations of production to a greater or less degree; it was the only means of binding the middle strata of bourgeois society to the "respectable" republic, of reducing the state debt, of holding the anti-republican majority of the bourgeoisie in check.

In the matter of the *concordats à l'amiable*, the tricolour republicans had actually sacrificed the petty bourgeoisie to the big bourgeoisie. They elevated this isolated fact to a principle by the legal prohibition of a progressive tax. They put bourgeois reform on the same level as proletarian revolution. But what class then remained as the mainstay of their republic? The big bourgeoisie. And its mass was anti-republican. While it exploited the republicans of the *National* in order to consolidate once again the old economic conditions, it thought, on the other hand, of exploiting the once more consolidated social relations in order to restore the political forms that corresponded to them. Already at the beginning of October, Cavaignac felt compelled to make Dufaure and Vivien, previously ministers of Louis Philippe, ministers of the republic, however much the brainless puritans of his own party growled and blustered.

While the tricolour constitution rejected every compromise with the petty bourgeoisie and was unable to win the attachment of any new social element to the new form of government, it hastened, on the other hand, to restore its traditional inviolability to a body that constituted the most hard-bitten and fanatical defender of the old state. It raised the *irremovability of judges*, which had been questioned

[a] Plato, *Politica*, X, Book 8.— *Ed.*

by the Provisional Government, to an organic law. The *one* king whom it had removed rose again, by the score, in these irremovable inquisitors of legality.

The French press has analysed from numerous aspects the contradictions of M. Marrast's constitution; for example, the coexistence of two sovereigns, the National Assembly and the President, etc., etc.

The fundamental contradiction of this constitution, however, consists in the following: The classes whose social slavery the constitution is to perpetuate, proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, it puts in possession of political power through universal suffrage. And from the class whose old social power it sanctions, the bourgeoisie, it withdraws the political guarantees of this power. It forces the political rule of the bourgeoisie into democratic conditions, which at every moment help the hostile classes to victory and jeopardise the very foundations of bourgeois society. From the ones it demands that they should not go forward from political to social emancipation; from the others that they should not go back from social to political restoration.

These contradictions perturbed the bourgeois republicans little. To the extent that they ceased to be *indispensable*—and they were indispensable only as the protagonists of the old society against the revolutionary proletariat—they fell, a few weeks after their victory, from the position of a *party* to that of a *coterie*. And they treated the constitution as a big *intrigue*. What was to be constituted in it was, above all, the rule of the coterie. The President was to be a protracted Cavaignac; the Legislative Assembly a protracted Constituent Assembly. They hoped to reduce the political power of the masses of the people to a semblance of power, and to be able to make sufficient play with this sham power itself to keep continually hanging over the majority of the bourgeoisie the dilemma of the June days: *realm of the "National"* or *realm of anarchy*.

The work on the constitution, which was begun on September 4, was finished on October 23. On September 2 the Constituent Assembly had decided not to dissolve until the organic laws supplementing the constitution were enacted. Nonetheless, it now decided to bring to life the creation that was most peculiarly its own, the President, already on December 10, long before the circle of its own activity was closed. So sure was it of hailing, in the *homunculus* of the constitution, the son of his mother. As a precaution it was provided that if none of the candidates received two million votes, the election should pass over from the nation to the Constituent Assembly.

Futile provisions! The first day of the realisation of the constitution was the last day of the rule of the Constituent Assembly. In the abyss of the ballot box lay its sentence of death. It sought the "son of his mother" and found the "nephew of his uncle". Saul Cavaignac slew *one* million votes, but David Napoleon slew *six* million. Saul Cavaignac was beaten six times over.

December 10, 1848, was the day of the *peasant insurrection.* Only from this day does the February of the French peasants date. The symbol that expressed their entry into the revolutionary movement, clumsily cunning, knavishly naive, doltishly sublime, a calculated superstition, a pathetic burlesque, a cleverly stupid anachronism, a world-historic piece of buffoonery and an undecipherable hieroglyphic for the understanding of the civilised—this symbol bore the unmistakable physiognomy of the class that represents barbarism within civilisation. The republic had announced itself to this class with the *tax-collector*; it announced itself to the republic with the *Emperor.* Napoleon was the only man who had exhaustively represented the interests and the imagination of the peasant class, newly created in 1789. By writing his name on the frontispiece of the republic, it declared war abroad and the enforcing of its class interests at home. Napoleon was to the peasants not a person but a programme. With banners, with beat of drums and blare of trumpets, they marched to the polling booths shouting: *plus d'impôts, à bas les riches, à bas la république, vive l'Empereur!* No more taxes, down with the rich, down with the republic, long live the Emperor! Behind the Emperor was hidden the peasant war. The republic that they voted down was the *republic of the rich.*

December 10 was the *coup d'état* of the peasants, which overthrew the existing government. And from that day on, when they had taken a government from France and given a government to her, their eyes were fixed steadily on Paris. For a moment active heroes of the revolutionary drama, they could no longer be forced back into the inactive and spineless role of the chorus.

The other classes helped to complete the election victory of the peasants. To the *proletariat,* the election of Napoleon meant the deposition of Cavaignac, the overthrow of the Constituent Assembly, the dismissal of bourgeois republicanism, the cassation of the June victory. To the *petty bourgeoisie,* Napoleon meant the rule of the debtor over the creditor. For the majority of the *big bourgeoisie,* the election of Napoleon meant an open breach with the faction of which it had had to make use, for a moment, against the revolution, but which became intolerable to it as soon as this faction sought to consolidate the position of the moment into a constitutional position.

Napoleon in place of Cavaignac meant to this majority the monarchy in place of the republic, the beginning of the royalist restoration, a shy hint at Orleans, the lily hidden beneath the violets.[87] Lastly, the *army* voted for Napoleon against the Mobile Guard, against the peace idyll, for war.

Thus it happened, as the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* stated, that the most simple-minded man in France acquired the most multiplex significance.[a] Just because he was nothing, he could signify everything save himself. Meanwhile, different as the meaning of the name Napoleon might be in the mouths of the different classes, with this name each class wrote on its ballot: Down with the party of the *National*, down with Cavaignac, down with the Constituent Assembly, down with the bourgeois republic. Minister Dufaure publicly declared in the Constituent Assembly: December 10 is a second February 24.

Petty bourgeoisie and proletariat had voted *en bloc for* Napoleon, in order to vote *against* Cavaignac and, by pooling their votes, to wrest the final decision from the Constituent Assembly. The more advanced sections of the two classes, however, put forward their own candidates. Napoleon was the *collective name* of all parties in coalition against the bourgeois republic; ***Ledru-Rollin*** and ***Raspail*** were the *proper names*, the former of the democratic petty bourgeoisie, the latter of the revolutionary proletariat. The votes for Raspail—the proletarians and their socialist spokesmen declared it loudly—were to be merely a demonstration, so many protests against any presidency, that is, against the constitution itself, so many votes against Ledru-Rollin, the first act by which the proletariat, as an independent political party, declared its separation from the democratic party. This party, on the other hand—the democratic petty bourgeoisie and its parliamentary representative, the *Montagne*—treated the candidature of Ledru-Rollin with all the seriousness with which it is in the habit of solemnly duping itself. For the rest, this was its last attempt to set itself up as an independent party, as against the proletariat. Not only the republican bourgeois party, but also the democratic petty bourgeoisie and its *Montagne* were beaten on December 10.

France now possessed a *Napoleon* side by side with a *Montagne*, proof that both were only the lifeless caricatures of the great realities

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[a] In the original a pun: *einfältig* (simple-minded) and *vielfältig* (multiplex). Reference to the report from Paris dated December 18. It was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 174, December 21, 1848, and marked with Ferdinand Wolff's correspondent's sign; some of the facts quoted below are taken from this report.—*Ed.*

whose names they bore. Louis Napoleon, with the emperor's hat and the eagle, parodied the old Napoleon no more miserably than the *Montagne*, with its phrases borrowed from 1793 and its demagogic poses, parodied the old *Montagne*. Thus the traditional 1793 superstition was stripped off at the same time as the traditional Napoleon superstition. The revolution had come into its own only when it had won its *own*, its *original* name, and it could do that only when the modern revolutionary class, the industrial proletariat, came dominatingly into its foreground. One can say that December 10 dumbfounded the *Montagne* and caused it to grow confused in its own mind, if for no other reason than because that day laughingly cut short with a contemptuous peasant jest the classical analogy to the old revolution.

On December 20, Cavaignac laid down his office and the Constituent Assembly proclaimed Louis Napoleon President of the Republic. On December 19, the last day of its sole rule, it rejected the proposal of amnesty for the June insurgents. Would revoking the decree of June 27, under which it had condemned 15,000 insurgents to deportation without judicial sentence, not have meant revoking the June battle itself?

Odilon Barrot, the last minister of Louis Philippe, became the first minister of Louis Napoleon. Just as Louis Napoleon dated his rule, not from December 10, but from a decree of the Senate of 1804, so he found a prime minister who did not date his ministry from December 20, but from a royal decree of February 24.[88] As the legitimate heir of Louis Philippe, Louis Napoleon moderated the change of government by retaining the old ministry, which, moreover, had not had time to wear itself out, since it had not found time to embark upon life.

The leaders of the royalist bourgeois factions advised him in this choice. The head of the old dynastic opposition, who had unconsciously effected the transition to the republicans of the *National*, was still more fitted to effect with full consciousness the transition from the bourgeois republic to the monarchy.

Odilon Barrot was the leader of the one old opposition party which, always fruitlessly struggling for the ministerial portfolio, was not yet used up. In rapid succession the revolution hurled all the old opposition parties to the top of the state, so that they would have to deny, to repudiate their old phrases not only in deeds but even in words, and might finally be flung all together, combined in a repulsive commixture, on the dung heap of history by the people. And no apostasy was spared this Barrot, this incarnation of bourgeois liberalism, who for eighteen years had hidden the rascally

vacuity of his mind behind the serious demeanour of his body.[a] If, at certain moments, the far too striking contrast between the thistles of the present and the laurels of the past startled the man himself, one glance in the mirror gave him back his ministerial composure and human self-admiration. What beamed at him from the mirror was Guizot, whom he had always envied, who had always mastered him, Guizot himself, but Guizot with the Olympian forehead of Odilon. What he overlooked were the ears of Midas.

The Barrot of February 24 first became manifest in the Barrot of December 20. Associated with him, the Orleanist and Voltairian, was the Legitimist and Jesuit Falloux, as Minister of Religious Affairs.

A few days later, the Ministry of the Interior was given to Léon Faucher, the Malthusian. Law, religion and political economy! The ministry of Barrot contained all this and, in addition, a combination of Legitimists and Orleanists. Only the Bonapartist was lacking. Bonaparte still hid his longing to signify Napoleon, for *Soulouque* did not yet play Toussaint-Louverture.

The party of the *National* was immediately relieved of all the higher posts, where it had entrenched itself. The Prefecture of Police, the office of the Director of the Post, the office of the Procurator-General, the *Mairie* of Paris, were all filled with old creatures of the monarchy. Changarnier, the Legitimist, received the unified supreme command of the National Guard of the Department of the Seine, of the Mobile Guard and the troops of the line of the first military division; Bugeaud, the Orleanist, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Alpine army. This change of officials continued uninterruptedly under the Barrot government. The first act of his ministry was the restoration of the old royalist administration. The official scene was transformed in a trice—scenery, costumes, speech, actors, supers, mutes, prompters, the position of the parties, the theme of the drama, the content of the conflict, the whole situation. Only the premundane Constituent Assembly still remained in its place. But from the hour when the National Assembly had installed Bonaparte, Bonaparte Barrot and Barrot Changarnier, France stepped out of the period of the republican constitution into the period of the constituted republic. And what place was there for a Constituent Assembly in a constituted republic? After the earth had been created, there was nothing else for its creator to do but to flee to heaven. The Constituent Assembly was

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[a] A paraphrase from L. Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, Vol. I, Ch. 11 ("A mysterious carriage of the body to cover the defects of the mind").—*Ed.*

determined not to follow his example; the National Assembly was the last asylum of the party of the bourgeois republicans. If all levers of executive power had been wrested from it, was there not left to it constituent omnipotence? Its first thought was to hold under all circumstances the position of sovereignty that it occupied, and thence to reconquer the lost ground. Once the Barrot ministry was displaced by a ministry of the *National*, the royalist personnel would have to vacate the palaces of the administration forthwith and the tricolour personnel would move in again triumphantly. The National Assembly resolved on the overthrow of the ministry and the ministry itself offered an opportunity for the attack, than which the Constituent Assembly could not have invented a better.

It will be remembered that for the peasants Louis Bonaparte signified: No more taxes! Six days he sat in the President's chair, and on the seventh, on December 27, his ministry proposed the *retention of the salt tax*, the abolition of which the Provisional Government had decreed. The salt tax shares with the wine tax the privilege of being the scapegoat of the old French financial system, particularly in the eyes of the countryfolk. The Barrot ministry could not have put into the mouth of the choice of the peasants a more mordant epigram on his electors than the words: *Restoration of the salt tax!* With the salt tax, Bonaparte lost his revolutionary salt—the Napoleon of the peasant insurrection dissolved like an apparition, and nothing remained but the great unknown of royalist bourgeois intrigue. And not without intention did the Barrot ministry make this act of tactlessly rude disillusionment the first governmental act of the President.

The Constituent Assembly, on its part, seized eagerly on the double opportunity of overthrowing the ministry, and, as against the elect of the peasantry, of setting itself up as the representative of peasant interests. It rejected the proposal of the Finance Minister, reduced the salt tax to a third of its former amount, thus increasing by sixty millions a state deficit of five hundred and sixty millions, and, after this *vote of no confidence*, calmly awaited the resignation of the ministry. So little did it comprehend the new world that surrounded it and its own changed position. Behind the ministry stood the President and behind the President stood six millions, who had placed in the ballot box as many votes of no confidence in the Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly gave the nation back its no confidence vote. Absurd exchange! It forgot that its votes were no longer legal tender. The rejection of the salt tax only matured the decision of Bonaparte and his ministry *"to end"* the Constituent Assembly. There began that long duel which lasted the

entire latter half of the life of the Constituent Assembly. *January 29*, March 21 and May 8 are the *journées*, the great days of this crisis, just so many forerunners of *June 13*.

Frenchmen, for example Louis Blanc, have construed January 29 as the date of the emergence of a constitutional contradiction, the contradiction between a sovereign, indissoluble National Assembly born of universal suffrage, and a President who, to go by the wording, was responsible to the Assembly, but who, to go by reality, was not only similarly sanctioned by universal suffrage and, in addition, united in his own person all the votes that were split up a hundred times and distributed among the individual members of the National Assembly, but who was also in full possession of the whole executive power, above which the National Assembly hovered as a merely moral force. This interpretation of January 29 confuses the language of the struggle on the platform, through the press and in the clubs with its real content. Louis Bonaparte as against the Constituent National Assembly—that was not one unilateral constitutional power as against another; that was not the executive power as against the legislative; that was the constituted bourgeois republic itself as against the instruments of its constitution, as against the ambitious intrigues and ideological demands of the revolutionary faction of the bourgeoisie that had founded it and was now amazed to find that its constituted republic looked like a restored monarchy, and now desired forcibly to prolong the constituent period with its conditions, its illusions, its language and its personages and to prevent the mature bourgeois republic from emerging in its complete and peculiar form. As the Constituent National Assembly represented Cavaignac, who had fallen back into its midst, so Bonaparte represented the Legislative National Assembly that had not yet been divorced from him, that is, the National Assembly of the constituted bourgeois republic.

The election of Bonaparte could only be understood by putting in the place of the *one* name its manifold meanings, by repeating itself in the election of the new National Assembly. The mandate of the old was annulled by December 10. Thus on January 29, it was not the President and the National Assembly of the *same* republic that were face to face; it was the National Assembly of the republic that was coming into being and the President of the republic that had come into being, two powers that embodied quite different periods in the life process of the republic; the one, the small republican faction of the bourgeoisie that alone could proclaim the republic, wrest it from the revolutionary proletariat by street fighting and a reign of terror, and draft its ideal basic features in the

constitution; and the other, the whole royalist mass of the bourgeoisie that alone could rule in this constituted bourgeois republic, strip the constitution of its ideological trimmings, and realise by its legislation and administration the indispensable conditions for the subjugation of the proletariat.

The storm which broke on January 29 gathered its elements during the whole month of January. The Constituent Assembly wanted to drive the Barrot ministry to resign by its no confidence vote. The Barrot ministry, on the other hand, proposed to the Constituent Assembly that it should give itself a definitive no confidence vote, decide on suicide and decree its *own dissolution*. On January 6 Rateau, one of the most obscure deputies, brought this motion at the order of the ministry before the Constituent Assembly, the same Constituent Assembly that already in August had resolved not to dissolve until a whole series of organic laws supplementing the constitution had been enacted by it. Fould, the ministerialist, bluntly declared to it that its dissolution was necessary *"for the restoration of the deranged credit"*.[a] And did it not derange credit when it prolonged the provisional stage and, with Barrot, again called Bonaparte in question, and, with Bonaparte, the constituted republic? Barrot the Olympian became a rampaging Roland on the prospect of seeing the finally pocketed premiership, which the republicans had already withheld from him once for a decennium, that is, for ten months, again torn from him after scarcely two weeks' enjoyment of it—Barrot, confronting this wretched Assembly, out-tyrannised the tyrant. His mildest words were "no future is possible with it". And actually it did only represent the past. "It is incapable," he added ironically, "of providing the republic with the institutions which are necessary for its consolidation."[b] Incapable indeed! Its bourgeois energy was broken simultaneously with its exceptional antagonism to the proletariat, and with its antagonism to the royalists its republican exuberance lived anew. Thus it was doubly incapable of consolidating the bourgeois republic, which it no longer comprehended, by means of the corresponding institutions.

Simultaneously with Rateau's motion the ministry evoked a *storm of petitions* throughout the land, and from all corners of France came flying daily at the head of the Constituent Assembly bundles of *billets*

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[a] Presumably Marx made use of the report from Paris published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 191, January 10, 1849, and marked with Ferdinand Wolff's correspondent's sign.—*Ed.*

[b] A summary of Barrot's speech made in the Constituent Assembly on January 12, 1849.—*Ed.*

*doux*[a] in which it was more or less categorically requested to *dissolve* and make its will. The Constituent Assembly, on its side, called forth counter-petitions, in which it caused itself to be requested to remain alive. The election struggle between Bonaparte and Cavaignac was renewed as a petition struggle for and against the dissolution of the National Assembly. The petitions were to be belated commentaries on December 10. This agitation continued during the whole of January.

In the conflict between the Constituent Assembly and the President, the former could not refer back to the general election as its origin, for the appeal was from the Assembly to universal suffrage. It could base itself on no regularly constituted power; for the issue was the struggle against the legal power. It could not overthrow the ministry by no confidence votes, as it again essayed to do on January 6 and 26, for the ministry did not ask for its confidence. Only *one* possibility was left to it, that of *insurrection*. The fighting forces of the insurrection were the *republican part of the National Guard*, the *Mobile Guard* and the centres of the revolutionary proletariat, the *clubs*. The Mobile Guard, those heroes of the June days, in December formed the organised fighting force of the republican faction of the bourgeoisie, just as before June the *national ateliers* had formed the organised fighting force of the revolutionary proletariat. As the Executive Commission of the Constituent Assembly directed its brutal attack on the national *ateliers*, when it had to put an end to the claims, become unbearable, of the proletariat, so the ministry of Bonaparte directed its attack on the Mobile Guard, when it had to put an end to the claims, become unbearable, of the republican faction of the bourgeoisie. It ordered the *disbandment of the Mobile Guard*. One half of it was dismissed and thrown on the street, the other was organised on monarchist instead of democratic lines, and its pay was reduced to the usual pay of troops of the line. The Mobile Guard found itself in the position of the June insurgents and every day the press carried *public confessions* in which it admitted its blame for June and implored the proletariat to forgive it.

And the *clubs*? From the moment when the Constituent Assembly in the person of Barrot called in question the President, and in the person of the President the constituted bourgeois republic, and in the person of the constituted bourgeois republic the bourgeois republic in general, all the constituent elements of the February

[a] Love-letters.— *Ed.*

republic necessarily ranged themselves around it—all the parties that wished to overthrow the existing republic and by a violent retrograde process to transform it into a republic of their class interests and principles. The scrambled eggs were unscrambled, the crystallisations of the revolutionary movement had again become fluid, the republic that was being fought for was again the indefinite republic of the February days, the defining of which each party reserved to itself. For a moment the parties again took up their old February positions, without sharing the illusions of February. The tricolour republicans of the *National* again leant on the democratic republicans of the *Réforme* and pushed them as protagonists into the foreground of the parliamentary struggle. The democratic republicans again leant on the socialist republicans—on January 27 a public manifesto[a] announced their reconciliation and union—and prepared their insurrectional background in the clubs. The ministerial press rightly treated the tricolour republicans of the *National* as the resurrected insurgents of June. In order to maintain themselves at the head of the bourgeois republic, they called in question the bourgeois republic itself. On January 26 Minister Faucher proposed a law on the right of association,[89] the first paragraph of which read: *"Clubs are forbidden."* He moved that this bill should immediately be discussed as urgent. The Constituent Assembly rejected the motion of urgency, and on January 27 Ledru-Rollin put forward a proposition, with 230 signatures appended to it, to impeach the ministry for violation of the constitution. The impeachment of the ministry at times when such an act was a tactless disclosure of the impotence of the judge, to wit, the majority of the Chamber, or an impotent protest of the accuser against this majority itself—that was the great revolutionary trump that the latter-day *Montagne* played from now on at each high point of the crisis. Poor *Montagne*, crushed by the weight of its own name!

On May 15, Blanqui, Barbès, Raspail, etc., had attempted to break up the Constituent Assembly by forcing an entrance into its hall of session at the head of the Paris proletariat. Barrot prepared a moral May 15 for the same Assembly when he wanted to dictate its self-dissolution and close the hall. The same Assembly had commissioned Barrot to make the *enquête* against the May accused, and now, at the moment when he appeared before it as a royalist Blanqui, when it sought for allies against him in the clubs, among the

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[a] "Aux électeurs républicains démocrates socialistes" (*La Réforme* No. 27, January 28, 1849). The manifesto was reprinted in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 209, January 31, 1849.—*Ed.*

revolutionary proletarians, in the party of Blanqui—at this moment the relentless Barrot tormented it with the proposal to withdraw the May prisoners from the Court of Assizes with its jury and hand them over to the High Court, to the *haute cour* devised by the party of the *National*.[a] Remarkable how panic fear for a ministerial portfolio could pound out of the head of a Barrot points worthy of a Beaumarchais! After much vacillation the National Assembly accepted his proposal. As against the makers of the May attempt, it reverted to its normal character.

If the Constituent Assembly, as against the President and the ministers, was driven to *insurrection*, the President and the ministers, as against the Constituent Assembly, were driven to a *coup d'état* for they had no legal means of dissolving it. But the Constituent Assembly was the mother of the constitution and the constitution was the mother of the President. With the *coup d'état* the President tore up the constitution and extinguished his republican legal title. He was then forced to pull out his imperial legal title, but the imperial legal title woke up the Orleanist legal title and both paled before the Legitimist legal title. The downfall of the legal republic could shoot to the top only its extreme antipode, the Legitimist monarchy, at a moment when the Orleanist party was still only the vanquished of February and Bonaparte was still only the victor of December 10, when both could oppose to republican usurpation only their likewise usurped monarchist titles. The Legitimists were aware of the propitiousness of the moment; they conspired openly. They could hope to find their *Monk*[90] in General Changarnier. The imminence of the *White monarchy* was as openly announced in their clubs as was that of the *Red republic* in the proletarian clubs.

The ministry would have escaped all difficulties by a happily suppressed rising. "Legality is the death of us," cried Odilon Barrot.[b] A rising would have allowed it, under the pretext of the *salut public*,[c] to dissolve the Constituent Assembly, to violate the constitution in the interests of the constitution itself. The brutal behaviour of Odilon Barrot in the National Assembly, the motion for the dissolution of the clubs, the tumultuous removal of 50 tricolour prefects and their replacement by royalists, the dissolution of the Mobile Guard, the ill-treatment of their chiefs by Changarnier, the

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[a] An allusion to Barrot's speech made in the Constituent Assembly on January 17, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] Here Barrot quoted an expression used by the Right-wing deputy Viennet in his speech in the Chamber of Deputies on March 23, 1833.—*Ed.*

[c] Public welfare.—*Ed.*

reinstatement of Lerminier, the professor who was impossible even under Guizot, the toleration of the Legitimist braggadocio—all these were just so many provocations to mutiny. But the mutiny remained mute. It expected its signal from the Constituent Assembly and not from the ministry.

Finally came January 29, the day on which the decision was to be taken on the motion of Mathieu (de la Drôme) for unconditional rejection of Rateau's motion. Legitimists, Orleanists, Bonapartists, Mobile Guard, *Montagne*, clubs—all conspired on this day, each just as much against the ostensible enemy as against the ostensible ally. Bonaparte, mounted on horseback, mustered a part of the troops on the *Place de la Concorde*; Changarnier play-acted with a display of strategic manoeuvres; the Constituent Assembly found its building occupied by the military. This Assembly, the centre of all the conflicting hopes, fears, expectations, ferments, tensions and conspiracies, this lion-hearted Assembly did not falter for a moment when it came nearer to the world spirit [*Weltgeist*] than ever. It was like that fighter who not only feared to make use of his own weapons, but also felt himself obliged to maintain the weapons of his opponent unimpaired. Scorning death, it signed its own death warrant, and rejected the unconditional rejection of the Rateau motion. Itself in a state of siege, it set limits to a constituent activity whose necessary frame had been the state of siege of Paris. It revenged itself worthily when, on the following day, it instituted an enquiry into the fright that the ministry had given it on January 29. The *Montagne* showed its lack of revolutionary energy and political understanding by allowing itself to be used by the party of the *National* in this great comedy of intrigues as the crier in the contest. The party of the *National* had made its last attempt to continue to maintain, in the constituted republic, the monopoly of rule that it had possessed during the inchoate period of the bourgeois republic. It was shipwrecked.

While in the January crisis it was a question of the existence of the Constituent Assembly, in the crisis of March 21 it was a question of the existence of the constitution—there of the personnel of the *National* party, here of its ideal. There is no need to point out that the respectable republicans surrendered the exaltation of their ideology more cheaply than the worldly enjoyment of governmental power.

On March 21 Faucher's bill against the right of association, *the suppression of the clubs*, was on the order of the day in the National Assembly. Article 8 of the constitution guarantees to all Frenchmen the right to associate. The ban on the clubs was, therefore, an une-

quivocal violation of the constitution, and the Constituent Assembly itself was to canonise the profanation of its holy places. But the clubs—these were the gathering points, the conspiratorial seats of the revolutionary proletariat. The National Assembly had itself forbidden the coalition of the workers against the bourgeois. And the clubs—what were they but a coalition of the whole working class against the whole bourgeois class, the formation of a workers' state against the bourgeois state? Were they not just so many constituent assemblies of the proletariat and just so many military detachments of revolt in fighting trim? What the constitution was to constitute above all else was the rule of the bourgeoisie. By the right of association the constitution, therefore, could manifestly mean only associations that harmonised with the rule of the bourgeoisie, that is, with bourgeois order. If, for reasons of theoretical propriety, it expressed itself in general terms, was not the government and the National Assembly there to interpret and apply it in a special case? And if in the primeval epoch of the republic, the clubs actually were forbidden by the state of siege, had they not to be forbidden in the ordered, constituted republic by the law? The tricolour republicans had nothing to oppose to this prosaic interpretation of the constitution but the high-flown phraseology of the constitution. A section of them, Pagnerre, Duclerc, etc., voted for the ministry and thereby gave it a majority. The others, with the archangel Cavaignac and the father of the church Marrast at their head, retired, after the article on the prohibition of the clubs had gone through, to a special committee room, jointly with Ledru-Rollin and the *Montagne*—"and held a council". The National Assembly was paralysed; it no longer had a quorum. At the right time, M. Crémieux remembered in the committee room that the way from here led directly to the street and that it was no longer February 1848, but March 1849. The party of the *National*, suddenly enlightened, returned to the National Assembly's hall of session, behind it the *Montagne*, duped once more. The latter, constantly tormented by revolutionary longings, just as constantly clutched at constitutional possibilities, and still felt itself more in place behind the bourgeois republicans than in front of the revolutionary proletariat. Thus the comedy was played out. And the Constituent Assembly itself had decreed that the violation of the letter of the constitution was the only appropriate realisation of its spirit.

There was only one point left to settle, the relation of the constituted republic to the European revolution, its *foreign policy*. On May 8, 1849, unwonted excitement prevailed in the Constituent Assembly, whose term of life was due to end in a few days. The attack

of the French army on Rome, its repulse by the Romans,[91] its political infamy and military disgrace, the foul assassination of the Roman republic by the French republic, the first Italian campaign of the second Bonaparte was on the order of the day. The *Montagne* had once more played its great trump; Ledru-Rollin had laid on the President's [a] table the inevitable bill of impeachment against the ministry, and this time also against Bonaparte, for violation of the constitution.

The motif of May 8 was repeated later as the motif of June 13. Let us get clear about the expedition to Rome.

Already in the middle of November 1848, Cavaignac had sent a battle fleet to Civitavecchia in order to protect the Pope,[b] to take him on board and to ship him over to France. The Pope was to consecrate the respectable republic, and to ensure the election of Cavaignac as President. With the Pope, Cavaignac wanted to angle for the priests, with the priests for the peasants, and with the peasants for the presidency. The expedition of Cavaignac, an election advertisement in its immediate purpose, was at the same time a protest and a threat against the Roman revolution. It contained in embryo France's intervention in favour of the Pope.

This intervention on behalf of the Pope in association with Austria and Naples against the Roman republic was decided on at the first meeting of Bonaparte's ministerial council on December 23. Falloux in the ministry, that meant the Pope in Rome and—in the Rome of the Pope. Bonaparte did not need the Pope any longer in order to become the President of the peasants; but he needed the conservation of the Pope in order to conserve the peasants of the President. Their credulity had made him President. With faith they would lose credulity, and with the Pope, faith. And the Orleanists and Legitimists in coalition, who ruled in Bonaparte's name! Before the king was restored, the power that consecrates kings had to be restored. Apart from their royalism: without the old Rome, subject to his temporal rule, no Pope; without the Pope, no Catholicism; without Catholicism, no French religion; and without religion, what would become of the old French society? The mortgage that the peasant has on heavenly possessions guarantees the mortgage that the bourgeois has on peasant possessions. The Roman revolution was, therefore, an attack on property, on the bourgeois order, dreadful as the June Revolution. Re-established bourgeois rule in France required the restoration of papal rule in Rome. Finally, to smite the

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[a] The President of the Assembly.—*Ed.*
[b] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

Roman revolutionists was to smite the allies of the French revolutionists; the alliance of the counter-revolutionary classes in the constituted French republic was necessarily supplemented by the alliance of the French republic with the Holy Alliance, with Naples and Austria. The decision of the ministerial council of December 23 was no secret for the Constituent Assembly. On January 8, Ledru-Rollin had already questioned the ministry concerning it; the ministry had denied it and the National Assembly had proceeded to the order of the day. Did it trust the word of the ministry? We know that it spent the whole month of January in giving the ministry no confidence votes. But if it was part of the ministry's role to lie, it was part of the National Assembly's role to feign belief in its lie and thereby save the republican *dehors*.[a]

Meanwhile Piedmont was beaten, Charles Albert had abdicated and the Austrian army knocked at the gates of France.[92] Ledru-Rollin vehemently intervened. The ministry proved that it had only continued in North Italy the policy of Cavaignac, and Cavaignac only the policy of the Provisional Government, that is, of Ledru-Rollin. This time it even reaped a vote of confidence from the National Assembly and was authorised to occupy temporarily a suitable point in Upper Italy in order to give support to peaceful negotiations with Austria concerning the integrity of Sardinian territory and the question of Rome. It is known that the fate of Italy is decided on the battlefields of North Italy. Hence Rome would fall with Lombardy and Piedmont, or France would have to declare war on Austria and thereby on the European counter-revolution. Did the National Assembly suddenly take the Barrot ministry for the old Committee of Public Safety[93]? Or itself for the Convention? Why, then, the military occupation of a point in Upper Italy? This transparent veil covered the expedition against Rome.

On April 14, 14,000 men sailed under Oudinot for Civitavecchia; on April 16, the National Assembly voted the ministry a credit of 1,200,000 francs for the maintenance of a fleet of intervention in the Mediterranean Sea for three months. Thus it gave the ministry every means of intervening against Rome, while it adopted the pose of letting it intervene against Austria. It did not see what the ministry did; it only heard what it said. Such faith was not found in Israel; the Constituent Assembly had fallen into the position of not daring to know what the constituted republic had to do.

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[a] Appearances.—*Ed.*

Finally, on May 8, the last scene of the comedy was played; the Constituent Assembly urged the ministry to take swift measures to bring the Italian expedition back to the aim set for it. Bonaparte that same evening inserted a letter in the *Moniteur*, in which he lavished the greatest appreciation on Oudinot.[a] On May 11, the National Assembly rejected the bill of impeachment against this same Bonaparte and his ministry. And the *Montagne*, which, instead of tearing this web of deceit to pieces, took the parliamentary comedy tragically in order itself to play in it the role of Fouquier-Tinville, did it not betray its natural petty-bourgeois calf's hide under the borrowed lion's skin of the Convention!

The latter half of the life of the Constituent Assembly is summarised thus: On January 29 it admits that the royalist bourgeois factions are the natural superiors of the republic constituted by it; on March 21, that the violation of the constitution is its realisation; and on May 11, that the bombastically proclaimed passive alliance of the French republic with the struggling peoples means its active alliance with the European counter-revolution.

This miserable Assembly left the stage after it had given itself the satisfaction, two days before the anniversary of its birthday, May 4, of rejecting the motion of amnesty for the June insurgents. Its power shattered, held in deadly hatred by the people, repulsed, maltreated, contemptuously thrown aside by the bourgeoisie, whose tool it was, forced in the second half of its life to disavow the first, robbed of its republican illusions, without having created anything great in the past, without hope in the future and with its living body dying bit by bit, it was able to galvanise its own corpse into life only by continually recalling and living through the June victory over and over again, affirming itself by constantly repeated damnation of the damned. Vampire that lived on the blood of the June insurgents!

It left behind a state deficit increased by the costs of the June insurrection, by the loss of the salt tax, by the compensation it paid the plantation owners for abolishing Negro slavery, by the costs of the Roman expedition, by the loss of the wine tax, the abolition of which it resolved upon when already at its last gasp, a malicious old man, happy to impose on his laughing heir a compromising debt of honour.

With the beginning of March the agitation for the election of the *Legislative National Assembly* had commenced. Two main groups

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[a] It was published in the newspaper *La Patrie* on May 8, 1849, and reprinted in the report on the Constituent Assembly session of May 9, 1849 (*Le Moniteur universel* No. 130, May 10, 1849).— *Ed.*

opposed each other, the *party of Order* and the *democratic-socialist*, or *Red, party*; between the two stood the *Friends of the Constitution*, under which name the tricolour republicans of the *National* sought to put forward a party. The *party of Order* was formed directly after the June days: only after December 10 had allowed it to cast off the coterie of the *National*, of the bourgeois republicans, was the secret of its existence, the *coalition* of *Orleanists* and *Legitimists* into *one party*, disclosed. The bourgeois class fell apart into two big factions, which had alternately maintained a monopoly of power—the *big landed proprietors* under the *restored monarchy*, and the *finance aristocracy* and the *industrial bourgeoisie* under the *July monarchy*. *Bourbon* was the royal name for the predominant influence of the interests of the one faction, *Orleans* the royal name for the predominant influence of the interests of the other faction—the *nameless realm of the republic* was the only one in which both factions could maintain with equal power the common class interest without giving up their mutual rivalry. If the bourgeois republic could not be anything but the perfected and clearly expressed rule of the whole bourgeois class, could it be anything but the rule of the Orleanists supplemented by the Legitimists, and of the Legitimists supplemented by the Orleanists, the *synthesis of the restoration and the July monarchy*? The bourgeois republicans of the *National* did not represent any large faction of their class resting on economic foundations. They possessed only the importance and the historical claim of having asserted, under the monarchy, as against the two bourgeois factions that only understood their *particular* régime, the general régime of the bourgeois class, the *nameless realm of the republic*, which they idealised and embellished with antique arabesques, but in which, above all, they hailed the rule of their coterie. If the party of the *National* grew confused in its own mind when it descried the royalists in coalition at the top of the republic founded by it, these royalists deceived themselves no less concerning the fact of their united rule. They did not comprehend that if each of their factions, regarded separately, by itself, was royalist, the product of their chemical combination had necessarily to be *republican*, that the white and the blue monarchy were bound to neutralise each other in the tricolour republic. Forced, by antagonism to the revolutionary proletariat and the transition classes thronging more and more round it as their centre, to summon their united strength and to conserve the organisation of this united strength, each faction of the party of Order had to assert, as against the desire for restoration and the overweening presumption of the other, their joint rule, that is, the *republican form* of bourgeois rule. Thus we find these royalists in the beginning

believing in an immediate restoration, later preserving the republican form with foaming rage and deadly invective against it on their lips, and finally confessing that they can endure each other only in the republic and postponing the restoration indefinitely. The enjoyment of the united rule itself strengthened each of the two factions, and made each of them still more unable and unwilling to subordinate itself to the other, that is, to restore the monarchy.

The *party of Order* directly proclaimed in its election programme the rule of the bourgeois class, that is, the preservation of the life conditions of its rule: *property, family, religion, order*! Naturally it represented its class rule and the conditions of its class rule as the rule of civilisation and as the necessary conditions of material production as well as of the relations of social intercourse arising from it. The party of Order had enormous money resources at its command; it organised its branches throughout France; it had all the ideologists of the old society in its pay; it had the influence of the existing governmental power at its disposal; it possessed an army of unpaid vassals in the whole mass of petty bourgeois and peasants, who, still remote from the revolutionary movement, found in the high dignitaries of property the natural representatives of their petty property and its petty prejudices. This party, represented throughout the country by countless petty kings, could punish the rejection of their candidates as insurrection, dismiss the rebellious workers, the recalcitrant farm hands, domestic servants, clerks, railway officials, penmen, all the functionaries civilly subordinate to it. Finally, here and there, it could maintain the delusion that the republican Constituent Assembly had prevented the Bonaparte of December 10 from manifesting his wonder-working powers. We have not mentioned the Bonapartists in connection with the party of Order. They were not a serious faction of the bourgeois class, but a collection of old, superstitious wounded veterans and of young, unbelieving soldiers of fortune.—The party of Order was victorious in the elections; it sent a large majority into the Legislative Assembly.

As against the coalitioned counter-revolutionary bourgeois class, the sections of the petty bourgeoisie and peasant class already revolutionised had naturally to ally themselves with the high dignitary of revolutionary interests, the revolutionary proletariat. We have seen how the democratic spokesmen of the petty bourgeoisie in parliament, i.e., the *Montagne*, were driven by parliamentary defeats to the socialist spokesmen of the proletariat, and how the actual petty bourgeoisie, outside parliament, was driven by the *concordats à l'amiable*, by the brutal enforcement of bourgeois

interests and by bankruptcy, to the actual proletarians. On January 27, *Montagne* and Socialists had celebrated their reconciliation[a]; at the great banquet of February 1849, they repeated their act of union. The social and the democratic party, the party of the workers and that of the petty bourgeois, united to form the *social-democratic party*, that is, the *Red* party.

Paralysed for a moment by the agony that followed the June days, the French republic had lived through a continuous series of feverish excitements since the raising of the state of siege, since October 19. First the struggle for the presidency, then the struggle between the President and the Constituent Assembly; the struggle for the clubs; the trial in Bourges,[94] which, in contrast with the petty figures of the President, the coalitioned royalists, the respectable republicans, the democratic *Montagne* and the socialist doctrinaires of the proletariat, caused the proletariat's real revolutionists to appear as primordial monsters, such as only a deluge leaves behind on the surface of society, or such as could only precede a social deluge; the election agitation; the execution of the Bréa murderers[95]; the continual proceedings against the press; the violent interference of the government with the banquets by police action; the insolent royalist provocations; the exhibition of the portraits of Louis Blanc and Caussidière on the pillory; the unbroken struggle between the constituted republic and the Constituent Assembly, which each moment drove the revolution back to its starting point, which each moment made the victors the vanquished and the vanquished the victors and, in a trice, changed around the positions of the parties and the classes, their separations and connections; the rapid march of the European counter-revolution; the glorious Hungarian fight; the armed uprisings in Germany[96]; the Roman expedition; the ignominious defeat of the French army before Rome—in this vortex of movement, in this torment of historical unrest, in this dramatic ebb and flow of revolutionary passion, hopes and disappointments, the different classes of French society had to count their epochs of development in weeks where they had previously counted them in half centuries. A considerable part of the peasants and of the provinces was revolutionised. Not only were they disappointed in Napoleon, but the Red party offered them, instead of the name, the content, instead of illusory freedom from taxation, repayment of the milliard paid to the Legitimists, the adjustment of mortgages and the abolition of usury.

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[a] See this volume, p. 88.—*Ed.*

The army itself was infected with the revolutionary fever. In voting for Bonaparte it had voted for victory, and he gave it defeat. In him it had voted for the Little Corporal,[a] behind whom the great revolutionary general is concealed, and he once more gave it the great generals, behind whom the pipe-clay corporal shelters himself. There was no doubt that the Red party, that is, the coalesced democratic party, was bound to celebrate, if not victory, still, great triumphs; that Paris, the army and a great part of the provinces would vote for it. *Ledru-Rollin*, the leader of the *Montagne*, was elected by five departments; no leader of the party of Order carried off such a victory, no candidate belonging to the proletarian party proper. This election reveals to us the secret of the democratic-socialist party. If, on the one hand, the *Montagne*, the parliamentary champion of the democratic petty bourgeoisie, was forced to unite with the socialist doctrinaires of the proletariat—the proletariat, forced by the terrible material defeat of June to raise itself up again through intellectual victories and not yet enabled through the development of the remaining classes to seize the revolutionary dictatorship, had to throw itself into the arms of the doctrinaires of its emancipation, the founders of socialist sects—the revolutionary peasants, the army and the provinces, on the other hand, ranged themselves behind the *Montagne*, which thus became the lord and master in the revolutionary army camp and through the understanding with the Socialists had eliminated every antagonism in the revolutionary party. In the latter half of the life of the Constituent Assembly it represented the republican fervour of the same and caused to be buried in oblivion its sins during the Provisional Government, during the Executive Commission, during the June days. In the same measure as the party of the *National*, in accordance with its half-and-half nature, had allowed itself to be put down by the royalist ministry, the party of the Mountain, which had been brushed aside during the omnipotence of the *National*, rose and asserted itself as the parliamentary representative of the revolution. In fact, the party of the *National* had nothing to oppose to the other, royalist factions but ambitious men and idealistic humbug. The party of the Mountain, on the contrary, represented a mass hovering between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, a mass whose material interests demanded democratic institutions. In comparison with the Cavaignacs and the Marrasts, Ledru-Rollin and the *Montagne*, therefore, represented the true revolution, and from the conscious-

[a] A nickname for Napoleon.—*Ed.*

ness of this important situation they drew the greater courage the more the expression of revolutionary energy limited itself to parliamentary attacks, bringing in bills of impeachment, threats, raised voices, thundering speeches, and extremes which were only pushed as far as phrases. The peasants were in about the same position as the petty bourgeoisie; they had more or less the same social demands to put forward. All the middle strata of society, so far as they were driven into the revolutionary movement, were therefore bound to find their hero in Ledru-Rollin. Ledru-Rollin was the personage of the democratic petty bourgeoisie. As against the party of Order, the half conservative, half revolutionary and wholly utopian reformers of this order had first to be pushed to the forefront.

The party of the *National*, "the Friends of the Constitution *quand même*", the *républicains purs et simples*, were completely defeated in the elections. A tiny minority of them was sent into the Legislative Chamber, their most noted leaders vanished from the stage, even Marrast, the editor-in-chief and the Orpheus of the respectable republic.

On May 28, the Legislative Assembly convened; on June 11, the collision of May 8 was renewed and, in the name of the *Montagne*, Ledru-Rollin brought in a bill of impeachment against the President and the ministry for violation of the constitution, for the bombardment of Rome. On June 12, the Legislative Assembly rejected the bill of impeachment, just as the Constituent Assembly had rejected it on May 11, but the proletariat this time drove the *Montagne* onto the streets, not to a street battle, however, but only to a street procession. It is enough to say that the *Montagne* was at the head of this movement to know that the movement was defeated, and that June 1849 was a caricature, as ridiculous as it was repulsive, of June 1848. The great retreat of June 13 was only eclipsed by the still greater battle report of Changarnier,[a] the great man that the party of Order improvised. Every social epoch needs its great men, and when it does not find them, it invents them, as Helvétius says.

On December 20 only one half of the constituted bourgeois republic as yet existed, the *President*; on May 28 it was completed by the other half, the *Legislative Assembly*. In June 1848, the self-constituted bourgeois republic, by an atrocious battle against the proletariat, and in June 1849, the constituted bourgeois republic, by an unutterable comedy with the petty bourgeoisie, had engraved their names in the birth register of history. June 1849 was the

[a] *Rapport du général Changarnier au ministre de la guerre, le 16 juin 1849.—Ed.*

Nemesis of June 1848. In June 1849, it was not the workers that were vanquished; it was the petty bourgeois, who stood between them and the revolution, that were felled. June 1849 was not a bloody tragedy between wage labour and capital, but a prison-filling and lamentable play of debtors and creditors. The party of Order had won, it was all-powerful; it had now to show what it was.*

* Due to lack of space the concluding section will be printed in the next issue.—*Note by the editors of the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue".*

## III

## CONSEQUENCES OF JUNE 13, 1849

On December 20, the Janus head of the *constitutional republic* had still shown only *one* face, the executive face with the indistinct, plain features of L. Bonaparte; on May 28, 1849, it showed its second face, the *legislative*, pitted with the scars that the orgies of the Restoration and the July monarchy had left behind. With the Legislative National Assembly the phenomenon of the *constitutional republic* was completed, that is, the republican form of government in which the rule of the bourgeois class is constituted, the common rule, therefore, of the two great royalist factions that form the French bourgeoisie, the coalesced Legitimists and Orleanists, the *party of Order*. While the French republic thus became the property of the coalition of the royalist parties, the European coalition of the counter-revolutionary powers embarked, simultaneously, upon a general crusade against the last places of refuge of the March revolutions. Russia invaded Hungary; Prussia marched against the army defending the Imperial Constitution, and Oudinot bombarded Rome.[97] The European crisis was evidently approaching a decisive turning point; the eyes of all Europe were turned on Paris, and the eyes of all Paris on the *Legislative Assembly*.

On June 11 Ledru-Rollin mounted its tribune. He made no speech; he formulated a requisitory against the ministers, naked, unadorned, factual, concentrated, forceful.

The attack on Rome is an attack on the constitution; the attack on the Roman republic is an attack on the French republic. Article V of the constitution[98] reads: "The French republic never employs its forces against the liberty of any people whatsoever"—and the President employs the French army against Roman liberty. Article

54 of the constitution forbids the executive power to declare any war whatsoever without the consent of the National Assembly.[a] The Constituent Assembly's resolution of May 8 expressly commands the ministers to make the Rome expedition conform with the utmost speed to its original mission; it therefore just as expressly prohibits war on Rome—and Oudinot bombards Rome. Thus Ledru-Rollin called the constitution itself as a witness for the prosecution against Bonaparte and his ministers. At the royalist majority of the National Assembly, he, the tribune of the constitution, hurled the threatening declaration:

"The republicans will know how to command respect for the constitution by every means, be it even by force of arms!"

"*By force of arms!*" repeated the hundredfold echo of the *Montagne*. The majority answered with a terrible tumult; the President of the National Assembly[b] called Ledru-Rollin to order; Ledru-Rollin repeated the challenging declaration, and finally laid on the President's table a motion for the impeachment of Bonaparte and his ministers. By 361 votes to 203, the National Assembly resolved to pass on from the bombardment of Rome to the next item on the agenda.

Did Ledru-Rollin believe that he could beat the National Assembly by means of the constitution, and the President by means of the National Assembly?

To be sure, the constitution forbade any attack on the liberty of foreign peoples, but what the French army attacked in Rome was, according to the ministry, not "liberty" but the "despotism of anarchy". Had the *Montagne* still not comprehended, all experiences in the Constituent Assembly notwithstanding, that the interpretation of the constitution did not belong to those who had made it, but only to those who had accepted it? That its wording must be construed in its viable meaning and that the bourgeois meaning was its only viable meaning? That Bonaparte and the royalist majority of the National Assembly were the authentic interpreters of the constitution, as the priest is the authentic interpreter of the Bible, and the judge the authentic interpreter of the law? Should the National Assembly, freshly emerged from the general elections, feel itself bound by the testamentary provisions of the dead Constituent Assembly, whose will while living an Odilon Barrot had broken? When Ledru-Rollin

[a] Here and in what follows the reference is to the Legislative National Assembly which was in office from May 28, 1849, to December 1851.— *Ed.*

[b] André Marie Dupin.— *Ed.*

cited the Constituent Assembly's resolution of May 8, had he forgotten that the same Constituent Assembly on May 11 had rejected his first motion for the impeachment of Bonaparte and the ministers; that it had acquitted the President and the ministers; that it had thus sanctioned the attack on Rome as "constitutional"; that he only lodged an appeal against a judgment already delivered; that he, lastly, appealed from the republican Constituent Assembly to the royalist Legislative Assembly? The constitution itself calls insurrection to its aid by summoning, in a special article, every citizen to protect it. Ledru-Rollin based himself on this article. But, at the same time, are not the public authorities organised for the defence of the constitution, and does not the violation of the constitution begin only from the moment when one of the constitutional public authorities rebels against the other? And the President of the republic, the ministers of the republic and the National Assembly of the republic were in the most harmonious agreement.

What the *Montagne* attempted on June 11 was "*an insurrection within the limits of pure reason*", that is, a purely *parliamentary insurrection.* The majority of the Assembly, intimidated by the prospect of an armed rising of the popular masses, was, in Bonaparte and the ministers, to destroy its own power and the significance of its own election. Had not the Constituent Assembly similarly attempted to annul the election of Bonaparte, when it insisted so obstinately on the dismissal of the Barrot-Falloux ministry?

Neither were there lacking from the time of the Convention models for parliamentary insurrections which had suddenly transformed completely the relation between the majority and the minority—and should the young *Montagne* not succeed where the old had succeeded?—nor did the conditions at the moment seem unfavourable for such an undertaking. Popular unrest in Paris had reached a disquietingly high point; the army, according to its vote at the election, did not seem favourably inclined towards the government; the legislative majority itself was still too young to have become consolidated and, in addition, it consisted of old gentlemen. If the *Montagne* were successful in a parliamentary insurrection, the helm of state would fall directly into its hands. The democratic petty bourgeoisie, for its part, wished, as always, for nothing more fervently than to see the battle fought out in the clouds over its head between the departed spirits of parliament. Finally, both of them, the democratic petty bourgeoisie and its representative, the *Montagne,* would, through a parliamentary insurrection, achieve their great purpose, that of breaking the power of the bourgeoisie without unleashing the proletariat or letting it appear otherwise than in

perspective; the proletariat would have been used without becoming dangerous.

After the vote of the National Assembly on June 11, a conference took place between some members of the *Montagne* and delegates of the secret workers' societies. The latter urged that the attack be started the same evening. The *Montagne* decisively rejected this plan. On no account did it want to let the leadership slip out of its hands; its allies were as suspect to it as its antagonists, and rightly so. The memory of June 1848 surged through the ranks of the Paris proletariat more vigorously than ever. Nevertheless it was chained to the alliance with the *Montagne*. The latter represented the largest part of the departments; it exaggerated its influence in the army; it had at its disposal the democratic section of the National Guard; it had the moral power of the shopkeepers behind it. To begin the insurrection at this moment against the will of the *Montagne* would have meant for the proletariat, decimated moreover by cholera and driven out of Paris in considerable numbers by unemployment, to repeat uselessly the June days of 1848, without the situation which had forced this desperate struggle. The proletarian delegates did the only rational thing. They obliged the *Montagne* to *compromise* itself, that is, to come out beyond the confines of the parliamentary struggle in the event of its bill of impeachment being rejected. During the whole of June 13, the proletariat maintained this same sceptically watchful attitude, and awaited a seriously engaged irrevocable *mêlée* between the democratic National Guard and the army, in order then to plunge into the fight and push the revolution forward beyond the petty-bourgeois aim set for it. In the event of victory a proletarian commune was already formed which would take its place beside the official government. The Parisian workers had learned in the bloody school of June 1848.

On June 12 Minister Lacrosse himself brought forward in the Legislative Assembly the motion to proceed at once to the discussion of the bill of impeachment. During the night the government had made every provision for defence and attack; the majority of the National Assembly was determined to drive the rebellious minority out into the streets; the minority itself could no longer retreat; the die was cast; the bill of impeachment was rejected by 377 votes to 8. The Mountain, which had abstained from voting, rushed resentfully into the propaganda halls of the "pacific democracy", into the newspaper offices of the *Démocratie pacifique*.[99]

Its withdrawal from the parliament building broke its strength as withdrawal from the earth broke the strength of Antaeus, her giant son. Samsons in the precincts of the Legislative Assembly, they were

only philistines in the precincts of the "pacific democracy". A long, noisy, rambling debate ensued. The *Montagne* was determined to compel respect for the constitution by every means, "*only not by force of arms*". In this determination it was supported by a manifesto[100] and by a deputation of the "Friends of the Constitution". "Friends of the Constitution" was what the wreckage of the coterie of the *National*, of the bourgeois-republican party, called itself. While six of its remaining parliamentary representatives had voted *against*, the others in a body voting *for*, the rejection of the bill of impeachment, while *Cavaignac* placed his sabre at the disposal of the party of Order, the larger, extra-parliamentary part of the coterie greedily seized the opportunity to emerge from its position of a political pariah, and to press into the ranks of the democratic party. Did they not appear as the natural shield-bearers of this party, which hid itself behind their shield, behind their *principles*, behind the *constitution*?

Till break of day the "Mountain" was in labour.[a] It gave birth to "*a proclamation to the people*", which, on the morning of June 13, occupied a more or less shamefaced place in two socialist journals.[101] It declared the President, the ministers and the majority of the Legislative Assembly "*outside the constitution*" (*hors la Constitution*) and summoned the National Guard, the army and finally also the people "to arise". "*Long live the Constitution!*" was the slogan that it put forward, a slogan that signified nothing other than "*Down with the revolution!*"

In conformity with the constitutional proclamation of the Mountain, there was a so-called *peaceful demonstration* of the petty bourgeois on June 13, that is, a street procession from the *Château d'Eau* through the boulevards, 30,000 strong, mainly National Guards, unarmed, with an admixture of members of the secret workers' sections, moving along with the cry: "*Long live the Constitution!*" which was uttered mechanically, coldly, and with a bad conscience by the members of the procession itself, and thrown back ironically by the echo of the people that surged along the sidewalks, instead of swelling up like thunder. From the many-voiced song the chest notes were missing. And when the procession swung by the meeting hall of the "Friends of the Constitution" and a hired herald of the constitution appeared on the housetop, violently cleaving the air with his *claqueur* hat and from tremendous lungs letting the catchcry "*Long live the Constitution!*" fall like hail on the heads of the pilgrims, they themselves seemed overcome for a moment by the

[a] Evidently an allusion to the expression "The mountain gave birth to a mouse" which is to be found in Horace's *The Art of Poetry*. Earlier it appeared in the *Banquet of the Learned*, a work by the Greek poet Athenaeus.—*Ed.*

comedy of the situation. It is known how the procession, having arrived at the termination of the *rue de la Paix*, was received in the boulevards by the dragoons and chasseurs of Changarnier in an altogether unparliamentary way, how in a trice it scattered in all directions and how it threw behind it a few shouts of "to arms" only in order that the parliamentary call to arms of June 11 might be fulfilled.

The majority of the *Montagne* assembled in the *rue du Hasard* scattered when this violent dispersion of the peaceful procession, the muffled rumours of murder of unarmed citizens on the boulevards and the growing tumult in the streets seemed to herald the approach of a rising. *Ledru-Rollin* at the head of a small band of deputies saved the honour of the Mountain. Under the protection of the Paris Artillery, which had assembled in the *Palais National*, they betook themselves to the *Conservatoire des arts et métiers*,[a] where the fifth and sixth legions of the National Guard were to arrive. But the *Montagnards* waited in vain for the fifth and sixth legions; these discreet National Guards left their representatives in the lurch; the Paris Artillery itself prevented the people from throwing up barricades; chaotic disorder made any decision impossible; the troops of the line advanced with fixed bayonets; some of the representatives were taken prisoner, while others escaped. Thus ended June 13.

If June 23, 1848, was the insurrection of the revolutionary proletariat, June 13, 1849, was the insurrection of the democratic petty bourgeois, each of these two insurrections being the *classically pure* expression of the class which had been its vehicle.

Only in Lyons did it come to an obstinate, bloody conflict.[102] Here, where the industrial bourgeoisie and the industrial proletariat stand directly opposed to one another, where the workers' movement is not, as in Paris, included in and determined by the general movement, June 13, in its repercussions, lost its original character. Wherever else it broke out in the provinces it did not kindle fire— *a cold lightning flash.*

June 13 closes the *first period in the life of the constitutional republic*, which had attained its normal existence on May 28, 1849, with the meeting of the Legislative Assembly. The whole period of this prologue is filled with vociferous struggle between the party of Order and the *Montagne*, between the big bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, which strove in vain against the consolidation of the bourgeois republic, for which it had itself continuously conspired in

[a] Museum of Arts and Trades, an educational institution in Paris.—*Ed.*

the Provisional Government and in the Executive Commission, and for which, during the June days, it had fought fanatically against the proletariat. The 13th of June breaks its resistance and makes the *legislative dictatorship* of the united royalists a *fait accompli*. From this moment the National Assembly is only a *Committee of Public Safety of the party of Order*.

Paris had put the President, the ministers and the majority of the National Assembly in a "*state of impeachment*"; they put Paris in a "*state of siege*". The Mountain had declared the majority of the Legislative Assembly "*outside the constitution*"; for violation of the constitution the majority handed over the Mountain to the *haute cour*[a] and proscribed everything in it that still had vital force.[103] It was decimated to a rump without head or heart. The minority had gone as far as to attempt a *parliamentary insurrection*; the majority elevated its *parliamentary despotism* to law. It decreed new *standing orders*, which annihilate the freedom of the tribune and authorise the President of the National Assembly to punish representatives for violation of the standing orders with censure, with fines, with stoppage of their salaries, with suspension of membership, with incarceration. Over the rump of the Mountain it hung the rod instead of the sword. The remainder of the deputies of the Mountain owed it to their honour to make a mass exit. By such an act the dissolution of the party of Order would have been hastened. It would have had to break up into its original component parts the moment that not even the semblance of an opposition would hold it together any longer.

Simultaneously with his *parliamentary* power, the democratic petty bourgeois was robbed of his *armed* power through the dissolution of the Paris Artillery and the 8th, 9th and 12th legions of the National Guard. On the other hand, the legion of high finance, which on June 13 had raided the printshops of Boulé and Roux, demolished the presses, played havoc with the offices of the republican journals and arbitrarily arrested editors, compositors, printers, shipping clerks and errand boys, received encouraging approval from the tribune of the National Assembly. All over France the disbandment of National Guards suspected of republicanism was repeated.

A new *press law*, a new *law of association*, a new *law on the state of siege*, the prisons of Paris overflowing, the political refugees driven out, all the journals that go beyond the limits of the *National* suspended, Lyons and the five departments surrounding it abandoned to the brutal persecution of military despotism, the courts

[a] High Court.— *Ed.*

ubiquitous and the army of officials, so often purged, purged once more—these were the inevitable, the constantly recurring *commonplaces* of victorious reaction, worth mentioning after the massacres and the deportations of June only because this time they were directed not only against Paris, but also against the departments, not only against the proletariat, but, above all, against the middle classes.

The repressive laws, by which the declaration of a state of siege was left to the discretion of the government, the press still more firmly muzzled and the right of association annihilated, absorbed the whole of the legislative activity of the National Assembly during the months of June, July and August.

However, this epoch is characterised not by the exploitation of victory *in fact*, but *in principle*; not by the resolutions of the National Assembly, but by the grounds advanced for these resolutions; not by the thing, but by the phrase; not by the phrase but by the accent and the gesture which enliven the phrase. The brazen, unreserved expression of *royalist sentiments*, the contemptuously aristocratic insults to the republic, the coquettishly frivolous babbling of the restoration aims, in a word, the boastful violation of *republican decorum* give its peculiar tone and colour to this period. Long live the Constitution! was the battle cry of the *vanquished* of June 13. The *victors* were therefore absolved from the hypocrisy of constitutional, that is, republican, speech. The counter-revolution subjugated Hungary, Italy and Germany, and they believed that the restoration was already at the gates of France. Among the masters of ceremony of the factions of Order there ensued a real competition to document their royalism in the *Moniteur*, and to confess, repent and crave pardon before God and man for liberal sins perchance committed by them under the monarchy. No day passed without the February Revolution being declared a national calamity from the tribune of the National Assembly, without some Legitimist provincial cabbage-Junker solemnly stating that he had never recognised the republic, without one of the cowardly deserters of and traitors to the July monarchy relating the belated deeds of heroism in the performance of which only the philanthropy of Louis Philippe or other misunderstandings had hindered him. What was admirable in the February days was not the magnanimity of the victorious people, but the self-sacrifice and moderation of the royalists, who had allowed it to be victorious. One representative of the people proposed to divert part of the money destined for the relief of those wounded in February to the *Municipal Guards*,[104] who alone in those days had deserved well of the fatherland. Another wanted to have an equestrian statue decreed to the Duke of Orleans in the *Place du*

*Carrousel.*[a] Thiers called the constitution a dirty piece of paper. There appeared in succession on the tribune Orleanists, to repent of their conspiracy against the legitimate monarchy; Legitimists, who reproached themselves with having hastened the overthrow of monarchy in general by resisting the illegitimate monarchy; Thiers, who repented of having intrigued against Molé; Molé, who repented of having intrigued against Guizot; Barrot, who repented of having intrigued against all three. The cry "Long live the Social-Democratic Republic!" was declared unconstitutional; the cry "Long live the Republic!" was persecuted as social-democratic. On the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo,[105] a representative declared: "I fear an invasion of the Prussians less than the entry of the revolutionary refugees into France."[b] To the complaints about the terrorism which was organised in Lyons and in the neighbouring departments, Baraguay d'Hilliers answered: "I prefer the White terror to the Red terror." (*J'aime mieux la terreur blanche que la terreur rouge.*)[c] And the Assembly applauded frantically every time that an epigram against the republic, against the revolution, against the constitution, for the monarchy or for the Holy Alliance fell from the lips of its orators. Every infringement of the minutest republican formality, for example, of addressing the representatives as *citoyens*, filled the knights of order with enthusiasm.

The by-elections in Paris on July 8, held under the influence of the state of siege and of the abstention of a great part of the proletariat from the ballot box, the taking of Rome by the French army, the entry into Rome of the scarlet eminences[106] and, in their train, of the Inquisition and monkish terrorism, added fresh victories to the victory of June and increased the intoxication of the party of Order.

Finally, in the middle of August, half with the intention of attending the Department Councils just assembled, half through exhaustion after the tendentious orgy of many months, the royalists decreed the prorogation of the National Assembly for two months. With transparent irony they left behind a commission of twenty-five representatives,[107] the cream of the Legitimists and the Orleanists, a Molé and a Changarnier, as proxies for the National Assembly and as *guardians of the republic.* The irony was more profound than they suspected. They, condemned by history to help to overthrow the

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[a] This refers to the motion made by Baron G. Gourgaud in the Legislative Assembly on October 15, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] From L. Estancelin's speech made in the Legislative Assembly on June 19, 1849. The quoted passage is a summary of his speech.— *Ed.*

[c] From Baraguay d'Hilliers' speeches made in the Legislative Assembly on June 27 and July 7, 1849.— *Ed.*

monarchy they loved, were destined by it to conserve the republic they hated.

The *second period in the life of the constitutional republic,* its *royalist period of sowing wild oats, closes* with the *proroguing* of the Legislative Assembly.

The state of siege in Paris had again been raised, the activities of the press had again begun. During the suspension of the social-democratic papers, during the period of repressive legislation and royalist bluster, the *Siècle,* the old literary representative of the *monarchist-constitutional petty bourgeois, republicanised* itself; the *Presse,* the old literary exponent of the *bourgeois reformers, democratised* itself; while the *National,* the old classic organ of the *republican bourgeois, socialised* itself.

The *secret societies* grew in extent and intensity in the same degree that the *public clubs* became impossible. The *workers' industrial co-operatives,* tolerated as purely commercial societies, while of no account economically, became politically so many means of cementing the proletariat. June 13 had struck off the official heads of the various semi-revolutionary parties; the masses that remained won a head of their own. The knights of order had practised intimidation by prophecies of the terror of the Red republic; the base excesses, the hyperborean atrocities of the victorious counter-revolution in Hungary, in Baden and in Rome washed the "*Red republic*" white. And the malcontent intermediate classes of French society began to prefer the promises of the Red republic with its problematic terrors to the terrors of the Red monarchy with its actual hopelessness. No Socialist in France spread more revolutionary propaganda than *Haynau. A chaque capacité selon ses œuvres!*[a]

In the meantime Louis Bonaparte exploited the recess of the National Assembly to make princely tours of the provinces, the most hot-blooded Legitimists made pilgrimages to Ems, to the grandchild of the saintly Louis,[108] and the mass of the popular representatives on the side of order intrigued in the Department Councils, which had just met. It was necessary to make them pronounce what the majority of the National Assembly did not yet dare to pronounce, an *urgent motion for immediate revision of the constitution.* According to the constitution, it could not be revised before 1852, and then only by a National Assembly called together expressly for this purpose. If, however, the majority of the Department Councils expressed

[a] To each man of talent according to his work! (Marx ironically uses Saint-Simon's well-known formula. See *Doctrine de Saint-Simon.* Exposition. Première année. 1829, Paris, 1830, p. 70.)—*Ed.*

themselves to this effect, was not the National Assembly bound to sacrifice the virginity of the constitution to the voice of France? The National Assembly entertained the same hopes in regard to these provincial assemblies as the nuns in Voltaire's *Henriade* entertained in regard to the pandours. But, some exceptions apart, the Potiphars of the National Assembly had to deal with just so many Josephs of the provinces. The vast majority did not want to understand the importunate insinuation. The revision of the constitution was frustrated by the very instruments by which it was to have been called into being, by the votes of the Department Councils. The voice of France, and indeed of bourgeois France, had spoken and had spoken against revision.

At the beginning of October the Legislative National Assembly met once more—*tantum mutatus ab illo!*[a] Its physiognomy was completely changed. The unexpected rejection of revision on the part of the Department Councils had put it back within the limits of the constitution and indicated the limits of its term of life. The Orleanists had become mistrustful because of the pilgrimages of the Legitimists to Ems; the Legitimists had grown suspicious on account of the negotiations of the Orleanists with London[109]; the journals of the two factions had fanned the fire and weighed the reciprocal claims of their pretenders. Orleanists and Legitimists grumbled in unison at the machinations of the Bonapartists, which showed themselves in the princely tours, in the more or less transparent emancipatory attempts of the President, in the presumptuous language of the Bonapartist newspapers; Louis Bonaparte grumbled at a National Assembly which found only the Legitimist-Orleanist conspiracy legitimate,[b] at a ministry which betrayed him continually to this National Assembly. Finally, the ministry was itself divided on the Roman policy and on the *income tax* proposed by Minister *Passy*, and decried as socialist by the conservatives.

One of the first bills of the Barrot ministry in the reassembled Legislative Assembly was a demand for a credit of 300,000 francs for the payment of a widow's pension to the *Duchess of Orleans*. The National Assembly granted it and added to the list of debts of the French nation a sum of seven million francs. Thus, while Louis Philippe continued to play with success the role of the *pauvre honteux*, of the shamefaced beggar, the ministry neither dared to move an increase of salary for Bonaparte nor did the Assembly appear

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[a] How great was the change since then! (Virgil, *Aeneid.*)—*Ed.*

[b] In his copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Revue* Engels changed the words *gerecht erfand* (found legitimate) to *berechtigt fand* (considered justified).—*Ed.*

inclined to grant it. And Louis Bonaparte, as ever, vacillated in the dilemma: *Aut Caesar aut Clichy!*[a]

The minister's second demand for a credit, one of nine million francs for *the costs of the Rome expedition*, increased the tension between Bonaparte, on the one hand, and the ministers and the National Assembly, on the other. Louis Bonaparte had inserted a letter to his military aide, Edgard Ney, in the *Moniteur*, in which he bound the papal government to constitutional guarantees.[b] The Pope, on his part, had issued a statement, "*motu proprio*",[110] in which he rejected any limitation of his restored rule. Bonaparte's letter, with studied indiscretion, raised the curtain of his cabinet, in order to expose himself to the eyes of the gallery as a benevolent genius who was, however, misunderstood and shackled in his own house. It was not the first time that he had coquetted with the "furtive flights of a free soul".[c] *Thiers*, the reporter of the commission, completely ignored Bonaparte's flight and contented himself with translating the papal allocution into French. It was not the ministry, but *Victor Hugo* that sought to save the President through an order of the day in which the National Assembly[d] was to express its agreement with Napoleon's letter. *Allons donc! Allons donc!*[e] With this disrespectful, frivolous interjection the majority buried Hugo's motion. The policy of the President? The letter of the President? The President himself? *Allons donc! Allons donc!* Who the devil takes Monsieur Bonaparte *au sérieux?* Do you believe, Monsieur Victor Hugo, that we believe you that you believe in the President? *Allons donc! Allons donc!*

Finally, the breach between Bonaparte and the National Assembly was hastened by the discussion on the *recall of the Orleans and the Bourbons*. In default of the ministry, the cousin of the President, the son of the ex-king of Westphalia,[f] had put forward this motion, which had no other purpose than to push the Legitimist and the Orleanist pretenders down to the same level, or rather a *lower* level than the Bonapartist pretender, who at least stood in fact at the pinnacle of the state.

Napoleon Bonaparte was disrespectful enough to make the *recall*

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[a] *Either Caesar o Clichy!* Clichy: Paris prison for insolvent debtors. Paraphrase of Cesare Borgia's words "Aut Caesar, aut nihil" (either Caesar or nothing).—*Ed.*

[b] *Lettre adressée par le président de la République au lieutenant-colonel Edgard Ney, son officier d'ordonnance à Rome* (August 18, 1849).—*Ed.*

[c] Modified quotation from Georg Herwegh's poem "Aus den Bergen" (from the cycle *Gedichte eines Lebendigen*).—*Ed.*

[d] At its sitting of October 19, 1849.—*Ed.*

[e] Get along with you!—*Ed.*

[f] Prince Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Jérôme Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

*of the expelled royal families* and the *amnesty of the June insurgents* parts of one and the same motion. The indignation of the majority compelled him immediately to apologise for this sacrilegious concatenation of the sacred and the profane, of the royal races and the proletarian brood, of the fixed stars of society and of its swamp lights, and to assign to each of the two motions its proper place. The majority energetically rejected the recall of the royal families, and *Berryer*, the Demosthenes of the Legitimists, left no doubt about the meaning of the vote. The civic degradation of the pretenders, that is what is intended! It is desired to rob them of their halo, of the last majesty that is left to them, the *majesty of exile*! What, cried Berryer, would be thought of him among the pretenders who, forgetting his august origin, came here to live as a simple private individual?[a] It could not have been more clearly intimated to Louis Bonaparte that he had not gained the day by his presence, that whereas the royalists in coalition needed him here in France as a *neutral man* in the presidential chair, the serious pretenders to the throne had to be kept out of profane sight by the fog of exile.

On November 1, Louis Bonaparte answered the Legislative Assembly with a message which in pretty brusque words announced the dismissal of the Barrot ministry and the formation of a new ministry.[b] The Barrot-Falloux ministry was the ministry of the royalist coalition, the d'Hautpoul ministry was the ministry of Bonaparte, the organ of the President as against the Legislative Assembly, the *ministry of the clerks*.

Bonaparte was no longer the merely *neutral man* of December 10, 1848. Possession of the executive power had grouped a number of interests around him, the struggle with anarchy forced the party of Order itself to increase his influence, and if he was *no longer* popular, the party of Order was *unpopular*. Could he not hope to compel the Orleanists and the Legitimists, through their rivalry as well as through the necessity of some sort of monarchist restoration, to recognise the *neutral pretender*?

From November 1, 1849, dates the third period in the life of the constitutional republic, a period which closes with March 10, 1850. The regular game, so much admired by Guizot, of the constitutional institutions, the wrangling between executive and legislative power, now begins. More, as against the hankering for restoration on the part of the united Orleanists and Legitimists, Bonaparte defends his

[a] From Berryer's speech made in the Legislative Assembly on October 24, 1849.— *Ed.*

[b] *Message du Président de la République française à l'Assemblée législative* (October 31, 1849).— *Ed.*

title to his actual power, the republic; as against the hankering for restoration on the part of Bonaparte, the party of Order defends its title to its common rule, the republic; as against the Orleanists, the Legitimists, and as against the Legitimists, the Orleanists, defend the *status quo*, the republic. All these factions of the party of Order, each of which has its own king and its own restoration *in petto*,[a] mutually enforce, as against their rivals' hankering for usurpation and revolt, the common rule of the bourgeoisie, the form in which the special claims remain neutralised and reserved—*the republic*.

Just as Kant makes the republic, so these royalists make *the monarchy* the only rational form of state, a postulate of practical reason whose realisation is never attained, but whose attainment must always be striven for and mentally adhered to as the goal.[b]

Thus the constitutional republic had gone forth from the hands of the bourgeois republicans as a hollow ideological formula to become a form full of content and life in the hands of the royalists in coalition. And Thiers spoke more truly than he suspects when he said: "We, the royalists, are the true pillars of the constitutional republic."[c]

The overthrow of the ministry of the coalition and the appearance of the ministry of the clerks has a second significance. Its Finance Minister was *Fould*. Fould as Finance Minister signifies the official surrender of France's national wealth to the Bourse, the management of the state's property by the Bourse and in the interests of the Bourse. With the nomination of Fould, the finance aristocracy announced its restoration in the *Moniteur*. This restoration necessarily supplemented the other restorations, which form just so many links in the chain of the constitutional republic.

Louis Philippe had never dared to make a genuine *loup-cervier* (stock-exchange wolf) finance minister. Just as his monarchy was the ideal name for the rule of the big bourgeoisie, so in his ministries the privileged interests had to bear ideologically disinterested names. The bourgeois republic everywhere pushed into the forefront what the different monarchies, Legitimist as well as Orleanist, kept concealed in the background. It made earthly what they had made heavenly. In place of the names of the saints it put the bourgeois proper names of the dominant class interests.

Our whole exposition has shown how the republic, from the first day of its existence, did not overthrow but consolidated the finance

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[a] In its bosom, secretly.—*Ed.*

[b] Immanuel Kant, *Der Rechtslehre Zweiter Theil. Das öffentliche Recht.* Erster Abschnitt. Das Staatsrecht.—*Ed.*

[c] From Thiers' speech made in the Legislative Assembly on July 24, 1849.—*Ed.*

aristocracy. But the concessions that were made to it were a fate to which submission was made without the desire to bring it about. With Fould, the initiative in the government returned to the finance aristocracy.

The question will be asked, how the coalesced bourgeoisie could bear and suffer the rule of finance, which under Louis Philippe depended on the exclusion or subordination of the remaining bourgeois factions.

The answer is simple.

First of all, the finance aristocracy itself forms a weighty, authoritative part of the royalist coalition, whose common governmental power is denominated republic. Are not the spokesmen and leading lights among the Orleanists the old confederates and accomplices of the finance aristocracy? Is it not itself the golden phalanx of Orleanism? As far as the Legitimists are concerned, they had participated in practice already under Louis Philippe in all the orgies of the Bourse, mine and railway speculations. In general, the combination of large landed property with high finance is a *normal fact.* Proof: *England*; proof: even *Austria.*

In a country like France, where the volume of national production stands at a disproportionately lower level than the amount of the national debt, where government bonds form the most important object of speculation and the Bourse the chief market for the investment of capital that wants to turn itself to account in an unproductive way—in such a country a countless number of people from all bourgeois or semi-bourgeois classes must have an interest in the state debt, in the Bourse gamblings, in finance. Do not all these interested subalterns find their natural mainstays and commanders in the faction which represents this interest in its vastest outlines, which represents it as a whole?

By what is the accrual of state property to high finance conditioned? By the constantly growing indebtedness of the state. And the indebtedness of the state? By the constant excess of its expenditure over its income, a disproportion which is simultaneously the cause and effect of the system of state loans.

In order to escape from this indebtedness, the state must either restrict its expenditure, that is, simplify and curtail the government organism, govern as little as possible, employ as small a personnel as possible, enter as little as possible into relations with civil society. This path was impossible for the party of Order, whose means of repression, whose official interference in the name of the state and whose ubiquity through organs of state were bound to increase in the same measure as the number of quarters increased

from which its rule and the conditions for the existence of its class were threatened. The *gendarmerie* cannot be reduced in the same measure as attacks on persons and property increase.

Or the state must seek to evade the debts and produce an immediate but transitory balance in its budget by putting *extraordinary taxes* on the shoulders of the wealthiest classes. But was the party of Order to sacrifice its own wealth on the altar of the fatherland in order to stop the national wealth from being exploited by the Bourse? *Pas si bête!*[a]

Therefore, without a complete revolution in the French state, no revolution in the French state budget. Along with this state budget necessarily goes state indebtedness, and with state indebtedness necessarily goes the power over the trade in state debts, the state creditors, the bankers, the money dealers and the wolves of the Bourse. Only one faction of the party of Order was directly concerned in the overthrow of the finance aristocracy—the *manufacturers*. We are not speaking of the middle, of the smaller industrialists; we are speaking of the reigning princes of the manufacturing interests, who had formed the broad basis of the dynastic opposition under Louis Philippe. Their interest is indubitably reduction of the costs of production and hence reduction of the taxes, which enter into production, and hence reduction of the state debts, the interest on which enters into the taxes, hence the overthrow of the finance aristocracy.

In England—and the largest French manufacturers are petty bourgeois compared with their English rivals—we really find the manufacturers, a Cobden, a Bright, at the head of the crusade against the bank and the stock-exchange aristocracy. Why not in France? In England industry predominates; in France, agriculture. In England industry requires free trade[b]; in France, protective tariffs, national monopoly alongside of the other monopolies. French industry does not dominate French production, the French industrialists, therefore, do not dominate the French bourgeoisie. In order to secure the advancement of their interests as against the remaining factions of the bourgeoisie, they cannot, like the English, take the lead of the movement and simultaneously push their class interests to the fore; they must follow in the train of the revolution, and serve interests which are opposed to the collective interests of their class. In February they had misunderstood their position; February sharpened their wits. And who is more directly threatened by the workers than the employer, the industrial capitalist? The

[a] It is not so stupid!—*Ed.*

[b] The two words are in English in the German original.—*Ed.*

manufacturer, therefore, of necessity became in France the most fanatical member of the party of Order. The reduction of his *profit* by finance, *what is that compared with the abolition of profit by the proletariat?*

In France, the petty bourgeois does what normally the industrial bourgeois would have to do; the worker does what normally would be the task of the petty bourgeois; and the task of the worker, who accomplishes that? No one. In France it is not accomplished; in France it is proclaimed. It is not accomplished anywhere within the national walls[111]; the class war within French society turns into a world war, in which the nations confront one another. Accomplishment begins only when, through the world war, the proletariat is pushed to the fore in the nation which dominates the world market, to the forefront in England. The revolution, which finds here not its end, but its organisational beginning, is no short-lived revolution. The present generation is like the Jews whom Moses led through the wilderness. It has not only a new world to conquer, it must go under in order to make room for the men who are able to cope with a new world.

Let us return to Fould.

On November 14, 1849, Fould mounted the tribune of the National Assembly and expounded his system of finance: an apology for the old system of taxes! Retention of the wine tax! Abandonment of Passy's income tax!

Passy, too, was no revolutionist; he was an old minister of Louis Philippe's. He belonged to the puritans of the Dufaure brand and to the most intimate confidants of Teste, the scapegoat of the July monarchy.* Passy, too, had praised the old tax system and recommended the retention of the wine tax; but he had, at the same time, torn the veil from the state deficit. He had declared the necessity for a new tax, the income tax, if the bankruptcy of the state was to be avoided. Fould, who had recommended state bankruptcy to Ledru-Rollin, recommended the state deficit to the Legislative Assembly. He promised economies, the secret of which later revealed itself in that, for example, expenditures diminished by sixty millions while the floating debt increased by two hundred millions—conjur-

* On July 8, 1847, before the Chamber of Peers in Paris, began the trial of Parmentier and General Cubières for bribing officials to obtain a salt works concession, and of the then Minister of Public Works, Teste, for accepting such money bribes. The latter attempted to commit suicide during the trial. All were heavily fined; Teste, in addition, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.—*Note by Engels to the 1895 edition.*

ers' tricks in the grouping of figures, in the drawing up of accounts, which all finally amounted to new loans.

Alongside the other jealous bourgeois factions, the finance aristocracy naturally did not act in so shamelessly corrupt a manner under Fould as under Louis Philippe. But, once it existed, the system remained the same: constant increase in the debts, masking of the deficit. And, in time, the old Bourse swindling came out more openly. Proof: the law concerning the Avignon Railway; the mysterious fluctuations in government securities, for a brief space the topic of the day throughout Paris; finally, the ill-starred speculations of Fould and Bonaparte on the elections of March 10.

With the official restoration of the finance aristocracy, the French people had soon again to stand before a February 24.

The Constituent Assembly, in an attack of misanthropy against its heir, had abolished the wine tax for the year of our Lord 1850. New debts could not be paid with the abolition of old taxes. *Creton*, a cretin of the party of Order, had moved the retention of the wine tax even before the prorogation of the Legislative Assembly. Fould took up this motion in the name of the Bonapartist ministry and on December 20, 1849, the anniversary of the day when Bonaparte was proclaimed President, the National Assembly decreed the *restoration of the wine tax.*

The sponsor of this restoration was not a financier; it was the Jesuit chief *Montalembert.* His argument[a] was strikingly simple: Taxation is the maternal breast on which the government is suckled. The government is the instruments of repression; it is the organs of authority; it is the army; it is the police; it is the officials, the judges, the ministers; it is the *priests.* An attack on taxation is an attack by the anarchists on the sentinels of order, who safeguard the material and spiritual production of bourgeois society from the inroads of the proletarian vandals. Taxation is the fifth god, side by side with property, the family, order and religion. And the wine tax is incontestably taxation and, moreover, not ordinary, but traditional, monarchically disposed, respectable taxation. *Vive l'impôt des boissons!*[b] Three cheers and one cheer more![c]

When the French peasant paints the devil, he paints him in the guise of a tax-collector. From the moment when Montalembert elevated taxation to a god, the peasant became godless, atheist, and threw himself into the arms of the devil, of *Socialism.* The religion of

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[a] In the Legislative Assembly on December 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] Long live the tax on drinks!—*Ed.*

[c] This sentence is in English in the German original.—*Ed.*

order had given him up; the Jesuits had given him up; Bonaparte had given him up. December 20, 1849, had irrevocably compromised December 20, 1848. The "nephew of his uncle" was not the first of his family whom the wine tax defeated, this tax which, in the expression of Montalembert, heralds the revolutionary storm. The real, the great Napoleon declared on St. Helena that the reintroduction of the wine tax had contributed more to his downfall than all else, since it had alienated from him the peasants of Southern France. Already under Louis XIV the favourite object of the hatred of the people (see the writings of Boisguillebert and Vauban), abolished by the first revolution, it was reintroduced by Napoleon in a modified form in 1808. When the restoration entered France, there trotted before it not only the Cossacks, but also promises to abolish the wine tax. The *gentilhommerie*[a] naturally did not need to keep its word to the *gent taillable à merci et miséricorde*.[b] The year 1830 promised the abolition of the wine tax. It was not that year's way to do what it said or say what it did. The year 1848 promised the abolition of the wine tax, just as it promised everything. Finally, the Constituent Assembly, which promised nothing, made, as already mentioned, a testamentary provision whereby the wine tax was to disappear on January 1, 1850. And just ten days before January 1, 1850, the Legislative Assembly introduced it once more, so that the French people perpetually pursued it, and when it had thrown it out the door saw it come in again through the window.

The popular hatred of the wine tax is explained by the fact that it unites in itself all the odiousness of the French system of taxation. The mode of its collection is odious, the mode of its distribution aristocratic, for the rates of taxation are the same for the commonest as for the costliest wines; it increases, therefore, in geometrical progression as the wealth of the consumers decreases, an inverted progressive tax. It accordingly directly provokes the poisoning of the labouring classes by putting a premium on adulterated and imitation wines. It lessens consumption, since it sets up *octrois*[c] before the gates of all towns of over 4,000 inhabitants and transforms each such town into a foreign country with a protective tariff against French wine. The big wine merchants, but still more the small ones, the *marchands de vins*, the keepers of wine bars, whose livelihood directly depends on the consumption of wine, are so many avowed enemies of the wine tax. And, finally, by lessening consumption the wine tax

[a] Nobility.—*Ed.*
[b] People liable to tax.— *Ed.*
[c] Local customs offices.— *Ed.*

curtails the producers' market. While it renders the urban workers incapable of paying for wine, it renders the wine-growers incapable of selling it. And France has a wine-growing population of about twelve million. One can, therefore, understand the hatred of the people in general; one can, in particular, understand the fanaticism of the peasants against the wine tax. And, in addition, they saw in its restoration no isolated, more or less accidental, event. The peasants have a kind of historical tradition of their own, which is handed down from father to son, and in this historical school it is muttered that whenever any government wants to dupe the peasants, it promises the abolition of the wine tax, and as soon as it has duped the peasants, retains or reintroduces the wine tax. In the wine tax the peasant tests the bouquet of the government, its tendency. The restoration of the wine tax on December 20 meant: *Louis Bonaparte is like the rest.* But he was not like the rest; he was a *peasant discovery*, and in the petitions carrying millions of signatures against the wine tax they took back the votes that they had given a year before to the "nephew of his uncle".

The rural population—over two-thirds of the total French population—consist for the most part of so-called free *landowners.* The first generation, gratuitously freed by the Revolution of 1789 from its feudal burdens, had paid no price for the soil. But the following generations paid, in the form of the *price of land*, what their semi-serf forefathers had paid in the form of rent, tithes, *corvée*, etc. The more, on the one hand, the population grew and the more, on the other hand, the partition of holdings increased, the higher became the price of the plot, for the demand for them increased with their smallness. But in proportion as the price which the peasant paid for his plot rose, whether he bought it directly or whether he had it accounted as capital by his coheirs, necessarily also rose the *indebtedness of the peasant*, that is, the *mortgage.* The claim to a debt encumbering the land is termed a *mortgage*, a pawnticket in respect of the land. Just as *privileges* accumulated on the medieval estate, *mortgages* accumulate on the modern small holding.—On the other hand: under the system of parcellation the soil is purely an *instrument of production* for its proprietor. Now the fertility of land diminishes in the same measure as land is divided. The application of machinery to the land, the division of labour, major soil improvement measures, such as digging drainage and irrigation canals and the like, become more and more impossible, while the *unproductive costs* of cultivation increase in the same proportion as the division of the instrument of production itself. All this, regardless of whether the possessor of the small holding possesses capital or not. But the more the division

increases, the more does the plot of land with its utterly wretched inventory form the entire capital of the small-holding peasant, the more does investment of capital in the land diminish, the more does the cottager lack land, money and education for making use of the progress in agronomy, and the more does the cultivation of the soil retrogress. Finally, the *net proceeds* diminish in the same proportion as the *gross consumption* increases, as the whole family of the peasant is kept back from other occupations because of its holding and yet is not enabled to live by it.

In the measure, therefore, that the population and, with it, the division of the land increases, *does the instrument of production*, the soil, *become dearer* and *its fertility* decrease, *does agriculture decline and the peasant become loaded with debt.* And what was the effect becomes, in its turn, the cause. Each generation leaves behind another more deeply in debt; each new generation begins under more unfavourable and more aggravating conditions; mortgaging begets mortgaging, and when it becomes impossible for the peasant to offer his small holding as security for *new debts*, that is, to encumber it with new mortgages, he falls a direct victim to *usury*, and *usurious interest rates* become so much the more exorbitant.

Thus it came about that the French peasant cedes to the capitalist, in the form of *interest* on the *mortgages* encumbering the soil and in the form of interest on the *advances made by the usurer without mortgages*, not only rent, not only the industrial profit, in a word, not only the *whole net profit*, but even *a part of the wages*, and that therefore he has sunk to the level of the *Irish tenant farmer*—all under the pretence of being a *private proprietor.*

This process was accelerated in France by the evergrowing *burden of taxes* and by *court costs* called forth in part directly by the formalities themselves with which French legislation encumbers the ownership of land, in part by the innumerable conflicts over plots everywhere bounding and crossing each other, and in part by the litigiousness of the peasants, whose enjoyment of property is limited to the fanatical assertion of their title to their fancied property, of their *property rights.*

According to a statistical statement of 1840, the gross production of French agriculture amounted to 5,237,178,000 francs. Of this, the costs of cultivation come to 3,552,000,000 francs, including the consumption by the persons working. There remains a net product of 1,685,178,000 francs, from which 550,000,000 have to be deducted for interest on mortgages, 100,000,000 for law officials, 350,000,000 for taxes and 107,000,000 for registration money, stamp duty, mortgage fees, etc. There is left one-third of the net

product, or 538,000,000; when distributed over the population, not 25 francs per head net product.[112] Naturally neither usury outside of mortgage nor lawyers' fees, etc., are included in this calculation.

The condition of the French peasants, when the republic had added new burdens to their old ones, is comprehensible. It can be seen that their exploitation differs only in *form* from the exploitation of the industrial proletariat. The exploiter is the same: *capital*. The individual capitalists exploit the individual peasants through *mortgages* and *usury*; the capitalist class exploits the peasant class through the *state taxes*. The peasant's title to property is the talisman by which capital held him hitherto under its spell, the pretext under which it set him against the industrial proletariat. Only the fall of capital can raise the peasant; only an anti-capitalist, a proletarian government can break his economic misery, his social degradation. The *constitutional republic* is the dictatorship of his united exploiters; *the social-democratic, the Red* republic, is the dictatorship of his allies. And the scale rises or falls, according to the votes that the peasant casts into the ballot box. He himself has to decide his fate.—So spoke the Socialists in pamphlets, almanacs, calendars and leaflets of all kinds. This language became more understandable to him through the counter-writings of the party of Order, which, for its part, turned to him, and which, by gross exaggeration, by its brutal conception and representation of the intentions and ideas of the Socialists, struck the true peasant note and overstimulated his lust after forbidden fruit. Clearest of all, however, was the voice of the peasants' actual experience of using the vote, and the successive disappointments it rained down blow by blow with revolutionary speed upon them. *Revolutions are the locomotives of history.*

The gradual revolutionising of the peasants was manifested by various symptoms. It already revealed itself in the elections to the Legislative Assembly; it was revealed in the state of siege in the five departments bordering Lyons; it was revealed a few months after June 13 in the election of a *Montagnard*[a] in place of the former president of the *Chambre introuvable** by the Department of the Gironde; it was revealed on December 20, 1849, in the election of a Red[b] in place of a deceased Legitimist deputy in the Department *du*

* This is the name given by history to the fanatically ultra-royalist and reactionary Chamber of Deputies elected immediately after the second overthrow of Napoleon, in 1815.—*Note by Engels to the 1895 edition.*

[a] Lagarde, who was elected to replace the deceased Ravez.—*Ed.*
[b] Favand, who was elected to replace the deceased Beaune.—*Ed.*

*Gard*,[113] that promised land of the Legitimists, the scene of the most frightful infamies committed against the republicans in 1794 and 1795 and the centre of the *terreur blanche* in 1815, when liberals and Protestants were publicly murdered. This revolutionising of the most stationary class is most clearly evident since the reintroduction of the wine tax. The governmental measures and the laws of January and February 1850 are directed almost exclusively against the *departments* and the *peasants*. The most striking proof of their progress.

The *Hautpoul circular*, by which the gendarme was appointed inquisitor of the prefect, of the sub-prefect and, above all, of the mayor, and by which espionage was organised even in the hidden corners of the remotest village community; the *law against the schoolteachers*, by which they, the men of talent, the spokesmen, the educators and interpreters of the peasant class, were subjected to the arbitrary power of the prefect, they, the proletarians of the learned class, were chased like hunted beasts from one community to another; the *bill against the mayors*, by which the Damocles sword of dismissal was hung over their heads, and they, the presidents of the peasant communities, were every moment set in opposition to the President of the Republic and the party of Order; the *ordinance* which transformed the seventeen military districts of France into four pashalics[114] and forced the barracks and the bivouac on the French as their national *salon*; the *education law*,[115] by which the party of Order proclaimed the unconsciousness and the forcible stupefaction of France as the condition of its life under the regime of universal suffrage—what were all these laws and measures? Desperate attempts to reconquer the departments and the peasants of the departments for the party of Order.

Regarded as *repression*, they were wretched methods that wrung the neck of their own purpose. The big measures, like the retention of the wine tax, of the 45 centimes tax, the scornful rejection of the peasant petitions for the repayment of the milliard, etc., all these legislative thunderbolts struck the peasant class only once, wholesale, from the centre; the laws and measures instanced made attack and resistance *general*, the topic of the day in every hut; they inoculated every village with revolution; they *localised and peasantised the revolution*.

On the other hand, do not these proposals of Bonaparte and their acceptance by the National Assembly prove the unity of the two powers of the constitutional republic, so far as it is a question of repression of anarchy, that is, of all the classes that rise against the bourgeois dictatorship? Had not *Soulouque*, directly after his brusque

message,[a] assured the Legislative Assembly of his *dévouement*[b] to order, through the immediately following message of *Carlier*,[116] that dirty, mean caricature of Fouché, as Louis Bonaparte himself was the shallow caricature of Napoleon?

The *education law* shows us the alliance of the young Catholics with the old Voltairians. Could the rule of the united bourgeois be anything but the coalitioned despotism of the pro-Jesuit Restoration and the pseudo-free-thinking July monarchy? And was it not inevitable that the weapons distributed to the people by one bourgeois faction against the other in their mutual struggle for supremacy should be torn away from them again, once the people stood in opposition to their united dictatorship? Nothing has aroused the Paris shopkeeper more than this coquettish *étalage* of *Jesuitism*, not even the rejection of the *concordats à l'amiable*.

Meanwhile the collisions between the different factions of the party of Order, as well as between the National Assembly and Bonaparte, continued. The National Assembly was far from pleased that Bonaparte, immediately after his *coup d'état*, after appointing his own, Bonapartist, ministry, summoned the wounded veterans of the monarchy, newly appointed prefects, and made their unconstitutional agitation for his re-election as President the condition of their appointment; that Carlier celebrated his inauguration with the closing of a Legitimist club, or that Bonaparte founded a journal of his own, *Le Napoléon*, which betrayed to the public the secret longings of the President, while his ministers had to deny them from the tribune of the Legislative Assembly. The latter was far from pleased by the defiant retention of the ministry, notwithstanding its various votes of no confidence; far from pleased by the attempt to win the favour of the non-commissioned officers by a pay rise of four sous a day, and the favour of the proletariat by a plagiarisation of Eugène Sue's *Mystères*, by an honour loan bank[c]; far from pleased, finally, by the effrontery with which the ministers were made to move the deportation of the remaining June insurgents to Algiers, in order to heap unpopularity on the Legislative Assembly *en gros*, while the President reserved popularity for himself *en détail*, by individual grants of pardon. *Thiers* let fall threatening words about "*coup d'état*" and "*coups de tête*",[d] and the Legislative Assembly revenged itself on Bonaparte by rejecting every proposed law which he put forward for

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[a] See this volume, pp. 112-13.— *Ed.*

[b] Devotion.— *Ed.*

[c] For a criticism of the idea to set up a "bank for the poor", described in Eugène Sue's novel *Les mystères de Paris*, see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 197-99.— *Ed.*

[d] A play on the words *coup d'état* and *coups de tête* (rash deeds).— *Ed.*

his own benefit, and by enquiring, with noisy mistrust, in every instance of his making a proposal in the common interest, whether he did not aspire, through increase of the executive power, to augment the personal power of Bonaparte. In a word, it *revenged itself by a conspiracy of contempt.*

The Legitimist party, on its part, saw with vexation the more capable Orleanists once more occupying almost all posts and *centralisation* increasing, while on principle it sought its salvation in *decentralisation.* And it was so. The counter-revolution *centralised forcibly,* that is to say, it prepared the mechanism of the revolution. It even *centralised* the gold and silver of France in the Paris bank through the compulsory quotation of bank-notes, and so created the *ready war chest* of the revolution.

Lastly, the Orleanists saw with vexation the emergent principle of legitimacy contrasted with their bastard principle, and themselves every moment snubbed and maltreated as the bourgeois *mésalliance* of a noble spouse.

Little by little we have seen peasants, petty bourgeois, the middle classes in general, stepping alongside the proletariat, driven into open antagonism to the official republic and treated by it as antagonists. *Revolt against bourgeois dictatorship, need of a change of society, adherence to democratic-republican institutions as organs of their movement, grouping round the proletariat as the decisive revolutionary power*—these are the common characteristics of the *so-called party of social-democracy, the party of the Red republic.* This *party of Anarchy,* as its opponents christened it, is no less a coalition of different interests than *the party of Order.* From the smallest reform of the old social disorder to the overthrow of the old social order, from bourgeois liberalism to revolutionary terrorism—as far apart as this lie the extremes that form the starting point and the finishing point of the party of "Anarchy".

Abolition of all protective tariffs—Socialism! For it strikes at the monopoly of the *industrial* faction of the party of Order. Regulation of the state budget—Socialism! For it strikes at the monopoly of the *financial* faction of the party of Order. Free entry for foreign meat and corn—Socialism! For it strikes at the monopoly of the third faction of the party of Order, *large landed property.* The demands of the free-trade party, that is, of the most advanced English bourgeois party, appear in France as so many socialist demands. Voltairianism—Socialism! For it strikes at a fourth faction of the party of Order, the *Catholic.* Freedom of the press, right of association, universal public education—Socialism, Socialism! They strike at the general monopoly of the party of Order.

So swiftly had the march of the revolution ripened conditions that the friends of reform of all shades, the most moderate claims of the middle classes, were compelled to group themselves round the banner of the most extreme party of revolution, round the *red flag.*

Yet, manifold as the *Socialism* of the different large sections of the party of Anarchy was, according to the economic conditions and the total revolutionary requirements of their class or fraction of a class arising out of these, in *one* point it is in harmony: in proclaiming itself the *means of emancipating the proletariat* and the emancipation of the latter as its *object.* Deliberate deception on the part of some; self-deception on the part of the others, who give out the world transformed according to their own needs as the best world for all, as the realisation of all revolutionary claims and the elimination of all revolutionary collisions.

Behind the *general* socialist phrases of the "*party of Anarchy*", which sound rather alike, there is concealed the *Socialism of the "National", of the "Presse" and the "Siècle"*, which more or less consistently wants to overthrow the rule of the finance aristocracy and to free industry and trade from their hitherto existing fetters. This is the Socialism of industry, of trade and of agriculture, whose bosses in the party of Order deny these interests, insofar as they no longer coincide with their private monopolies. Socialism proper, *petty-bourgeois Socialism,* Socialism *par excellence,* is distinct from this *bourgeois Socialism,* to which, as to every variety of Socialism, a section of the workers and petty bourgeois naturally rallies. Capital hounds this class chiefly as its *creditor,* so it demands *credit institutions;* capital crushes it by *competition,* so it demands *associations* supported by the state; capital overwhelms it by *concentration,* so it demands *progressive taxes,* limitations on inheritance, taking over of large construction projects by the state, and other measures that *forcibly stem the growth of capital.* Since it dreams of the peaceful achievement of its Socialism—allowing, perhaps, for a second February Revolution lasting a brief day or so—the coming historical process naturally appears to it as an *application of systems,* which the thinkers of society, whether in companies or as individual inventors, devise or have devised. Thus they become the eclectics or adepts of the existing socialist *systems,* of *doctrinaire Socialism,* which was the theoretical expression of the proletariat only as long as it had not yet developed further into a free historical movement of its own.

Thus, while *utopia, doctrinaire Socialism,* which subordinates the whole movement to one of its elements, which puts the cerebrations of the individual pedant in place of common, social production and,

above all, wishes away the necessities of the revolutionary class struggles by petty tricks or great sentimental rhetoric—while this doctrinaire Socialism, which basically only idealises present-day society, makes a shadowless picture of it and seeks to oppose its ideal to its reality, while this Socialism is ceded by the proletariat to the petty bourgeoisie, while the internal struggle between the different socialist leaders reveals each so-called system to be the pretentious adherence to one transitional position on the path to social upheaval as opposed to another—the *proletariat* increasingly organises itself around *revolutionary Socialism*, around *Communism*, for which the bourgeoisie itself has invented the name of *Blanqui*. This Socialism is the *declaration of the permanence of the revolution*, the *class dictatorship* of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the *abolition of class distinctions generally*, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionising of all the ideas that result from these social relations.

The scope of this exposition does not permit of developing the subject further.

We have seen that just as in the party of *Order* the *finance aristocracy* necessarily took the lead, so in the party of "*Anarchy*" the *proletariat*. While the different classes, united in a revolutionary league, grouped themselves round the proletariat, while the departments became ever more unreliable and the Legislative Assembly itself ever more morose towards the pretensions of the French Soulouque, the long deferred and delayed election of substitutes for the *Montagnards*, proscribed after June 13, drew near.

The government, scorned by its foes, maltreated and daily humiliated by its alleged friends, saw only *one* means of emerging from this repugnant and untenable position—a *revolt*. A revolt in Paris would have permitted the proclamation of a state of siege in Paris and the departments and thus the control of the elections. On the other hand, the friends of order, in face of a government that had gained victory over anarchy, were constrained to make concessions, if they did not want to appear as anarchists themselves.

The government set to work. At the beginning of February 1850, provocation of the people by chopping down the trees of liberty.[117] In vain. If the trees of liberty lost their place, it itself lost its head and fell back, frightened by its own provocation. The National Assembly, however, received this clumsy attempt at emancipation on the part of Bonaparte with ice-cold mistrust. The removal of the wreaths of immortelles from the July column was no more successful.[118] It gave

a part of the army an opportunity for revolutionary demonstrations and the National Assembly the occasion for a more or less veiled vote of no confidence in the ministry. In vain the government press threatened the abolition of universal suffrage and an invasion by the Cossacks. In vain was d'Hautpoul's direct challenge, issued to the Left[a] in the Legislative Assembly itself, to betake themselves to the streets, and his declaration that the government was ready to receive them. Hautpoul received nothing but a call to order from the President,[b] and the party of Order, with silent, malicious joy, allowed a deputy of the Left to mock Bonaparte's usurpatory longings. In vain, finally, was the prophecy of a revolution on *February 24*. The government caused February 24 to be ignored by the people.

The proletariat did not allow itself to be provoked to *revolt*, because it was on the point of making a *revolution*.

Unhindered by the provocations of the government, which only heightened the general exasperation at the existing situation, the election committee, wholly under the influence of the workers, put forward three candidates for Paris: *Deflotte*, *Vidal* and *Carnot*. *Deflotte* was a June deportee, amnestied through one of Bonaparte's popularity-seeking ideas; he was a friend of Blanqui and had taken part in the attempt of May 15. *Vidal*, known as a Communist writer through his book *Concerning the Distribution of Wealth*,[c] was formerly secretary to Louis Blanc in the Luxembourg Commission. *Carnot*, son of the man of the Convention who had organised the victory,[d] the least compromised member of the *National* party, Minister of Education in the Provisional Government and the Executive Commission, was through his democratic public education bill a living protest against the education law of the Jesuits. These three candidates represented the three allied classes: at the head, the June insurgent, the representative of the revolutionary proletariat; next to him, the doctrinaire Socialist, the representative of the socialist petty bourgeoisie; finally, the third, the representative of the republican bourgeois party, the democratic formulas of which had gained a socialist significance *vis-à-vis* the party of Order and had long lost their own significance. This was a *general coalition against the bourgeoisie and the government, as in February*. But this time the *proletariat was at the head of the revolutionary league*.

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[a] On February 16, 1850.— *Ed.*

[b] Comte Napoléon Daru.— *Ed.*

[c] F. Vidal, *De la répartition des richesses ou de la justice distributive en économie sociale*.— *Ed.*

[d] Lazare Nicolas Carnot.— *Ed.*

In spite of all efforts the socialist candidates won. The army itself voted for the June insurgent against its own War Minister, La Hitte. The party of Order was thunderstruck. The elections in the departments did not solace them; they gave a majority to the *Montagnards.*

*The election of March 10, 1850! It was the revocation of June 1848*: the butchers and deporters of the June insurgents returned to the National Assembly, but returned, bowed down, in the train of the deported, and with their principles on their lips. *It was the revocation of June 13, 1849*: the *Montagne,* proscribed by the National Assembly, returned to the National Assembly, but as advance trumpeters of the revolution, no longer as its commanders. *It was the revocation of December 10*: Napoleon had lost out with his Minister La Hitte. The parliamentary history of France knows only one analogy: the rejection of d'Haussez, minister of Charles X, in 1830. Finally, the election of March 10, 1850, was the cancellation of the election of May 13, which had given the party of Order a majority. The election of March 10 protested against the majority of May 13. March 10 was a revolution. Behind the ballots lie the paving stones.

"The vote of March 10 means war," shouted Ségur d'Aguesseau,[a] one of the most advanced members of the party of Order.

With March 10, 1850, the constitutional republic entered a new phase, *the phase of its dissolution.* The different factions of the majority are again united among themselves and with Bonaparte; they are again the saviours of order; he is again their *neutral man.* If they remember that they are royalists it happens only from despair of the possibility of a bourgeois republic; if he remembers that he is a pretender, it happens only because he despairs of remaining President.

At the command of the party of Order, Bonaparte answers the election of *Deflotte,* the June insurgent, by appointing *Baroche* Minister of the Interior, Baroche, the accuser of Blanqui and Barbès, of Ledru-Rollin and Guinard. The Legislative Assembly answers the election of *Carnot* by adopting the education law, the election of *Vidal* by suppressing the socialist press. The party of Order seeks to blare away its own fears by the trumpet blasts of its press. "The sword is holy," cries one of its organs; "The defenders of order must take the offensive against the Red party," cries another; "Between Socialism and society there is a duel to the death, a war without surcease or mercy; in this duel of desperation one or the other must go under; if society does not annihilate Socialism, Socialism will

[a] In the Legislative Assembly on March 16, 1850.—*Ed.*

annihilate society," crows a third cock of order.[a] Throw up the barricades of order, the barricades of religion, the barricades of the family! An end must be made of the 127,000 voters of Paris! A Bartholomew's night for the Socialists! And the party of Order believes for a moment in its own certainty of victory.

Their organs hold forth most fanatically of all against the "*boutiquiers of Paris*". The June insurgent of Paris elected by the shopkeepers of Paris as their representative! This means that a second June 1848 is impossible; this means that a second June 13, 1849, is impossible; this means that the moral influence of capital is broken; this means that the bourgeois assembly now represents only the bourgeoisie; this means that big property is lost, because its vassal, small property, seeks its salvation in the camp of the propertyless.

The party of Order naturally returns to its inevitable *commonplace*. "*More repression,*" it cries, "*tenfold repression!*" But its power of repression has diminished tenfold, while resistance has increased a hundredfold. Must not the chief instrument of repression, the army, itself be repressed? And the party of Order speaks its last word: "The iron ring of suffocating legality must be broken. *The constitutional republic is impossible.* We must fight with our true weapons; since February 1848, we have fought the revolution with *its* weapons and on *its* terrain. We have accepted *its* institutions; the constitution is a fortress which safeguards only the besiegers, not the besieged! By smuggling ourselves into holy Ilion in the belly of the Trojan horse, we have, unlike our forefathers, the *Grecs*,* not conquered the hostile town, but made prisoners of ourselves."

The foundation of the constitution, however, is *universal suffrage. Annihilation of universal suffrage*—such is the last word of the party of Order, of the bourgeois dictatorship.

On May 4, 1848, on December 20, 1848, on May 13, 1849, and on July 8, 1849, universal suffrage admitted that they were right.[119] On March 10, 1850, universal suffrage admitted that it had itself been wrong. Bourgeois rule as the outcome and result of universal suffrage, as the express act of the sovereign will of the people—that is the meaning of the bourgeois constitution. But has the constitution

* *Grecs*—play on words: Greeks, but also professional cheats.—*Note by Engels to the 1895 edition.*

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[a] The organ of the party of Order referred to here is the newspaper *La Patrie*. Evidently, Marx made use of the newspaper *La Voix du peuple* Nos. 166 and 167 of March 17 and 18, 1850, in which these passages from *La Patrie* were quoted.—*Ed.*

any further meaning from the moment that the content of this suffrage, of this sovereign will, is no longer bourgeois rule? Is it not the duty of the bourgeoisie so to regulate the suffrage that it wills the reasonable, its rule? By ever and anon putting an end to the existing state power and creating it anew out of itself, does not universal suffrage put an end to all stability, does it not every moment question all the powers that be, does it not annihilate authority, does it not threaten to elevate anarchy itself to the position of authority? After March 10, 1850, who would still doubt it?

By repudiating universal suffrage, with which it hitherto draped itself and from which it sucked its omnipotence, the bourgeoisie openly confesses, "*Our dictatorship has hitherto existed by the will of the people; it must now be consolidated against the will of the people.*" And, consistently, it seeks its props no longer within *France*, but without, in foreign countries, in *invasion*.

With the invasion, it, a second Coblenz,[120] its seat established in France itself, rouses all the national passions against itself. With the attack on universal suffrage it provides a *general pretext* for the new revolution, and the revolution requires such a pretext. Every *special* pretext would divide the factions of the revolutionary league, and give prominence to their differences. The *general* pretext stuns the semi-revolutionary classes; it permits them to deceive themselves concerning the *definite character* of the coming revolution, concerning the consequences of their own act. Every revolution requires a banquet question. Universal suffrage is the banquet question of the new revolution.

However, the coalitioned factions of the bourgeoisie are already condemned by their retreat from the *constitutional republic*—the only possible form of their *united* power, and the most powerful and most complete form of their *class rule*—to the subordinate, incomplete and weaker form of the *monarchy*. They are like that old man who fetched out his boyhood clothes and painfully tried to force his withered limbs into them in order to regain his youthful strength. Their republic had only *one* merit, *that of being the forcing-house of the revolution.*

March 10, 1850, bears the inscription:

*Après moi le déluge! After me the deluge!*[a]

[a] Words attributed to Louis XV.—*Ed.*

## IV

## THE ABOLITION OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN 1850

(The continuation of the three foregoing chapters is contained in the *Revue* in the fifth and sixth double issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the last to appear.[a] Here, after the great commercial crisis that broke out in England in 1847 had first been described and the coming to a head of the political complications on the European Continent in the revolutions of February and March 1848 had been explained by its reactions there, it was shown how the prosperity of trade and industry that again set in during the course of 1848 and increased still further in 1849 paralysed the revolutionary upsurge and made possible the simultaneous victories of reaction. It went on to say, with special reference to France:)[b]

The same symptoms have shown themselves in *France* since 1849, and particularly since the beginning of 1850. The Parisian industries are abundantly employed and the cotton factories of Rouen and Mulhouse are also doing pretty well, although here, as in England, the high prices of the raw material have exercised a retarding influence. The development of prosperity in France was, in addition, especially promoted by the comprehensive tariff reform in Spain and by the reduction of the duties on various luxury articles in Mexico; the export of French commodities to both markets has considerably increased. The growth of capital in France led to a series of speculations, for which the large-scale exploitation of the Californian gold-mines served as a pretext.[121] A swarm of companies has sprung up, the low denomination of whose shares and whose socialist-coloured prospectuses appeal directly to the purses of the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 507-10 and 516-25.—*Ed.*

[b] The introductory paragraph was written by Engels for the 1895 edition.—*Ed.*

petty bourgeois and the workers, but which one and all result in that sheer swindling which is characteristic of the French and Chinese alone. One of these companies is even patronised directly by the government. The import duties in France during the first nine months of 1848 amounted to 63,000,000 francs, of 1849 to 95,000,000 francs and of 1850 to 93,000,000 francs. Moreover, in the month of September 1850, they again rose by more than a million compared with the same month of 1849. Exports also rose in 1849, and still more in 1850.

The most striking proof of restored prosperity is the bank's reintroduction of specie payment by the law of August 6, 1850. On March 15, 1848, the bank had been authorised to suspend specie payment. Its note circulation, including the provincial banks, amounted at that time to 373,000,000 francs (£14,920,000). On November 2, 1849, this circulation amounted to 482,000,000 francs, or £19,280,000, an increase of £4,360,000, and on September 2, 1850, to 496,000,000 francs, or £19,840,000, an increase of about £5,000,000. This was not accompanied by any devaluation of the notes; on the contrary, the increased circulation of the notes was accompanied by the steadily increasing accumulation of gold and silver in the vaults of the bank, so that in the summer of 1850 its metallic reserve amounted to about £14,000,000, an unprecedented sum in France. That the bank was thus placed in a position to increase its circulation and therewith its active capital by 123,000,000 francs, or £5,000,000, is striking proof of the correctness of our assertion in an earlier issue[a] that the finance aristocracy has not only not been overthrown by the revolution, but has even been strengthened. This result becomes still more evident from the following survey of French bank legislation during the last few years. On June 10, 1847, the bank was authorised to issue notes of 200 francs; hitherto the smallest denomination had been 500 francs. A decree of March 15, 1848, declared the notes of the Bank of France legal tender and relieved the bank of the obligation of redeeming them in specie. Its note issue was limited to 350,000,000 francs. It was simultaneously authorised to issue notes of 100 francs. A decree of April 27 prescribed the merging of the departmental banks in the Bank of France; another decree, of May 2, 1848, increased the latter's note issue to 452,000,000 francs. A decree of December 22, 1849, raised the maximum of the note issue to 525,000,000 francs. Finally, the law of August 6, 1850, re-established the exchangeability of notes for specie. These facts, the continual increase in the

[a] See this volume, pp. 114-18.—*Ed.*

circulation, the concentration of the whole of French credit in the hands of the bank and the accumulation of all French gold and silver in the bank's vaults, led M. Proudhon to the conclusion that the bank must now shed its old snakeskin and metamorphose itself into a Proudhonist people's bank.[122] He did not even need to know the history of the restriction on the English bank from 1797-1819[123]; he only needed to direct his glance across the Channel to see that this fact, for him unprecedented in the history of bourgeois society, was nothing more than a very normal bourgeois event, which now only occurred in France for the first time. One sees that the allegedly revolutionary theoreticians who, after the Provisional Government, talked big in Paris, were just as ignorant of the nature and the results of the measures taken as the gentlemen of the Provisional Government themselves.

In spite of the industrial and commercial prosperity that France momentarily enjoys, the mass of the people, the twenty-five million peasants, suffer from a great depression. The good harvests of the last few years have forced the prices of corn in France much lower even than in England, and the position of the peasants under such circumstances, in debt, sucked dry by usury and crushed by taxes, must be anything but splendid. The history of the last three years has, however, provided sufficient proof that this class of the population is absolutely incapable of any revolutionary initiative.

Just as the period of crisis occurs later on the Continent than in England, so does that of prosperity. The original process always takes place in England; it is the demiurge of the bourgeois cosmos. On the Continent, the different phases of the cycle through which bourgeois society is ever speeding anew occur in secondary and tertiary form. First, the Continent exported incomparably more to England than to any other country. This export to England, however, in turn depends on the position of England, particularly with regard to the overseas market. Then England exports to the overseas lands incomparably more than the entire Continent, so that the quantity of Continental exports to these lands is always dependent on England's overseas exports at the time. While, therefore, the crises first produce revolutions on the Continent, the foundation for these is, nevertheless, always laid in England. Violent outbreaks must naturally occur rather in the extremities of the bourgeois body than in its heart, since the possibility of adjustment is greater here than there. On the other hand, the degree to which Continental revolutions react on England is at the same time the barometer which indicates how far these revolutions really call in

question the bourgeois conditions of life, or how far they only hit their political formations.

With this general prosperity, in which the productive forces of bourgeois society develop as luxuriantly as is at all possible within bourgeois relationships, there can be no talk of a real revolution. Such a revolution is only possible in the periods when *both these factors*, the *modern* productive *forces* and the *bourgeois forms of production*, come *in collision* with each other. The various quarrels in which the representatives of the individual factions of the Continental party of Order now indulge and mutually compromise themselves, far from providing the occasion for new revolutions are, on the contrary, possible only because the basis of the relationships is momentarily so secure and, what the reaction does not know, so *bourgeois*. All reactionary attempts to hold up bourgeois development will rebound off it just as certainly as all moral indignation and all enthusiastic proclamations of the democrats. *A new revolution is possible only in consequence of a new crisis. It is, however, just as certain as this crisis.*[a]

Let us now turn to *France*.

The victory that the people, in conjunction with the petty bourgeois, had won in the elections of March 10 was annulled by it itself when it provoked the new election of April 28. Vidal was elected not only in Paris, but also in the Lower Rhine. The Paris Committee, in which the *Montagne* and the petty bourgeoisie were strongly represented, induced him to accept for the Lower Rhine. The victory of March 10 ceased to be a decisive one; the date of the decision was once more postponed; the tension of the people was relaxed; it became accustomed to legal triumphs instead of revolutionary ones. The revolutionary meaning of March 10, the rehabilitation of the June insurrection, was finally completely annihilated by the candidature of Eugène Sue, the sentimental petty-bourgeois social-fantasist, which the proletariat could at best accept as a joke to amuse the grisettes. As against this well-meaning candidature, the party of Order, emboldened by the vacillating policy of its opponents, put up a candidate who was to represent the June *victory*. This comic candidate was the Spartan *pater familias* Leclerc,[124] from whose person, however, the heroic armour was torn piece by piece by the press, and who experienced a crushing defeat in the election. The new election victory on April 28 put the *Montagne* and the petty bourgeoisie in high feather. They already

[a] Here Engels omitted several pages from the third international review, pages referring to England (see this volume, pp. 510-16).— *Ed.*

exulted in the thought of being able to arrive at the goal of their wishes in a purely legal way and without again pushing the proletariat into the foreground through a new revolution; they reckoned positively on bringing M. Ledru-Rollin into the presidential chair and a majority of *Montagnards* into the Assembly through universal suffrage in the new elections of 1852. The party of Order, rendered perfectly certain, by the prospective elections, by Sue's candidature and by the mood of the *Montagne* and the petty bourgeoisie, that the latter were resolved to remain quiet no matter what happened, answered the two election victories with an *election law* which abolished universal suffrage.

The government took good care not to make this legislative proposal on its own responsibility. It made an apparent concession to the majority by entrusting the drafting of the bill to the high dignitaries of this majority, to the seventeen burgraves.[125] Thus, it was not the government that proposed the repeal of universal suffrage to the Assembly; the majority of the Assembly proposed it to itself.

On May 8, the project was brought into the Chamber. The entire social-democratic press rose as one man in order to preach to the people dignified composure, *calme majestueux*,[a] passivity and trust in its representatives. Every article of these journals was a confession that a revolution would, above all, annihilate the so-called revolutionary press and that, therefore, it was now a question of its self-preservation. The allegedly revolutionary press betrayed its whole secret. It signed its own death warrant.

On May 21, the *Montagne* put the preliminary question to debate and moved the rejection of the whole project on the ground that it violated the constitution. The party of Order answered that the constitution would be violated if it were necessary; there was, however, no need for this at present, because the constitution was capable of every interpretation, and because the majority alone was competent to decide on the correct interpretation. To the unbridled, savage attacks of Thiers and Montalembert the *Montagne* opposed a decorous and refined humanism. It took its stand on the ground of law; the party of Order referred it to the ground on which the law grows, to bourgeois property. The *Montagne* whimpered: Did they really want, then, to conjure up revolutions by main force? The party of Order replied: One should await them.

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[a] An allusion to Victor Hugo's appeal to keep "majestic calm", made in his speech in the Legislative Assembly on May 21, 1850.—*Ed.*

On May 22, the preliminary question was settled by 462 votes to 227. The same men who had proved with such solemn profundity that the National Assembly and every individual deputy would be renouncing his mandate if he renounced the people, his mandator, stuck to their seats and now suddenly sought to let the country act, through petitions at that, instead of acting themselves; and still sat there unmoved when, on May 31, the law went through in splendid fashion.[126] They sought to revenge themselves by a protest in which they recorded their innocence of the rape of the constitution, a protest which they did not even submit openly, but smuggled into the President's[a] pocket behind his back.

An army of 150,000 men in Paris, the long deferment of the decision, the appeasing attitude of the press, the pusillanimity of the *Montagne* and of the newly elected representatives, the majestic calm of the petty bourgeois, but, above all, the commercial and industrial prosperity, prevented any attempt at revolution on the part of the proletariat.

Universal suffrage had fulfilled its mission. The majority of the people had passed through the school of development, which is all that universal suffrage can serve for in a revolutionary period. It had to be set aside by a revolution or by the reaction.

The *Montagne* developed a still greater display of energy on an occasion that arose soon afterwards. From the tribune War Minister d'Hautpoul had termed the February Revolution a baneful catastrophe.[b] The orators of the *Montagne*, who, as always, distinguished themselves by their morally indignant bluster, were not allowed by the President, Dupin, to speak. Girardin proposed to the *Montagne* that it should walk out at once *en masse*. Result: the *Montagne* remained seated, but Girardin was cast out from its midst as unworthy.

The election law still needed one thing to complete it, a new *press law*. This was not long in coming. A proposal of the government, made many times more drastic by amendments of the party of Order, increased the caution money, put an extra stamp on feuilleton novels (answer to the election of Eugène Sue), taxed all publications appearing weekly or monthly up to a certain number of sheets and finally provided that every article of a journal must bear the signature of the author. The provisions concerning the caution money killed the so-called revolutionary press; the people regarded its extinction as satisfaction for the abolition of universal suffrage.

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[a] The President of the Assembly.—*Ed.*

[b] This statement was made by the Minister of Justice Eugène Rouher.—*Ed.*

However, neither the tendency nor the effect of the new law extended only to this section of the press. As long as the newspaper press was anonymous, it appeared as the organ of a numberless and nameless public opinion; it was the third power in the state. Through the signature of every article, a newspaper became a mere collection of literary contributions from more or less known individuals. Every article sank to the level of an advertisement. Hitherto the newspapers had circulated as the paper money of public opinion; now they were resolved into more or less bad *solo* bills, whose worth and circulation depended on the credit not only of the drawer but also of the endorser. The press of the party of Order had agitated not only for the repeal of universal suffrage but also for the most extreme measures against the bad press. However, in its sinister anonymity even the good press was irksome to the party of Order and still more to its individual provincial representatives. As for itself, it demanded only the paid writer, with name, address and description. In vain the good press bemoaned the ingratitude with which its services were rewarded. The law went through; the specification of the names of authors hit it hardest of all. The names of republican journalists were pretty well known; but the respectable firms of the *Journal des Débats*, the *Assemblée nationale*, the *Constitutionnel*, etc., etc., cut a sorry figure in their high protestations of state wisdom, when the mysterious company all at once disintegrated into purchasable penny-a-liners[a] of long practice, who had defended all possible causes for cash, like Granier de Cassagnac, or into old milksops who called themselves statesmen, like Capefigue, or into coquettish fops, like M. Lemoinne of the *Débats*.

In the debate on the press law the *Montagne* had already sunk to such a level of moral degeneracy that it had to confine itself to applauding the brilliant tirades of an old notability of Louis Philippe's time, M. Victor Hugo.

With the election law and the press law the revolutionary and democratic party exits from the official stage. Before their departure home, shortly after the end of the session, the two factions of the *Montagne*, the socialist democrats and the democratic Socialists, issued two manifestos, two *testimonia paupertatis*, in which they proved that while power and success were never on their side, they nonetheless had ever been on the side of eternal justice and all the other eternal truths.[b]

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[a] This expression is given in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[b] "Compte-rendu de la Montagne au Peuple" and "Au Peuple!", published in the newspaper *Le Peuple de 1850* No. 6, August 11, and No. 7, August 14, 1850.—*Ed.*

Let us now consider the party of Order. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had said (Heft 3, p. 16): "As against the hankering for restoration on the part of the united Orleanists and Legitimists, Bonaparte defends his title to his actual power, the republic; as against the hankering for restoration on the part of Bonaparte, the party of Order defends its title to its common rule, the republic. As against the Orleanists, the Legitimists, and as against the Legitimists, the Orleanists, defend the *status quo*, the republic. All these factions of the party of Order, each of which has its own king and its own restoration *in petto*, mutually enforce, as against their rivals' hankering for usurpation and revolt, the common rule of the bourgeoisie, the form in which the special claims remain neutralised and reserved—the republic.... And Thiers spoke more truly than he suspected when he said: 'We, the royalists, are the true pillars of the constitutional republic.'"[a]

This comedy of the *républicains malgré eux*,[b] the antipathy to the *status quo* and the constant consolidation of it; the incessant friction between Bonaparte and the National Assembly; the ever renewed threat of the party of Order to split into its separate component parts, and the ever repeated conjugation of its factions; the attempt of each faction to transform each victory over the common foe into a defeat for its temporary allies; the mutual petty jealousy, chicanery, harassment, the tireless drawing of swords that ever and again ends with a *baiser-Lamourette*[127]—this whole unedifying comedy of errors never developed more classically than during the last six months.

The party of Order regarded the election law at the same time as a victory over Bonaparte. Had not the government abdicated when it handed over the editing of and responsibility for its own proposal to the Commission of Seventeen? And did not the chief strength of Bonaparte as against the Assembly lie in the fact that he was the chosen of six millions?—Bonaparte, on his part, treated the election law as a concession to the Assembly, with which he claimed to have purchased harmony between the legislative and executive powers. As reward, the vulgar adventurer demanded an increase of three millions in his civil list. Dared the National Assembly enter into a conflict with the executive at a moment when it had excommunicated the great majority of Frenchmen? It was roused to anger; it appeared to want to go to extremes; its Commission rejected the motion; the Bonapartist press threatened, and referred to the

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[a] See this volume, p. 114.—*Ed.*

[b] Republicans in spite of themselves. (Allusion to Molière's comedy *Le Médecin malgré lui*.)—*Ed.*

disinherited people, deprived of its franchise; numerous noisy attempts at an arrangement took place, and the Assembly finally gave way in fact, but at the same time revenged itself in principle. Instead of increasing the civil list in principle by three millions per annum, it granted him an accommodation of 2,160,000 francs. Not satisfied with this, it made even this concession only after it had been supported by Changarnier, the general of the party of Order and the protector thrust upon Bonaparte. Therefore it really granted the two millions not to Bonaparte, but to Changarnier.

This sop, thrown to him *de mauvaise grâce*,[a] was accepted by Bonaparte quite in the spirit of the donor. The Bonapartist press blustered anew against the National Assembly. When, now in the debate on the press law, the amendment was passed on the signing of names, which, in turn, was directed especially against the less important papers, the representatives of the private interests of Bonaparte, the principal Bonapartist paper, the *Pouvoir*, published an open and vehement attack on the National Assembly. The ministers had to disavow the paper before the Assembly; the managing editor of the *Pouvoir* was summoned before the bar of the National Assembly and sentenced to pay the highest fine, 5,000 francs.[b] Next day, the *Pouvoir* published a still more insolent article against the Assembly, and, as the government's revenge, the public prosecutor promptly prosecuted a number of Legitimist journals for violating the constitution.

Finally there came the question of proroguing the Chamber. Bonaparte desired this in order to be able to operate unhindered by the Assembly. The party of Order desired it, partly for the purpose of carrying on its factional intrigues, partly for the pursuit of the private interests of the individual deputies. Both needed it in order to consolidate and push further the victories of reaction in the provinces. The Assembly therefore adjourned from August 11 until November 11. Since, however, Bonaparte in no way concealed that his only concern was to get rid of the irksome surveillance of the National Assembly, the Assembly imprinted on the vote of confidence itself the stamp of want of confidence in the President. All Bonapartists were kept off the permanent commission of twenty-eight members, who stayed on during the recess as guardians of the virtue of the republic.[128] In their stead, even some republicans of the *Siècle* and the *National* were elected to it, in order to prove to

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[a] With a bad grace.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 39-40 and 520-21.—*Ed.*

the President the attachment of the majority to the constitutional republic.

Shortly before and, especially, immediately after the prorogation of the Chamber, the two big factions of the party of Order, the Orleanists and the Legitimists, appeared to want to be reconciled, and this by a fusion of the two royal houses under whose flags they were fighting. The papers were full of reconciliation proposals that were said to have been discussed at the sickbed of Louis Philippe at St. Leonards, when the death of Louis Philippe suddenly simplified the situation. Louis Philippe was the usurper; Henry V, the dispossessed; the Count of Paris,[a] on the other hand, owing to the childlessness of Henry V, his lawful heir to the throne. Every pretext for objecting to a fusion of the two dynastic interests was now removed. But now, precisely, the two factions of the bourgeoisie first discovered that it was not zeal for a definite royal house that divided them, but that it was rather their divided class interests that kept the two dynasties apart. The Legitimists, who had made a pilgrimage to the residence of Henry V at Wiesbaden just as their competitors had to St. Leonards, received there the news of Louis Philippe's death. Forthwith they formed a ministry *in partibus infidelium*,[b] which consisted mostly of members of that commission of guardians of the virtue of the republic[129] and which on the occasion of a squabble in the bosom of the party came out with the most outspoken proclamation of right by the grace of God. The Orleanists rejoiced over the compromising scandal that this manifesto[130] called forth in the press, and did not conceal for a moment their open enmity to the Legitimists.

During the adjournment of the National Assembly, the Councils of the Departments met. The majority of them declared for a more or less qualified revision of the constitution, that is, they declared for a not definitely specified monarchist restoration, for a "*solution*", and confessed at the same time that they were too incompetent and too cowardly to find this solution. The Bonapartist faction at once construed this desire for revision in the sense of a prolongation of Bonaparte's presidency.

The constitutional solution, the retirement of Bonaparte in May 1852, the simultaneous election of a new President by all the electors of the country, the revision of the constitution by a Chamber of

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[a] Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans.— *Ed.*

[b] Ignoring the real situation (literally, in the country of the infidels—an addition to the title of Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries).— *Ed.*

Revision in the first months of the new presidency, is utterly inadmissible for the ruling class. The day of the new presidential election would be the day of *rendezvous* for all the hostile parties, the Legitimists, the Orleanists, the bourgeois republicans, the revolutionists. It would have to come to a violent decision between the different factions. Even if the party of Order should succeed in uniting round the candidature of a neutral person outside the dynastic families, he would still be opposed by Bonaparte. In its struggle with the people, the party of Order is compelled constantly to increase the power of the executive. Every increase of the executive's power increases the power of its bearer, Bonaparte. In the same measure, therefore, as the party of Order strengthens its joint might, it strengthens the fighting resources of Bonaparte's dynastic pretensions, it strengthens his chance of frustrating a constitutional solution by force on the day of the decision. He will then have, as against the party of Order, no more scruples about the one pillar of the constitution than that party had, as against the people, about the other pillar in the matter of the election law. He would, seemingly even against the Assembly, appeal to universal suffrage. In a word, the constitutional solution questions the entire political *status quo* and behind the jeopardising of the *status quo* the bourgeois sees chaos, anarchy, civil war. He sees his purchases and sales, his promissory notes, his marriages, his agreements, duly acknowledged before a notary, his mortgages, his ground rents, house rents, profits, all his contracts and sources of income called in question on the first Sunday in May 1852,[131] and he cannot expose himself to this risk. Behind the jeopardising of the political *status quo* lurks the danger of the collapse of the entire bourgeois society. The only possible solution in the sense of the bourgeoisie is the postponement of the solution. It can save the constitutional republic only by a violation of the constitution, by the prolongation of the power of the President. This is also the last word of the press of Order, after the protracted and profound debates on the "solutions" in which it indulged after the session of the general councils. The high and mighty party of Order thus finds itself, to its shame, compelled to take seriously the ridiculous, commonplace and, to it, odious person of the pseudo-Bonaparte.

This dirty figure likewise deceived himself concerning the causes that clothed him more and more with the character of the indispensable man. While his party had sufficient insight to ascribe the growing importance of Bonaparte to circumstances, he believed that he owed it solely to the magic power of his name and his continual caricaturing of Napoleon. He became more enterprising

every day. To offset the pilgrimages to St. Leonards and Wiesbaden, he made his round trips through France. The Bonapartists had so little faith in the magic effect of his personality that they sent with him everywhere as *claqueurs* people from the Society of December 10,[132] that organisation of the Paris *lumpenproletariat*, packed *en masse* into railway trains and post-chaises. They put speeches into the mouth of their marionette which, according to the reception in the different towns, proclaimed republican resignation or perennial tenacity as the keynote of the President's policy. In spite of all manoeuvres these journeys were anything but triumphal processions.

When Bonaparte believed he had thus enthused the people, he set out to win the army. He caused great reviews to be held on the plain of Satory, near Versailles, at which he sought to buy the soldiers with garlic sausages, champagne and cigars. Whereas the genuine Napoleon, amid the hardships of his campaigns of conquest, knew how to cheer up his weary soldiers with outbursts of patriarchal familiarity, the pseudo-Napoleon believed it was in gratitude that the troops shouted: *Vive Napoléon, vive le saucisson!* that is, hurrah for the sausage [*Wurst*], hurrah for the buffoon [*Hanswurst*]!

These reviews led to the outbreak of the long suppressed dissension between Bonaparte and his War Minister d'Hautpoul, on the one hand, and Changarnier, on the other. In Changarnier, the party of Order had found its real neutral man, in whose case there could be no question of his own dynastic claims. It had designated him Bonaparte's successor. In addition, Changarnier had become the great general of the party of Order through his conduct on January 29 and June 13, 1849, the modern Alexander, whose brutal intervention had, in the eyes of the timid bourgeois, cut the Gordian knot of the revolution. At bottom just as ridiculous as Bonaparte, he had thus become a power in the very cheapest manner and was set up by the National Assembly to watch the President. He himself played the coquette, e.g., in the matter of the salary grant, with the protection that he gave Bonaparte, and rose up ever more overpoweringly against him and the ministers. When, on the occasion of the election law, an insurrection was expected, he forbade his officers to take any orders whatever from the War Minister or the President. The press was also instrumental in magnifying the figure of Changarnier. With the complete absence of great personalities, the party of Order naturally found itself compelled to endow a single individual with the strength lacking in its class as a whole and so puff up this individual to a prodigy. Thus arose the myth of Changarnier, the "*bulwark of society*". The arrogant

charlatanry, the secretive air of importance with which Changarnier condescended to carry the world on his shoulders, forms the most ridiculous contrast to the events during and after the Satory review, which irrefutably proved that it needed only a stroke of the pen by Bonaparte, the infinitely little, to bring this fantastic offspring of bourgeois fear, the colossus Changarnier, back to the dimensions of mediocrity, and transform him, society's heroic saviour, into a pensioned-off general.

Bonaparte had for some time been revenging himself on Changarnier by provoking the War Minister to disputes in matters of discipline with the irksome protector. The last review of Satory finally brought the old animosity to a climax. The constitutional indignation of Changarnier knew no bounds when he saw the cavalry regiments file past with the unconstitutional cry: *Vive l'Empereur!* In order to forestall any unpleasant debate on this cry in the coming session of the Chamber, Bonaparte removed the War Minister d'Hautpoul by appointing him Governor of Algiers. In his place he put a reliable old general of the time of the empire,[a] one who was fully a match for Changarnier in brutality. But so that the dismissal of d'Hautpoul might not appear as a concession to Changarnier, he simultaneously transferred General Neumayer, the right hand of the great saviour of society, from Paris to Nantes. It had been Neumayer who at the last review had induced the whole of the infantry to file past the successor of Napoleon in icy silence. Changarnier, himself hit in the person of Neumayer, protested and threatened. To no purpose. After two days' negotiations, the decree transferring Neumayer appeared in the *Moniteur*,[b] and there was nothing left for the hero of order but to submit to discipline or resign.

Bonaparte's struggle with Changarnier is the continuation of his struggle with the party of Order. The re-opening of the National Assembly on November 11 will, therefore, take place under threatening auspices. It will be a storm in a teacup. In essence the old game must go on. Meanwhile the majority of the party of Order will, despite the clamour of the sticklers for principle of its different factions, be compelled to prolong the power of the President. Similarly, Bonaparte, already humbled by lack of money, will, despite all preliminary protestations, accept this prolongation of power from the hands of the National Assembly as simply delegated to him. Thus

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[a] J. P. Schramm.—*Ed.*

[b] *Le Moniteur universel* No. 303, October 30, 1850.—*Ed.*

the solution is postponed; the *status quo* continued; one faction of the party of Order compromised, weakened, made impossible by the other; the repression of the common enemy, the mass of the nation, extended and exhausted, until the economic relations themselves have again reached the point of development where a new explosion blows into the air all these squabbling parties with their constitutional republic.

For the peace of mind of the bourgeois it must be said, however, that the scandal between Bonaparte and the party of Order has the result of ruining a multitude of small capitalists on the Bourse and putting their assets into the pockets of the big wolves of the Bourse.

# FREDERICK ENGELS

## THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE GERMAN IMPERIAL CONSTITUTION[133]

Written between mid-August 1849 and February 1850

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Signed: *Frederick Engels*

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Hecker, Struve, Blenker, Zitz und Blum,
Bringt die deutschen Fürsten[a] um![b]

This refrain which on every highway and in every tavern from the Palatinate to the Swiss frontier rang out on the lips of the South German "people's militia" to the well-known tune of "Surrounded by the Sea",[c] a mixture of chorale and barrel-organ—this refrain sums up the whole character of the "magnificent uprising for the Imperial Constitution".[134] Here you have in two lines their great men, their ultimate aims, their admirable staunchness, their noble hatred for the "tyrants" and at the same time their entire insight into the social and political situation.

Amidst all the movements and convulsions in Germany which followed in the wake of the February Revolution and its subsequent development, the campaign for the Imperial Constitution stands out owing to its classically German character. Its occasion, its appearance, the way it conducted itself, its whole course, were through and through German. In the same way as the June days of 1848 mark the degree of the social and political development of France, so the campaign for the Imperial Constitution marks the degree of the social and political development of Germany, and especially of South Germany.

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[a] In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* the words *deutschen Fürsten* (the German princes) were omitted because of the censorship and replaced by leaders.— *Ed.*

[b] Hecker, Struve, Blenker, Zitz and Blum slay the German princes!— *Ed.*

[c] "Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen"— the first words of a patriotic song composed in 1844 and popular during the struggle of the duchies for liberation from Danish rule in 1848-49.— *Ed.*

The soul of the whole movement was the class of the *petty bourgeoisie,* usually known as the *burghers,* and it is precisely in Germany, and especially in South Germany, that this class is in preponderance. It was the petty bourgeoisie which, in the "March Clubs",[135] the democratic constitutional clubs, the patriotic clubs, the multitude of so-called democratic clubs and almost the entire democratic press, swore to the Imperial Constitution its Grütli oaths,[136] as widespread as they were innocuous, and carried on its fight against the "refractory" princes of which the only immediate result was admittedly the elevating consciousness of having fulfilled one's civic duty. It was the petty bourgeoisie, represented by the resolute and so-called extreme Left of the Frankfurt Assembly, i.e. in particular by the Stuttgart Parliament and the "Imperial Regency",[137] which furnished the entire movement with its official leadership; lastly, the petty bourgeoisie was dominant in the local committees of the provincial diets, committees of public safety, provisional governments and constituent assemblies which in Saxony, on the Rhine and in South Germany won greater or lesser credit in the cause of the Imperial Constitution.

It is most unlikely that the petty bourgeoisie, if left to its own devices, would have gone outside the legal framework of lawful, peaceful and virtuous struggle and taken up the musket and the paving-stone in place of the so-called weapons of the spirit. The history of all political movements since 1830 in Germany, as in France and England, shows that this class is invariably full of bluster and loud protestations, at times even extreme as far as talking goes, as long as it perceives no danger; faint-hearted, cautious and calculating as soon as the slightest danger approaches; aghast, alarmed and wavering as soon as the movement it provoked is seized upon and taken up seriously by other classes; treacherous to the whole movement for the sake of its petty-bourgeois existence as soon as there is any question of a struggle with weapons in hand—and in the end, as a result of its indecisiveness, more often than not cheated and ill-treated as soon as the reactionary side has achieved victory.

Standing everywhere behind the petty bourgeoisie, however, are other classes who take up the movement provoked by it and in its interest, give it a more defined and energetic character and wherever possible seek to take it over: the *proletariat* and a large part of the *peasantry,* to whom moreover the more advanced section of the petty bourgeoisie usually attaches itself for a while.

These classes, headed by the proletariat of the larger towns, took the loudly protested assurances in favour of the Imperial Constitution more seriously than was to the liking of the petty-bourgeois

agitators. If the petty bourgeois were prepared, as they swore at every moment, to stake "property and life"[a] for the Imperial Constitution, the workers, and in many districts the peasants too, were ready to do the same, but under the condition, admittedly unspoken but perfectly understood by all parties, that after victory the petty bourgeoisie would have to defend this same Imperial Constitution against these same workers and peasants. These classes drove the petty bourgeoisie to an open break with the existing state power. If they could not prevent their allies, with their shopkeepers' mentality, from betraying them even while the battle was still going on, they at least had the satisfaction of seeing this treachery punished after the victory of the counter-revolution by the counter-revolutionaries themselves.

On the other hand at the beginning of the movement, the more resolute section of the bigger and middle bourgeoisie likewise attached itself to the petty bourgeoisie, just as we find in all earlier petty-bourgeois movements in England and France. The bourgeoisie never rules in its entirety; apart from the feudal castes[b] which have still retained some degree of the political power, even the big bourgeoisie itself splits, as soon as it has vanquished feudalism, into a governing and an opposing party usually represented by the banks on the one hand and the manufacturers on the other. The opposing, progressive section of the big and middle bourgeoisie then has, against the ruling section, common interests with the petty bourgeoisie and unites with it for a joint struggle. In Germany, where the armed counter-revolution has restored the almost exclusive rule of the army, the bureaucracy and the feudal nobility and where the bourgeoisie, in spite of the continued existence of constitutional forms, only plays a very subordinate and modest role, there are many more motives for this alliance. For all that, however, the German bourgeoisie is also infinitely more irresolute than its English and French counterparts and as soon as there is the slightest chance of a return to anarchy, i.e. of the real, decisive struggle, it retreats from the scene in fear and trembling. So also this time.

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[a] In the German original a paraphrase of "mit Gut und Blut für des Reichsgrundgesetz einzustehen" in the proclamation issued by the Bavarian petty-bourgeois deputies in reply to the Bavarian King's refusal to recognise the Imperial Constitution; the proclamation was published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 109, May 8, 1849.— *Ed.*

[b] In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* the words *Kasten des Feudalismus* (feudal castes) were replaced by *Resten des Feudalismus* (remnants of feudalism).— *Ed.*

Incidentally, the moment was not at all unfavourable for battle. In France elections were at hand; whether they gave the majority to the monarchists or the reds, they were bound to oust the centre parties of the Constituent Assembly, strengthen the extreme parties and bring about through a popular movement a speedy resolution of the intensified parliamentary struggle: in a word, they were bound to bring about a "*journée*".[a] In Italy fighting was going on under the walls of Rome, and the Roman Republic was holding out against the French army of invasion. In Hungary the Magyars were pushing on irresistibly; the imperial troops had been chased over the Waag and the Leitha; in Vienna, where every day people imagined they could hear the roar of cannon, the Hungarian revolutionary army was expected at any moment; in Galicia the arrival of Dembiński with a Polish-Magyar army was imminent and the Russian intervention, far from becoming dangerous to the Magyars, seemed much more likely to transform the Hungarian struggle into a European one. Finally, Germany was in a state of extreme ferment; the advances of the counter-revolution, the growing insolence of the soldiery, the bureaucracy and the nobility, the continually renewed betrayals by the old liberals in the ministries and the rapid succession of broken promises on the part of the princes[b] precipitated into the arms of the active party whole sections of former supporters of order.

In these circumstances the struggle broke out which we are about to describe in the following passages.

The incompleteness and confusion that still prevails in the material, the total unreliability of almost all the oral information that can be collected and the purely personal designs that underlie every piece of writing so far published about this struggle make it impossible to give a critical picture of the whole course of events. In these circumstances we have no choice but to restrict ourselves purely to recounting what we ourselves have seen and heard. Fortunately this is quite enough to allow the character of the whole campaign to emerge; and if, besides the movement in Saxony, we also lack personal observation of Mieroslawski's campaign on the Neckar, perhaps the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* will soon find an opportunity of giving us the necessary information at least as regards the latter.[158]

Many of the participants in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution are still in prison. Some have managed to return home,

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[a] An "historic day".— *Ed.*

[b] In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* the word "princes" was omitted because of the censorship.— *Ed.*

others, still abroad, are daily awaiting such an opportunity—and among them are by no means the worst. The reader will understand the consideration we owe our comrades-in-arms and find it natural if we remain silent about certain things; and many a one who is now safely back home will not take it amiss if we also do not wish to compromise him by narrating events in which he displayed truly magnificent courage.

## I. RHENISH PRUSSIA

It will be remembered how the armed uprising for the Imperial Constitution first broke out in *Dresden*[139] at the beginning of May. It is well known how the Dresden barricade-fighters, supported by the rural population and betrayed by the Leipzig philistines, were defeated by superior forces after six days' fighting. They at no time had more than 2,500 combatants with a motley collection of weapons and for their whole artillery two or three small mortars. The royal troops consisted, apart from the Saxon battalions, of two regiments of Prussians. They had cavalry, artillery, riflemen and a battalion equipped with needle-guns. The royal troops appear to have conducted themselves in an even more cowardly[a] way in Dresden than elsewhere; at the same time, however, it is clear that the men of Dresden fought more courageously against these superior forces than was probably the case elsewhere in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution. It must be added, however, that street-fighting is something quite different from an engagement in the field.

Berlin, disarmed and in a state of siege, remained quiet. Not even the railway was torn up to hold up the Prussian reinforcements as early as Berlin. Breslau[b] attempted a feeble barricade-fight[140] for which the government had long been prepared, and as a result the city only ended up the more certainly under the dictatorship of the sabre. The rest of North Germany, having no revolutionary centres, was paralysed. Only Rhenish Prussia and South Germany could still

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[a] In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* the word *feig* (cowardly) was replaced by the word *kläglich* (pitiful) because of censorship.—*Ed.*

[b] The Polish name is Wroclaw.—*Ed.*

be reckoned on, and in South Germany the Palatinate already started to move just at that moment.

Since 1815 Rhenish Prussia has been considered one of the most progressive provinces in Germany, and rightly so. It combines two advantages which are not to be found in combination in any other part of Germany.

Rhenish Prussia shares with Luxembourg, Rhenish Hesse and the Palatinate the advantage of having experienced since 1795 the French Revolution and the social, administrative and legislative consolidation of its results under Napoleon. When the revolutionary party in Paris succumbed, the armies carried the revolution across the frontiers. Before these so recently liberated sons of peasants not only the armies of the Holy Roman Empire[141] but also the feudal rule of the nobility and the priests fell to pieces. For two generations the left bank of the Rhine has no longer known feudalism; the nobleman has been deprived of his privileges and the landed property has passed from his hands and those of the church into the hands of the peasants; the land has been divided up and the peasant is a free landed proprietor as in France. In the towns, the guilds and the patriarchal rule of the patricians disappeared ten years earlier than anywhere else in Germany in the face of free competition, and the Napoleonic Code[142] finally sanctioned the whole changed situation by summing up all the revolutionary institutions.

Secondly, however, Rhenish Prussia possesses—and herein lies its main advantage over the rest of the states on the left bank of the Rhine—the most developed and diversified industry in the whole of Germany. In the three administrative districts of Aachen, Cologne and Düsseldorf, almost all branches of industry are represented: cotton, wool and silk industries of all kinds, together with those branches dependent upon them such as bleaching, textile printing and dyeing, iron-founding and engineering, are to be found concentrated here, alongside mining, armaments manufacture and other metal industries, within an area of a few square miles and employ a population of a density unheard of in Germany. Directly adjoining the Rhine Province is the iron and coal district of the Mark which provides it with a part of its raw materials and from the industrial point of view belongs to it. The best waterway in Germany, the proximity of the sea and the mineral wealth of the region favour industry, which has also built numerous railways and is even now daily further integrating its railway network. There is a mutual interaction between this industry and an import and export trade, for Germany very extensive, with all parts of the world, a

considerable direct traffic with all the great trading centres of the world market and a commensurate degree of speculation in raw materials and railway shares. To sum up, the level of industrial and commercial development in the Rhine Province is for Germany unique, even if in world terms it is fairly insignificant.

The consequence of this industry—which also burgeoned under the revolutionary rule of the French—and the trade connected with it is the creation in Rhenish Prussia of a mighty industrial and commercial big *bourgeoisie* and, in opposition to it, of a large industrial *proletariat*, two classes which in the rest of Germany only exist in isolated areas and in embryonic form but which almost exclusively dominate the distinct political development of the Rhine Province.

Over the rest of the German states revolutionised by the French Rhenish Prussia has the advantage of *industry* and over the rest of the German industrial areas (Saxony and Silesia) the advantage of the *French Revolution*. It is the only part of Germany whose social development has almost reached the level of modern bourgeois society: developed industry, extensive trade, accumulation of capital and free ownership of land; the predominance in the towns of a strong bourgeoisie and a numerous proletariat and in the countryside of a multitude of debt-ridden allotment peasants; rule of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat by means of the wages system, over the peasantry by means of the mortgage and over the petty bourgeoisie by means of competition, and finally the sanctioning of bourgeois rule through the courts of trade, the factory courts, the bourgeois jury and the entire body of material legislation.

Is it easier now to understand the Rhinelander's hatred for everything that is Prussian? Along with the Rhine Province Prussia incorporated the French Revolution into its states and treated the Rhinelanders not only as a subjugated and alien people but even as vanquished rebels. Far from developing the Rhenish legislation in the spirit of the ever growing modern bourgeois society, Prussia intended saddling the Rhinelanders with the pedantic, feudal, philistine hotchpotch of Prussian Law,[145] which was barely suitable any longer even for Further Pomerania.

The revolutionary change after February 1848 clearly showed the exceptional position of the Rhine Province. It provided not only the Prussian but the whole of the German bourgeoisie with its classical representatives, *Camphausen* and *Hansemann*, and provided the German proletariat with the sole organ in which it was championed not only in terms of fine words or good will, but according to its true interests: the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

How is it, then, that Rhenish Prussia for all that took so little part in Germany's revolutionary movements?

It must not be forgotten that the 1830 movement in favour of a hollow pettifogger's constitutionalism could not hope to interest Germany's Rhenish bourgeoisie, who were busily engaged in much more real, industrial enterprises; that, whereas people in the petty German states were still dreaming of a German Empire, in Rhenish Prussia the proletariat was already beginning to come out openly against the bourgeoisie; that from 1840 to 1847, at the time of the bourgeois, truly constitutional movement, the Rhenish bourgeoisie stood in the forefront and decisively tipped the balance in Berlin in March 1848. The reason, however, why Rhenish Prussia could never achieve anything in an open insurrection or even bring about a general insurrection of the whole province is best explained by a straightforward account of the campaign for the Imperial Constitution in the Rhineland.

The struggle had just broken out in Dresden; it might break out at any moment in the Palatinate. In Baden, in Württemberg and in Franconia mass rallies were launched and people barely concealed their determination to settle the question by force of arms. In the whole of South Germany the troops were wavering. Prussia was no less roused. The proletariat was only waiting for an opportunity of revenging itself for having been tricked of the gains it believed it had won for itself in March 1848. Everywhere the petty bourgeois were busy welding together all the discontented elements into a great Imperial Constitution party whose leadership they hoped to secure for themselves. Their sworn promises to stand or fall with the Frankfurt Assembly and stake property and life for the Imperial Constitution filled all the newspapers and rang out in every club-room and every beer-house.

It was at this point that the Prussian Government opened hostilities by calling up a large part of the army reserve,[144] particularly in Westphalia and on the Rhine. To order a call-up during a period of peace was illegal and not only the petty bourgeoisie but also the bigger bourgeoisie rose up against it.

The Cologne municipal council proclaimed a congress of deputies of the Rhenish municipal councils. The government banned it; conventions were disregarded and the congress held in spite of the ban. The municipal councils, representing the big and middle bourgeoisie, declared their recognition of the Imperial Constitution, demanded its acceptance by the Prussian Government and the dismissal of the ministry as well as the repeal of the order calling up the army reserve, and threatened unambiguously enough that the

Rhine Provinces would secede from Prussia if these demands were not met.[145]

"Since the Prussian Government has dissolved the Second Chamber following on the latter's pronouncement in favour of unconditional acceptance of the German Constitution of March 28 of this year and has thereby deprived the people of its representation and voice in the present critical moment, the undersigned delegates of the towns and municipalities of the Rhine Province have assembled to discuss the need of the fatherland.

"The meeting, chaired by Councillors Zell of Trier and Werner of Coblenz and assisted by the clerks of the minutes, Councillors Boecker of Cologne and Bloem II of Düsseldorf,

*has resolved as follows*:

"1. This meeting declares that it recognises the Constitution of the German Empire, as promulgated by the Reich Assembly on March 28 of this year, as a definitive law and that in the conflict brought about by the Prussian Government it stands on the side of the German Reich Assembly.

"2. The meeting calls upon the entire people of the Rhinelands, and in particular all men capable of bearing arms, to make collective declarations in smaller or larger gatherings of its commitment and steadfast intent to uphold the German Imperial Constitution and comply with the ordinances of the Imperial Constitution.

"3. The meeting calls on the German Reich Assembly henceforth and with the utmost dispatch to make greater efforts to give to the resistance of the people in the separate German states and in particular in the Rhine Province that unity and strength which alone is capable of thwarting the well-organised counter-revolution.

"4. It calls on the imperial authorities to take steps as soon as possible to tender to the imperial troops an oath of loyalty to the Constitution and to decree a concentration of these troops.

"5. The undersigned pledge themselves to secure recognition of the Imperial Constitution by all means at their disposal in the area of their municipalities.

"6. The meeting considers the dismissal of the Brandenburg-Manteuffel Ministry and the summoning of the Chambers, without change in the existing system of voting, to be absolutely necessary.

"7. In particular it considers the recent partial call-up of the army reserve to be an unnecessary measure which highly endangers the internal peace, and expects its immediate repeal.

"8. Lastly the undersigned express their conviction that if the content of this declaration is disregarded the fatherland is threatened by the greatest dangers which could even jeopardise the continued existence of Prussia as at present constituted.

"Resolved on May 8, 1849, at Cologne."

(Signatures follow.)[a]

We would only add that the same Herr Zell who presided over this meeting went a few weeks later as imperial commissioner of the Frankfurt imperial ministry[146] to Baden, not only for the purpose of appeasement, but also to plot with the local reactionaries those counter-revolutionary coups which later broke out in Mannheim and Karlsruhe. It is at least probable that at the same time he served imperial General Peucker as a military spy.

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[a] Published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 110, May 9, 1849, second edition.—*Ed.*

We insist on firmly establishing this fact. The big bourgeoisie, the flower of the pre-March liberalism of the Rhineland, sought from the very beginning to place themselves at the head of the movement for the Imperial Constitution in Rhenish Prussia. Their speeches, their resolutions, their whole demeanour demonstrated their solidarity for the subsequent events. There were plenty of people who took the words of the municipal councillors seriously, especially the threat that the Rhine Province would secede. If the big bourgeoisie went along with the movement, then the cause was as good as won from the beginning; it would mean that every class of the population was taking part, and that one could afford to take a risk. The petty bourgeois calculated along these lines and hastened to strike a heroic pose. It goes without saying that his supposed *associé*, the big bourgeois, did not let this in any way deter him from betraying the petty bourgeois at the first opportunity and afterwards, when the whole affair had come to a truly miserable end, from ridiculing him for his stupidity to boot.

In the meantime the excitement continually mounted; the news from all areas of Germany sounded extremely warlike. At last steps were to be taken to fit out the army reserve. The battalions met and declared categorically that they would not let themselves be fitted out. The majors, in the absence of sufficient military support, could do nothing and were happy if they escaped without threats or actual attacks. They dismissed their men and set a new date for fitting-out.

The government, which could easily have given the officers of the army reserve the necessary backing, was purposely allowing things to go so far. It now immediately used force.

The refractory army reserve units came in particular from the industrial region of Berg and the Mark. Elberfeld and Iserlohn, Solingen and the Ennepe valley were the centres of resistance. Troops were ordered at once to the first two towns.[147]

A battalion of the 16th Regiment, a squadron of lancers and two pieces of artillery moved to Elberfeld. The town was in a state of great confusion. The army reserve had found on mature reflection that they were after all playing a risky game. Many peasants and workers were politically apathetic and had merely been unwilling to absent themselves from their homes for an indefinite period to comply with some chance whim of the government. The consequences of insubordination weighed heavily upon them: *species facti*,[a] martial law, confinement in irons and perhaps even the firing-squad! Suffice it to say, the number of army reserve men up in arms (they

[a] The facts of the case.— *Ed.*

had their weapons) dwindled and dwindled, and in the end there were only about forty left. They had set up their headquarters in an inn outside the town and were awaiting the Prussians there. Around the town hall stood the civic militia and two citizens' rifle corps, vacillating and negotiating with the army reserve but at all events determined to protect their property. The people were thronging the streets: petty bourgeois who had sworn loyalty to the Imperial Constitution in the political club and proletarians of all levels, from the resolute, revolutionary worker to the gin-swilling drayman. Nobody knew what to do or what would happen.

The town council wanted to negotiate with the troops. The commander rejected all overtures and marched into the town. The troops paraded through the streets and drew up in front of the town hall, opposite the civic militia. There were negotiations. Stones were thrown at the troops from the crowd. The army reserve, about forty strong as earlier indicated, after lengthy discussions also marched over from the other side of the town towards the troops.

Suddenly a cry was raised among the people for the freeing of the prisoners. In the prison close to the town hall, sixty-nine Solingen workers had been in custody for a year for demolishing the cast-steel works near the castle. They were to be tried in a few days' time. Intent on freeing these men, the people made a rush for the prison. The doors gave way, the people broke in and the prisoners were free. At the same time, however, the troops advanced, a volley rang out and the last prisoner, hurrying through the door, dropped to the ground with a shattered skull.

The people fell back, but with the cry: "To the barricades!" In a trice the approaches to the inner city were secured. Unarmed workers were there in plenty, but there were at most only fifty men with arms behind the barricades.

The artillery advanced. Like the infantry before it, it fired too high, probably on purpose. Both bodies of troops were made up of Rhinelanders or Westphalians, and were good. Eventually Captain von Uttenhoven advanced at the head of the 8th Company of the 16th Regiment.

Three armed men were behind the first barricade. "Don't shoot at us," they cried, "we only shoot at officers!" The captain ordered halt. "Just order ready and there you'll lie," one of the riflemen behind the barricade shouted at him. "Ready! Present! Fire!" A salvo rang out, but at the very same moment the captain slumped to the ground. The bullet had hit him through the heart.

The platoon retreated in all haste, not even taking back the captain's body. A few more shots rang out, a few soldiers were

wounded and the commanding officer, who did not relish staying overnight in the rebellious town, pulled out again and bivouacked with his troops an hour's march outside the town. As the soldiers withdrew, barricades were at once raised on all sides.

The same evening the news of the retreat of the Prussians reached Düsseldorf. Numerous groups formed in the streets; the petty bourgeois and the workers were in a state of extreme excitement. Then the rumour that fresh troops were to be sent to Elberfeld gave the signal for action. Without giving a thought to the lack of weapons (the civic militia had been disarmed since November 1848), the relatively strong garrison and the disadvantage posed by the broad, straight streets of the little ex-capital, some workers raised a call to the barricades. In Neustrasse and Bolkerstrasse a few fortifications were thrown up; the other parts of the town were kept free partly by the troops who had already been consigned there beforehand and partly by the fear of the big and petty bourgeoisie.

Towards evening the fighting began. Here, as elsewhere, there were only a few fighters on the barricades. And where were they to get weapons and ammunition? Suffice it to say that they fought back bravely for a long time against superior odds and only after extensive use of artillery, towards morning, were the half-dozen barricades that could be defended in the hands of the Prussians. As we know, on the following day these cautious heroes took their bloody revenge on servant girls, old folk and other peaceful people.

On the same day that the Prussians were beaten back from Elberfeld, another battalion, from the 13th Regiment if I am not mistaken, was to enter Iserlohn and bring the army reserve there to reason. But here too the plan was frustrated; as soon as the news of the advance of the troops became known, the army reserve and the people fortified all the approaches to the town and awaited the enemy with rifles at the ready. The battalion did not dare to make an attack and withdrew again.

The fighting in Elberfeld and Düsseldorf and the barricading of Iserlohn gave the signal for the uprising of the greater part of the industrial region of Berg and the Mark. The people of Solingen stormed the Gräfrath arsenal and armed themselves with the rifles and cartridges they took from it; the people of Hagen joined the movement *en masse*, armed themselves, occupied the approaches to the Ruhr and sent out reconnaissance patrols; Solingen, Ronsdorf, Remscheid, Barmen, etc., sent their contingents to Elberfeld. In the other localities of the region the army reserve declared itself for the movement and placed itself at the disposal of the Frankfurt Assembly. Elberfeld, Solingen, Hagen and Iserlohn replaced the

district and the local authorities, who had been driven out, with committees of public safety.

Needless to say the news of these events was monstrously exaggerated. The whole of the Wupper and Ruhr area was pictured as one huge, organised camp of insurrection. There were said to be 15,000 armed men in Elberfeld and as many in Iserlohn and Hagen. The panic which suddenly seized the government and at one blow paralysed all its measures to deal with this uprising in the most loyal districts played no small part in making these exaggerations credible.

After making all reasonable allowances for probable exaggerations, the undeniable fact remained that the main centres of the industrial region of Berg and the Mark were engaged in an open and so far victorious uprising. That was a fact. There was further the news that Dresden was still holding out, that Silesia was in a state of ferment, that the movement in the Palatinate was consolidating, that in Baden a victorious military revolt had broken out and the Grand Duke[a] had fled and that the Magyars stood on the banks of the Jablunka and the Leitha. To sum up, of all the revolutionary opportunities that had presented themselves to the democratic and workers' party since March 1848 this was by far the most favourable, and of course it had to be seized. The left bank of the Rhine could not leave the right bank in the lurch.

What should be done now?

All the larger towns of the Rhine Province are either fortress towns like Cologne and Coblenz, dominated by strong citadels and forts, or they have numerous garrisons like Aachen, Düsseldorf and Trier. In addition to this the province is further kept in check by the Wesel, Jülich, Luxembourg, Saarlouis and even the Mainz and Minden fortresses. In these fortresses and garrisons there were altogether at least 30,000 men. Finally, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Aachen and Trier had been disarmed for some time. So the revolutionary centres of the province were paralysed. Here every attempt at an uprising, as had already been demonstrated in Düsseldorf, would inevitably end in a victory for the military; another such victory, e. g. in Cologne, would mean the moral crushing of the uprising in Berg and the Mark, in spite of the otherwise favourable news. On the left bank of the Rhine a movement was possible on the Moselle, in the Eifel and the Krefeld industrial district; but this region was encircled by six fortresses and three garrison towns. On the other hand, those districts on the right bank of the Rhine which were already in

[a] Leopold.— *Ed.*

insurrection offered a densely populated, extensive terrain which with its woods and mountains seemed to be made for an insurrectionary war.

If the intention was to support the insurgent districts, then there was only one course open:

above all things avoid unnecessary disorders in the fortresses and garrison towns;

make a diversion on the left bank of the Rhine in the smaller towns, in the factory areas and in the countryside in order to hold the Rhine garrisons in check;

finally, throw all available forces into the insurgent district on the right bank of the Rhine, spread the insurrection further and attempt to organise here the nucleus of a revolutionary army around the army reserve.

Prussia's new heroes, who specialise in revelations, should not rejoice too soon over the treasonable conspiracy here revealed. Unfortunately no conspiracy existed. The above three measures are no conspiratorial plan but a simple suggestion put forward by the writer of these lines when he himself left for Elberfeld to see to the execution of the third point.[148] Thanks to the dilapidated organisation of the democratic and workers' party, thanks to the indecision and shrewd cautiousness of most of the local leaders who had come from the petty bourgeoisie, and finally thanks to the lack of time, it never came to a conspiracy. Therefore if the beginnings of a diversion did indeed materialise on the left bank of the Rhine and if in Kempen, Neuss and the surrounding country disorders did break out and the arsenal in Prüm was stormed,[149] these incidents were by no means the outcome of a common plan but were merely a manifestation of the revolutionary instinct of the people.

In the insurgent districts in the meantime things looked completely different from what the rest of the province would lead one to suppose. It must be admitted that Elberfeld with its barricades (which were, however, extremely unplanned and thrown together in a hurry), with its many sentinels, patrols and other armed men, with its whole population in the streets, only the big bourgeoisie apparently missing, and with its red flags and tricolours[150] did not look at all bad, but otherwise the greatest confusion reigned in the town. Through the Committee of Public Safety formed in the first moments, the petty bourgeoisie had taken the direction of affairs into its hands. It had scarcely got thus far when it took fright at its power, limited as it was. The first thing it did was to get legitimation from the town council, i.e. from the big bourgeoisie, and out of gratitude for the town council's kindness to take five of its members

into the Committee of Public Safety. Reinforced in this way, the Committee forthwith washed its hands of all dangerous activity by transferring the responsibility for external security to a military commission, over which, however, it reserved for itself a moderating and restraining control. Secured in this fashion from all contact with the uprising and transplanted by the fathers of the town onto the ground of legality, the trembling petty bourgeois on the Committee of Public Safety were able to confine themselves to calming tempers, looking after day-to-day business, clearing up "misunderstandings", quietening people down, procrastinating and paralysing every form of energetic activity under the pretext that it was first necessary to await the answers given to the deputations sent to Berlin and Frankfurt. The rest of the petty bourgeoisie naturally went hand in hand with the Committee of Public Safety, quietened things down everywhere, did all they could to hinder the continuation of defence measures and distribution of arms and constantly wavered as to how far they would go with the uprising. Only a small part of this class was determined to defend itself weapons in hand in the event of an attack on the town. The great majority sought to persuade themselves that their threats alone and aversion to the almost inevitable bombardment of Elberfeld would move the government to make concessions; nevertheless they covered themselves against all eventualities.

The big bourgeoisie, in the first moments after the battle, was as if thunderstruck. In its terror it saw fantastic visions of arson, murder, looting and God knows what abominations rising up out of the ground. Therefore the setting up of the Committee of Public Safety whose majority (town councillors, lawyers, public prosecutors, sober people) suddenly offered it a guarantee for life and property, filled it with more than fanatical delight. The selfsame big merchants, dyers and manufacturers who up to now had decried Messrs.Karl Hecker, Riotte, Höchster, etc., as bloodthirsty terrorists, now hurried *en masse* to the town hall, embraced the same alleged butchers with the most feverish passion and deposited thousands of talers on the table of the Committee of Public Safety. It goes without saying that when the movement was ended these same enthusiastic admirers and supporters of the Committee of Public Safety spread abroad the most extravagant and basest lies not only about the movement itself but also about the Committee of Public Safety and its members, and thanked the Prussians with a similar intensity of feeling for liberation from a terror which had never existed. Innocent constitutional bourgeois, like Messrs. Hecker, Höchster and Public Prosecutor Heintzmann, were once more depicted as bugbears and man-eaters

whose affinity to Robespierre and Danton stood written all over their faces. For our part we consider it our duty completely to exonerate these honourable gentlemen from any such accusation. For the rest, the greater portion of the big bourgeoisie placed themselves, their wives and their children with the utmost dispatch under the protection of the Düsseldorf state of siege and only the smaller, more courageous portion stayed behind to protect their property against any eventuality. The Chief Burgomaster[a] stayed hidden in an overturned, manure-covered cab for the duration of the uprising. The proletariat, united in the heat of the struggle, split as soon as the Committee of Public Safety and the petty bourgeoisie began to waver. The artisans, the actual factory workers and a section of the silk-weavers backed the movement up to the hilt; but they, who formed the core of the proletariat, were almost entirely without weapons. The dye-workers, a robust, well-paid working class, coarse and consequently reactionary like all sections of workers whose occupation demands more physical strength than skill, had lost all interest even during the first days. They alone of all the industrial workers stayed at work while the barricades were up and did not allow themselves to be disturbed. Finally the lumpenproletariat was here as elsewhere corruptible from the second day of the movement onwards, demanding weapons and pay from the Committee of Public Safety in the morning and selling itself to the big bourgeois in the afternoon to protect their buildings or rip down the barricades when evening fell. On the whole it stood on the side of the bourgeoisie, which paid it most and with whose money it led a gay life as long as the movement lasted.

The negligence and cowardice of the Committee of Public Safety and the discord in the military commission, in which the party of inaction initially had the majority, prevented any decisive action from the very beginning. From the second day onwards reaction set in. From the outset it became evident that in Elberfeld the only chance of success was under the banner of the Imperial Constitution and in agreement with the petty bourgeoisie. On the one hand, the proletariat had, here in particular, only too recently freed itself from the slough of gin and pietism for even the slightest notion of the conditions of its liberation to penetrate the masses, and on the other hand it had a too instinctive hatred for the bourgeoisie and was much too indifferent towards the bourgeois question of the Imperial Constitution to work up any enthusiasm for such tricolour interests. This put the resolute party, the only one to consider the question of

[a] Johann Adolph Carnap.—*Ed.*

defence seriously, in a false position. It declared itself for the Imperial Constitution. The petty bourgeoisie, however, did not trust it, maligned it in every way to the people and impeded all the measures it took to distribute arms and erect fortifications. Every order that could really serve to put the town in a state of defence was immediately countermanded by the first member of the Committee of Public Safety to come along. Every philistine in front of whose house a barricade was set up at once hurried to the town hall and procured a reversal of the order. The funds for the payment of the barricade-workers (and they asked for the very minimum to avoid starvation) could only be squeezed out of the Committee of Public Safety with great effort and in paltry amounts. Wages and rations for those bearing arms were provided irregularly and were often insufficient. For five to six days there was neither roll-call nor muster of armed men, with the result that nobody knew how many fighters could be reckoned on if an emergency arose. Not until the fifth day was an attempt made to detail the armed men, but the attempt was never carried into effect and was based on a total ignorance of the number of the fighting forces. Every member of the Committee of Public Safety acted on his own. There was a clash of the most contradictory orders and the only thing most of them had in common was to add to the easy-going confusion and prevent any energetic steps being taken. As a result of this the proletariat became heartily sick of the whole movement and after a few days the big bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie succeeded in their aim of making the workers as apathetic as possible.

When I reached Elberfeld on May 11, the armed men numbered at least 2,500 to 3,000. Of these, however, only the reinforcements from outside and the handful of armed Elberfeld workers were reliable. The army reserve was vacillating; most of them had a mighty dread of imprisonment in chains. At first there were not many of them, but they were reinforced by the admission of all the shilly-shallying and faint-hearted elements from the other detachments. Finally the civic militia, reactionary here from the very first and set up specifically to suppress the workers, declared itself neutral and wanted nothing but merely to protect its property. All this only came to light in the course of the next few days; in the meantime, however, a section of the reinforcements from outside and the workers dispersed and the number of actual fighting forces dwindled as a result of the stagnation of the movement, while the civic militia held together more and more and with every day more openly expressed its reactionary desires. During the last few nights it was already tearing down a number of the barricades. The armed

reinforcements, who certainly numbered at first more than a thousand men, were already reduced to half on the 12th or 13th, and when at length there was a general roll-call it became evident that the entire armed force upon which one could reckon by now numbered at the most 700 to 800 men. The army reserve and the civic militia refused to appear at this roll-call.

That is not all. Insurgent Elberfeld was surrounded by places all of which were alleged to be "neutral". Barmen, Kronenberg, Lennep, Lüttringhausen, etc., had not joined the movement. The revolutionary workers of these places, insofar as they had weapons, had marched to Elberfeld. The civic militia, which in all these places was purely an instrument in the hands of the manufacturers for holding down the workers, and was composed of the manufacturers, their factory overseers and the shopkeepers wholly dependent on the manufacturers, ruled here in the interests of "order" and the manufacturers. The workers themselves, who because of their dispersion in the more rural areas were rather out of touch with the political movement, had been partially brought over to the side of the manufacturers by the familiar means of coercion and by slanders about the character of the Elberfeld movement; among the peasants these slanders always worked unfailingly. In addition, the movement had come at a time when the manufacturers, after a business crisis of fifteen months, at last had full order books again; and it is common knowledge that no revolution can be made with regularly employed workers—a circumstance which also had a very significant effect in Elberfeld. It is obvious that under all these conditions the "neutral" neighbours were only so many covert enemies.

And there was still more to it than that. No links were established with the other insurgent districts. From time to time odd individuals came over from Hagen; as good as nothing was known of Iserlohn. Some individuals offered their services as commissaries,[a] but none of them was to be trusted. Several couriers between Elberfeld and Hagen were said to have been arrested by the civic militia in Barmen and the surrounding area. The only place with which there was regular communication was Solingen, and the situation there looked no different from that in Elberfeld. That it looked no worse there was due only to the good organisation and determination of the Solingen workers, who had sent 400 to 500 armed men to Elberfeld and yet were still strong enough to keep their own bourgeoisie and civic militia in check. If the Elberfeld workers had been as developed

[a] The copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* corrected by Engels has *Emissären* instead of *Kommissären.—Ed.*

and as organised as the Solingen workers, the chances would have been completely different.

Under these circumstances there was only one possibility left: to take swift, energetic measures to inject new life into the movement, provide it with new fighting forces, cripple its internal enemies and organise it as strongly as possible throughout the whole industrial area of Berg and the Mark. The first step was to disarm the Elberfeld civic militia, distribute its weapons among the workers and impose a compulsory tax for the maintenance of the workers thus armed. This step would have broken decisively with all the slackness which had hitherto characterised the Committee of Public Safety, given the proletariat new life and crippled the "neutral" districts' capacity for resistance. How then to go about getting weapons from these districts too, spreading the insurrection and regularly organising the defence of the whole region depended on the success of this first step. With an order from the Committee of Public Safety and with no more than the 400 Solingen workers the Elberfeld civic militia would have been disarmed in no time. Courage was not their strong point.

For the safety of those Elberfelders charged in May and still in prison, I owe the declaration that I alone was responsible for all these proposals. I began to call for the disarming of the civic militia immediately when the Committee of Public Safety's funds began to run out.

But the commendable Committee of Public Safety did not at all consider that it was necessary to take such "terroristic measures". The only thing I managed to get carried out, or rather, directed on my own initiative together with a few corps leaders—who all got away safely and some of whom are already in America, was to fetch some eighty rifles belonging to the Kronenberg civic militia which were kept in the town hall there. And these rifles, distributed with extreme carelessness, ended up for the most part in the hands of gin-happy lumpenproletarians, who sold them that very evening to the bourgeoisie. These same bourgeois gentlemen were sending agents among the people to buy up as many rifles as possible and they paid quite a high price for them. In this way the Elberfeld lumpenproletarians delivered up to the bourgeoisie several hundred rifles, which had got into their hands through the negligence and lack of order of the improvised authorities. With these rifles the factory overseers, the most reliable dye-workers, etc., etc., were armed and the ranks of the "well-disposed" civic militia strengthened from day to day.

The gentlemen of the Committee of Public Safety answered every

proposal for improving the town's defences by saying that there was no point, the Prussians would take care not to come there, they would never venture into the mountains, and so on. They themselves were fully aware that in saying this they were spreading the most barefaced lies, that the town could be bombarded from all the heights even with field-guns, that no arrangements at all had been made for any at all serious defence and that, the insurrection having come to a halt and the Prussians possessing a colossal superiority, only really extraordinary events could now save the Elberfeld uprising.

The Prussian generals, however, did not seem to be particularly anxious to venture into a terrain which was as good as totally unknown to them, at least not until they had assembled a truly overwhelming force. The four unfortified towns of Elberfeld, Hagen, Iserlohn and Solingen made such an impression on these cautious military heroes that they had an entire army of twenty thousand men and large numbers of cavalry and artillery brought up, partly by rail, from Wesel, Westphalia and the eastern provinces. Not daring to attack, they had a regular strategic formation drawn up the other side of the Ruhr. High command and general staff, right flank, centre, everything was in the most beautiful order, just as if they were facing a colossal enemy army, as if it were a question of giving battle to a Bem or a Dembiński and not of an unequal fight against a few hundred unorganised workers, badly armed, virtually leaderless and betrayed behind their backs by those who had put the weapons into their hands.

We know how the insurrection ended.[151] We know how the workers, disgusted with the petty bourgeoisie's constant procrastination, its faint-hearted shilly-shallying and its treacherous lulling into a false sense of security, finally moved out of Elberfeld to fight their way through to the first state they came to where the Imperial Constitution offered them the slightest refuge. We know how they were hunted by Prussian lancers and by incited peasants. We know how immediately after their departure the big bourgeoisie crawled out into the open again, had the barricades carried off and built triumphal arches for the approaching Prussian heroes. We know how Hagen and Solingen were played into the hands of the Prussians through direct betrayal by the bourgeoisie and how only Iserlohn put up a fight, unequal and lasting two hours, against the 24th Regiment, the conquerors of Dresden, who were already laden with booty.

Some of the Elberfeld, Solingen and Mülheim workers got safely through to the Palatinate. Here they met with their fellow-

countrymen, the fugitives from the storming of the Prüm arsenal. Together with these they formed a company consisting almost exclusively of Rhinelanders in Willich's volunteer corps. All their comrades will surely testify that whenever they came under fire, and especially in the last decisive battle on the Murg, they fought very bravely.

The Elberfeld insurrection deserved this more detailed description because it was here that the position of the different classes in the Imperial Constitution movement was most sharply pronounced and furthest developed. In the other towns in Berg and the Mark the movement resembled that in Elberfeld in every way, except that there the participation or non-participation in the movement by the various classes was less clearly defined, the classes themselves not being so sharply differentiated as in the industrial centre of the area. In the Palatinate and in Baden, where concentrated large-scale industry and along with it a developed big bourgeoisie are almost non-existent, where the class relationships merge into each other in a much more easy-going and patriarchal way, the mixture of the classes that were the mainstay of the movement was even more confused. We shall see this later, but we shall also see at the same time how all these admixtures to the uprising likewise end up by grouping themselves around the petty bourgeoisie as the core for the crystallisation of the whole splendour of the Imperial Constitution.

It is abundantly clear from the attempted uprisings in Rhenish Prussia in May of last year what position this part of Germany is capable of occupying in a revolutionary movement. Surrounded by seven fortresses, three of them first-class for Germany, constantly manned by almost a third of the entire Prussian army, intersected in all directions by railways and with an entire fleet of transport steamers at the disposal of the military authorities, a Rhineland uprising has no prospect of succeeding except under quite exceptional circumstances. Only when the citadels are in the hands of the people can the Rhinelanders hope to achieve anything by force of arms. And such an eventuality can only arise either if the military authorities are terrorised by tremendous external events and lose their heads, or if the military declare themselves wholly or partly for the movement. In every other case an uprising in the Rhine Province is doomed in advance. A swift march on Frankfurt by the Badeners and on Trier by the Palatines would probably have led to the uprising immediately breaking out on the Moselle and in the Eifel, in Nassau and in both parts of Hesse, and the troops of the central Rhenish states, who at that time were still favourably disposed, joining the movement. There is no doubt that all the

Rhenish troops, and especially the entire 7th and 8th artillery brigades, would have followed their example, that they would at least have given loud enough vent to their feelings to cause the Prussian generals to lose their heads. Probably several fortresses would have fallen into the hands of the people, and even if not Elberfeld, at least most of the left bank of the Rhine would have been saved. All that, and perhaps much more, was forfeited as a result of the shabby, cowardly and philistine policies of the wiseacres on the Baden Provincial Committee.

With the defeat of the Rhenish workers died the only newspaper in which they saw their interests openly and resolutely championed: the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The editor-in-chief,[a] though a native of Rhenish Prussia, was expelled from Prussia and the other editors had either direct arrest or immediate expulsion hanging over their heads.[152] The Cologne police explained this with extreme naïveté and went to great lengths to prove that they had enough against each one of them to take proceedings along one or the other of these lines. In this way the newspaper was forced to cease publication at the very moment when the unprecedentedly rapid increase in its circulation more than secured its existence. The editors scattered across the various German provinces where uprisings had taken place or were still to take place; several went to Paris, where yet again a critical moment was impending.[153] There is not one of them who during or as a result of the movements of this summer was not arrested or expelled, so experiencing the fate which the Cologne police were kind enough to prepare for him. A number of the compositors went to the Palatinate and joined the army.

The Rhenish uprising too had to end tragically. After three-quarters of the Rhine Province had been placed in a state of siege, after hundreds had been thrown into prison, it closed with the *shooting on the eve of Frederick William IV of Hohenzollern's birthday of three of the men who had stormed the Prüm arsenal.*[b] *Vae victis!*[c]

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[a] Karl Marx.—*Ed.*
[b] Johann Manstein, Anton Seiler and Nikolaus Alken.—*Ed.*
[c] Woe to the vanquished!—*Ed.*

## II. KARLSRUHE

The uprising in Baden took place under the most favourable circumstances that an insurrection could possibly hope for. The entire people were united in their hatred for a government that broke its word, engaged in duplicity and cruelly persecuted its political adversaries. The reactionary classes, the nobility, the bureaucracy and the big bourgeoisie, were few in numbers. Anyhow a big bourgeoisie exists only embryonically in Baden. With the exception of this handful of nobles, civil servants and bourgeois, with the exception of the Karlsruhe and Baden-Baden shopkeepers who made their living from the Court and from rich foreigners, with the exception of a few Heidelberg professors and a half-dozen peasant villages around Karlsruhe, the whole state was unanimously for the movement. In other uprisings the army had first to be defeated. Here, however, it had been harassed more than anywhere else by its aristocratic officers, worked on for a year by the democratic party and recently permeated even more with rebellious elements by the introduction of a kind of compulsory military service, with the result that it placed itself at the head of the movement and even drove the movement further than the bourgeois leaders of the Offenburg Assembly[154] cared for. It was precisely the army which in Rastatt and Karlsruhe transformed the "movement" into an insurrection.

The insurrectionary government therefore found on acceding to office a ready army, abundantly supplied arsenals, a fully organised state machine, a full exchequer and a virtually unanimous population. What is more, on the left bank of the Rhine, in the Palatinate, it found an insurrection already effectuated covering its left flank; in Rhenish Prussia an insurrection which was admittedly seriously threatened but not yet defeated; and in Württemberg, in

Franconia, in both parts of Hesse and in Nassau a general mood of unrest, even among the army, which only needed a spark to repeat the Baden uprising in the whole of South and Central Germany and put at least 50,000 to 60,000 regular troops at the disposal of the revolt.

It is so simple and so obvious what should have been done under these circumstances that everybody knows it now, after the suppression of the uprising, and everybody claims to have been saying it from the very start. It was a question of immediately and without a moment's hesitation spreading the uprising to Hesse, Darmstadt, Frankfurt, Nassau and Württemberg, immediately mustering 8,000 to 10,000 of the available regular troops—by rail that could have been done in two days—and sending them to Frankfurt "for the defence of the National Assembly". The alarmed Hessian government was as if rooted to the spot by the rapid succession of advances made by the uprising; its troops were notoriously well disposed to the people of Baden; it was no more capable than the Frankfurt Senate[155] of offering the slightest resistance. The troops of the electorate of Hesse, Württemberg and Darmstadt stationed in Frankfurt were for the movement; the Prussians there (mostly Rhinelanders) were wavering; the Austrians were numerically few. The arrival of the Badeners, whether or not any attempt was made to stop them, would inevitably have carried the insurrection into the heart of both parts of Hesse and Nassau, compelled the Prussians and Austrians to retreat to Mainz, and placed the trembling German so-called National Assembly under the terrorising influence of an insurgent people and an insurgent army. If the insurrection had not then immediately broken out on the Moselle, in the Eifel, in Württemberg and in Franconia then there would have been means enough at hand to carry it into these provinces too.

Further, the power of the insurrection should have been centralised, the necessary funds placed at its disposal and through the immediate abolition of all feudal burdens that great majority of the population which tills the soil should have been given a stake in the insurrection. The establishment of a common central authority for war and finance with full powers to issue paper money,* to begin with for Baden and the Palatinate, and the abolition of all feudal burdens in Baden and every area occupied by the insurgent army would for the moment have sufficed to give the uprising quite a different energetic character.

* The Baden Chambers had earlier already approved the issue of two million in bank-notes, of which not a penny had been issued.—*Note by Engels.*

All that had, however, to happen in the first moment if it were to be carried out with the swiftness which alone could guarantee success. A week after the appointment of the provincial committee it was already too late. The Rhenish insurrection was suppressed, Württemberg and Hesse did not stir, and those military units which at the beginning had been favourably disposed became unreliable and ended up by once more completely obeying their reactionary officers. The uprising had lost its all-German character and had become a purely local uprising restricted to Baden or to Baden and the Palatinate.

As I learnt after the fighting, the former Baden Second Lieutenant F. Sigel, who during the uprising won more or less equivocal dwarf-laurels as "colonel" and later as "general-in-chief", had at the very outset laid before the provincial committee a plan according to which the offensive was to be assumed. This plan has the merit of containing the correct notion that under all circumstances it is necessary to go over to the attack; in other respects, it is the most adventurist plan that could possibly have been proposed. Sigel wanted first to advance on Hohenzollern with a Baden corps and proclaim the Hohenzollern Republic, then take Stuttgart and from there, after having incited Württemberg to revolt, march on Nuremberg and set up a large camp in the heart of a likewise insurgent Franconia. It is easy to see that this plan completely left out of account the moral importance of Frankfurt, without which the insurrection could have no all-German character, and the strategic importance of the Main line. It is also easy to see that it presupposed completely different military forces than were actually available and that in the end, after a completely Quixotic or Schill-like raid,[156] it fizzled out and immediately set the strongest of all the South German armies and the only definitely hostile one, the *Bavarian* army, in hot pursuit of the insurgents, even before they could procure reinforcements through the defection of the troops of Hesse and Nassau.

The new government undertook no offensive under the pretext that the soldiers had almost all dispersed and gone home. Apart from the fact that this was true only in respect of a few isolated units, in particular the Prince's own regiment, even the soldiers who had dispersed were almost all back with their colours within three days.

Furthermore, the government had quite different reasons for opposing any offensive.

At the head of the agitation for the Imperial Constitution throughout Baden stood Herr *Brentano*, a lawyer, who with the invariably rather *mesquin* ambition of a man of the people from some petty German state and the seeming political staunchness

which in South Germany is the very first condition of all popularity, combined a dash of diplomatic cunning which sufficed to give him full mastery of all around him, with the possible exception of a single person. Herr Brentano (this sounds trivial now, but it is true), Herr Brentano and his party, the strongest in the province, demanded nothing more at the Offenburg Assembly than changes in the policies of the Grand Duke,[a] which were only possible with a *Brentano Ministry*. The Grand Duke's reply and the general agitation gave rise to the Rastatt military revolt—against the will and the intentions of Brentano. At the very moment that Herr Brentano was placed at the head of the provincial committee he had already been overtaken by the movement and was forced to try and hold it back. Then came the riot in Karlsruhe; the Grand Duke fled, and the same circumstance that had summoned Herr Brentano to the head of the administration, that had furnished him with dictatorial powers as it were, now thwarted all his designs and induced him to use this power against the very movement that had procured it for him. While the people were celebrating the departure of the Grand Duke, Herr Brentano and his faithful provincial committee were sitting upon thorns.

The said committee, consisting almost exclusively of Baden worthies with the staunchest of convictions and the most muddled of heads, of "pure republicans" who trembled with fear at the idea of proclaiming the republic or crossed themselves at the slightest energetic measure, this unadulterated philistine committee was needless to say wholly dependent on Brentano. The role which the lawyer Höchster assumed in Elberfeld was here assumed on a somewhat larger terrain by the lawyer Brentano. Of the three[b] outside elements, Blind, Fickler and Struve, who joined the provincial committee straight from prison, Blind was so ensnared by Brentano's intrigues that he had no other choice, isolated as he was, but to go into exile in Paris as a representative of Baden; Fickler had to undertake a dangerous mission to Stuttgart[157]; and Struve seemed to Herr Brentano to be so harmless that he tolerated him in the provincial committee, kept an eye on him and did his best to make him unpopular, in which he was completely successful. It is well known how Struve with several others founded a "Club of Resolute (or rather, cautious) Progress", which was disbanded after an unsuccessful demonstration.[158] A few days later Struve was in the

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[a] Leopold.— *Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* gives *beiden* (two).— *Ed.*

Palatinate, more or less a "fugitive", and there attempted yet again to publish his *Deutscher Zuschauer*. The specimen number was scarcely off the press when the Prussians marched in.

The provincial committee, from the very first nothing more than a tool of Brentano, elected an executive committee once again headed by Brentano. This executive committee very soon almost completely replaced the provincial committee, using it at the most to confirm credits and measures taken and getting rid of any of the larger committee's members who looked at all unreliable by sending them on all kinds of minor missions to the districts or the army. Finally it abolished the provincial committee altogether, replacing it with a "constituent assembly", elected completely under Brentano's influence, and transformed itself into a "provisional government", whose leader was needless to say once again Herr Brentano. It was he who appointed the ministers. And what ministers—Florian Mördes and Mayerhofer!

Herr Brentano was the most consummate representative of the Baden petty bourgeoisie. He distinguished himself from the mass of the petty bourgeois and their other representatives only by being too discerning to share all their illusions. Herr Brentano betrayed the insurrection in Baden from the very first. He did so precisely *because* from the very first he grasped the state of affairs more correctly than any other official person in Baden and because he took the only measures which would uphold the hegemony of the petty bourgeoisie and yet for that very reason meant the inevitable destruction of the insurrection. This is the key to Brentano's unbounded popularity at that time but also the key to the curses which have been heaped on him since July by his former admirers. The petty bourgeoisie of Baden were as a body just as much traitors as Brentano; but at the same time they were duped, which he was not. They betrayed out of cowardice and they allowed themselves to be duped out of stupidity.

In Baden, as in the whole of South Germany, there is hardly any big bourgeoisie at all. The province's industry and trade are of no significance. It follows that the proletariat is not at all numerous, very fragmented and scarcely developed. The mass of the population is divided into peasants (the majority), petty bourgeois and journeymen. These last, the urban workers, scattered in little towns without any big centre where an independent workers' party could develop, are or at least were until now under the dominant social and political influence of the petty bourgeoisie. The peasants, even more scattered over the province and lacking the means of instruction, have interests which partly coincide with and partly run parallel, so

to speak, to those of the petty bourgeoisie and for that reason were likewise under the petty bourgeoisie's political tutelage. The petty bourgeoisie, represented by lawyers, doctors, schoolmasters, individual merchants and book-sellers, thus held sway over the entire political movement in Baden, since March 1848, partly directly, partly through its representatives.

It is owing to the absence of an antithesis of bourgeoisie and proletariat and the consequent political domination of the petty bourgeoisie that there has never really been in Baden a movement agitating for socialism. The elements of socialism which came in from outside, either through workers who had been to more developed countries or through the influence of French or German socialist and communist literature, never managed to make any headway in Baden. The red riband and the red flag meant nothing more in Baden than the bourgeois republic, compounded at the most with a little terrorism, and the "six scourges of humanity" [159] discovered by Herr Struve were, for all their bourgeois inoffensiveness, the limit to which one could go without losing the sympathy of the masses. The highest ideal of the Baden petty bourgeois and peasant always remained the little republic of burghers and peasants as it has existed in Switzerland since 1830. A small field of activity for small, modest people, where the state is a somewhat enlarged parish, a "canton"; a small, stable industry, based on handicrafts, which gives rise to an equally stable and sleepy social condition; no great wealth, no great poverty, nothing but middle class and mediocrity; no prince, no civil list, no standing army, next to no taxes; no active participation in history, no foreign policy, nothing but petty domestic gossip and petty squabbling *en famille*; no big industry, no railways, no world trade, no social collisions between millionaires and proletarians, but a quiet, cosy life in all godliness and respectability, in the humble unobtrusiveness without a history, of satisfied souls —this is the gentle Arcadia which exists in the greater part of Switzerland and which the Baden petty bourgeois and peasants have been longing for years to see established. And if in moments of more ardent enthusiasm the thoughts of the Baden and, let us say it, of the South German petty bourgeois in general are stretched as far as the notion of the whole of Germany, then the ideal of Germany's future which flickers before their eyes takes the shape of an enlarged Switzerland, a federal republic. Thus Herr Struve has already published a pamphlet[a] which divides Germany up into twenty-four cantons, each with its own *landamman*[b] and its big and little councils.

[a] G. Struve, *Die Grundrechte des deutschen Volkes*, Birsfelden bei Basel, 1848.— *Ed.*

[b] The highest official in some Swiss cantons.— *Ed.*

He even goes so far as to append a map which shows the ready-made boundary lines. If Germany were ever in a position to transform itself into such an Arcadia, then it would thereby have descended to a depth of degradation of which it hitherto had no inkling, even in the times of its greatest humiliations.

The South German petty bourgeoisie had in the meantime more than once experienced that a revolution, even one under their own bourgeois republican banner, can quite easily carry away their beloved and peaceful Arcadia in the vortex of far more colossal conflicts, of real class struggles. Hence the petty-bourgeois fear not only of any sort of revolutionary convulsion but also of their own ideal of a federal tobacco-and-beer republic. Hence their enthusiasm for the Imperial Constitution, which at least satisfied their immediate interests and held out to them the hope, considering the purely suspensive nature of the Kaiser's veto, of ushering in the republic at some opportune moment by means within the bounds of the law. Hence their surprise when the Baden military without being asked handed over to them on a salver a ready-made insurrection, and hence their fear of spreading the insurrection over the frontiers of the future canton of Baden. The conflagration might well have taken hold of regions in which there was a big bourgeoisie and a numerous proletariat, regions in which it would have given power to the proletariat, and then woe to their property!

What did Herr Brentano do in these circumstances?

What the petty bourgeoisie in Rhenish Prussia had done consciously, he did *for* the petty bourgeoisie in Baden: he betrayed the insurrection, but he saved the petty bourgeoisie.

Brentano did not betray the insurrection by his last actions, by his flight after the defeat on the Murg,[160] as the finally disillusioned petty bourgeoisie of Baden imagined; he had betrayed it from the very first. It was precisely those measures that the Baden philistines, and with them sections of the peasants and even the artisans, cheered most loudly, which betrayed the movement to Prussia. It was precisely by his betrayal that Brentano became so popular and shackled the fanatical enthusiasm of the philistines to his heels. The petty burgher was too taken up with the swift restoration of order and public safety and the immediate suppression of the movement itself to notice the betrayal of the movement; and when it was too late, when, compromised in the movement, he saw that the movement was lost, and himself with it, he cried treason and with all the indignation of cheated respectability fell upon his most faithful servant.

Herr Brentano was cheated, too, of course. He hoped to emerge from the movement as the great man of the "moderate" party, i.e. of

none other than the petty bourgeoisie, and instead was ignominiously forced to bolt under cover of darkness from his own party and from his best friends, on whom the terrible truth had suddenly dawned. He even hoped to keep open for himself the possibility of a grand-ducal ministry and instead received by way of thanks for his wisdom a good kicking from all parties and the impossibility of ever again playing even the smallest of roles. But in truth one can be shrewder than the entire petty bourgeoisie of any German robber-state [*Raubstaat*] and still see one's finest hopes dashed and one's most noble intentions pelted with mud!

From the first day of his government Herr Brentano did everything to keep the movement on the narrow, philistine course which it had scarcely attempted to overstep. Under the protection of the Karlsruhe civic militia, which was devoted to the Grand Duke and had fought against the movement only the day before, he moved into the *Ständehaus*[161] to curb the movement from there. The recall of the deserted soldiers could not have been carried out more sluggishly; the reorganisation of the battalions was pursued with just as little urgency. On the other hand, the Mannheim unarmed philistines, who everyone knew would not fight, and who after the battle of Waghäusel[162] even collaborated for the most part with a regiment of dragoons in the betrayal of Mannheim, were immediately armed. There was no question of a march on Frankfurt or Stuttgart or of spreading the insurrection to Nassau or Hesse. If a proposal were made to this effect, it was immediately brushed aside, like Sigel's. To speak of issuing bank-notes would have been considered a crime against the state, tantamount to communism. The Palatinate sent envoy after envoy to say that they were unarmed, that they had no rifles let alone artillery, that they had no ammunition and were without everything needed to carry out an insurrection and in particular to seize the Landau and Germersheim fortresses; but nothing was to be got out of Herr Brentano. The Palatinate proposed the immediate setting up of a joint military command, and even the unification of both provinces under a single joint government. Everything was delayed and deferred. I believe that a small financial contribution is all the Palatinate managed to get; later, when it was too late, eight cannon arrived with a little ammunition but no crew or draught-team, and finally, on a direct order from Mieroslawski, came a Baden battalion and two mortars, only one of which, if I remember rightly, fired a shot.

Because of this policy of delaying and brushing aside those measures most necessary to spread the insurrection, the whole movement was already betrayed. The same nonchalance was

displayed in internal matters. There was not a word about abolishing feudal burdens; Herr Brentano knew full well that among the peasantry, especially in Upper Baden, there were elements more revolutionary than he cared for and that he must therefore hold them back rather than hurl them even more deeply into the movement. The new officials were mostly either creatures of Brentano or completely incompetent; the old officials, with the exception of those who had compromised themselves too directly in the reaction of the last twelve months and had hence deserted of themselves, all kept their positions, to the great delight of all the peaceful burghers. Even Herr Struve thought in the last days of May that the "revolution" should be commended for the fact that everything had passed off so very calmly and almost all the officials had been able to remain at their posts.—As to the rest, Herr Brentano and his agents worked for the restoration, wherever possible, of the old routine, for a minimum of unrest and agitation and for a speedy removal of the trappings of revolution from the province.

In the military organisation the same routine prevailed. Only that was done which could not possibly remain undone. The troops were left without leaders, without anything to occupy them and without order; the incompetent "Minister of War" Eichfeld and his successor, the traitor Mayerhofer, did not even know how to deploy them properly. The convoys of troops crossed one another aimlessly and futilely on the railway. The battalions were led to one place one day and back the next, nobody could say why. In the garrisons the men went from one tavern to the next because they had nothing else to do. It seemed as if they were being demoralised on purpose, as if the government really wanted to drive out the last remnants of discipline. The organisation of the first call-up of the so-called people's militia, i.e. all men up to thirty years old capable of bearing arms, was assigned to the well-known Joh. Ph. Becker, a naturalised Swiss and an officer of the confederate army. I do not know to what extent Becker was obstructed in the execution of his mission by Brentano. I do know, however, that after the retreat of the Palatinate army onto Baden territory, when the peremptory demands of the badly clothed and badly armed Palatinate forces could no longer be rejected, Brentano washed his hands in innocence and said: "As far as I'm concerned, give them whatever you want; but when the Grand Duke comes back he should at least know who squandered his stores in this manner!" So if the Baden people's militia was organised in part badly and in part not at all, there is no doubt that the main responsibility for this too lies with Brentano

and the ill will or ineptitude of his commissaries in the various districts.

When Marx and I first set foot on Baden territory after the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (it must have been May 20 or 21, that is, more than a week after the flight of the Grand Duke) we were astonished to see how carelessly the border was guarded, or rather not guarded. From Frankfurt to Heppenheim the entire railway was in the hands of Württemberg and Hessian imperial troops; Frankfurt and Darmstadt themselves were full of soldiers; all the stations and all the villages were occupied by strong detachments; regular outposts were advanced right up to the border. From the border to Weinheim, by contrast, there was not a single man to be seen; the same was true of Weinheim. The one and only precaution was the demolition of a short stretch of railway between Heppenheim and Weinheim. Only while we were there did a weak detachment of the Prince's own regiment, at the most twenty-five men, arrive at Weinheim. From Weinheim to Mannheim the deepest peace prevailed; at the most there was here and there an odd, more than merry people's militiaman, who looked more like a straggler or a deserter than a soldier on duty. Needless to say, there was no question at all of border control. One went in or out, at will.

Mannheim, however, gave more the impression of being on a war footing. Crowds of soldiers stood around in the streets or sat in the taverns. The people's militia and the civic militia were drilling in the park, although for the most part in a very clumsy fashion and with bad instructors. At the town hall were sitting any number of committees, old and new officers, uniforms and tunics. The people mingled with the soldiers and volunteers and there was a great deal of drinking, laughing and embracing. But it was at once apparent that the initial impetus was spent and that many were unpleasantly disillusioned. The soldiers were discontented; we carried through the insurrection, they said, and now that it is the turn of the civilians to take over the leadership they let everything come to a standstill and go to pieces! The soldiers were also far from satisfied with their new officers; the new officers were on bad terms with those who had previously served the Grand Duke—at that time there were still many of them, although every day some deserted; the old officers found themselves against their will in an awkward situation, from which they did not know how to extricate themselves. Finally, everyone was bemoaning the lack of energetic and competent leadership.

On the other side of the Rhine, in Ludwigshafen, the movement seemed to us to be a much more cheerful affair. Whereas in

Mannheim a great many young men who should clearly have been in the first call-up were quietly going about their business as if nothing had happened, here everyone was armed. Admittedly it was not so everywhere in the Palatinate, as later became evident. In Ludwigshafen the greatest unanimity prevailed between volunteers and military. In the taverns, which here too were, of course, overcrowded, the *Marseillaise* and other such songs rang out. There was no complaining and no grumbling, people were laughing and were body and soul with the movement, and at that time, especially amongst the fusiliers and volunteers, very understandable and innocent illusions prevailed about their own invincibility.

In Karlsruhe things took on a more solemn tone. In the *Pariser Hof table d'hôte* had been announced for one o'clock. But it did not start until "the gentlemen of the provincial committee" had arrived. Little marks of respect of this sort were already giving the movement a reassuring bureaucratic veneer.

In opposition to various gentlemen from the provincial committee we expressed the views developed above, namely, that at the outset a march should have been made on Frankfurt and the insurrection thus extended, that it was most probably by now too late and that unless there were decisive blows in Hungary or a new revolution in Paris the whole movement was already irretrievably lost. It is impossible to imagine the outburst of indignation amongst these burghers of the provincial committee at such heresies. Only Blind and Goegg were on our side. Now that we have been proved right by events these same gentlemen naturally claim that they had all along been pressing for the offensive.

In Karlsruhe at that time there were already the first beginnings of that pretentious place-hunting which, under the equally pretentious title of "concentration of all the democratic forces of Germany", masqueraded as coming to the aid of the fatherland. Anyone who had ever held forth, however confusedly, in some club or other or had once called for hatred of tyrants in some democratic local paper hurried to Karlsruhe or Kaiserslautern, there to become at once a great man. As there is hardly need to emphasise, the performances were fully in keeping with the forces here concentrated.—Thus there was in Karlsruhe a certain well-known, allegedly philosophical Atta Troll,[a] ex-member of the Frankfurt Assembly and ex-editor of an allegedly democratic paper,[b] suppressed by Manteuffel despite

[a] An ironical allusion to Arnold Ruge.—*Ed.*
[b] *Die Reform.*—*Ed.*

the tenders of our Atta Troll. Atta Troll was angling most assiduously for the little post of Baden envoy to Paris, for which he felt he had a special vocation because he had spent two years there at one time and learnt no French. Having been lucky enough actually to wheedle the credentials out of Herr Brentano, he was just packing his bags when Brentano unexpectedly summoned him and removed the accreditation papers from his pocket. It goes without saying that Atta Troll now made a point of going to Paris in order to spite Herr Brentano.—Another staunch burgher who had been threatening Germany for years with revolution and the republic, Herr Heinzen,[a] was also in Karlsruhe. This honourable gentleman was notorious before the February Revolution for calling on people everywhere and at all times to "go at them tooth and nail", and yet, after this revolution, he considered it more discreet to watch the various German insurrections from the neutral mountains of Switzerland. Now, at long last, he appeared to have got the urge to go tooth and nail himself at the "oppressors". After his earlier declared opinion that "Kossuth is a great man, but Kossuth has forgotten about *fulminating silver*",[b] it was to be expected that he would *immediately* organise the most colossal and hitherto unsuspected forces of destruction against the Prussians. He did no such thing. Since more ambitious plans did not appear to be appropriate, our hater of tyrants, as the saying goes, contented himself with setting up a republican élite corps, in the meantime writing articles in favour of Brentano in the *Karlsruher Zeitung* and frequenting the Club of Resolute Progress. The club was wound up, the republican élite did not put in an appearance and Herr Heinzen finally realised that not even he could defend Brentano's policies any longer. Misunderstood, exhausted and peeved, he first went to Upper Baden and from there to Switzerland, without having struck dead a single "oppressor". He is now taking his revenge on them from London, guillotining them in effigy in their millions.

We left Karlsruhe the next morning to visit the Palatinate.

As far as the conduct of general political matters and civil administration is concerned, there is little that remains to be said about the further course of the Baden insurrection. When Brentano felt strong enough he wiped out in one fell blow the tame opposition presented by the Club of Resolute Progress. The "Constituent

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[a] An apparent allusion to a pamphlet by G. Struve and K. Heinzen, *Plan zur Revolutionirung und Republikanisirung Deutschlands.—Ed.*

[b] K. Heinzen, *Der Mord*, in *Die Evolution*, Biel (Switzerland), No. 4, January 26, 1849.—*Ed.*

Assembly", elected under the influence of the immense popularity of Brentano and the all-ruling petty bourgeoisie, gave its assent and blessing to every measure he took. The "Provisional Government with dictatorial power"[a] (a dictatorship under an alleged convention!) was wholly under his control. Thus he continued to rule, obstructed the revolutionary and military development of the insurrection, had the day-to-day affairs discharged *tant bien que mal*[b] and jealously looked after the stores and private property of the Grand Duke, whom he continued to treat as his legitimate sovereign by the grace of God. In the *Karlsruher Zeitung* he declared that the Grand Duke could return at any time, and indeed the castle remained closed during this whole period, as if its occupant were merely away on a journey. He put off the emissaries from the Palatinate from day to day with vague answers; the most that could be achieved was the joint military command under Mieroslawski and—a treaty abolishing the Mannheim-Ludwigshafen bridge-toll, which still did not prevent Herr Brentano from continuing to levy this toll on the Mannheim side.

When Mieroslawski was finally forced after the battle of Waghäusel and Ubstadt to withdraw the remnants of his army through the mountains to the other side of the Murg, when Karlsruhe had to be abandoned with a mass of provisions, and when the defeat on the Murg settled the fate of the movement, the illusions of the Baden burghers, peasants and soldiers were dispelled and a universal cry went up accusing Brentano of treason. With one fell blow the whole edifice of Brentano's popularity, based on the cowardice of the petty bourgeois, the helplessness of the peasants and the lack of a concentrated working class, was demolished. Brentano fled to Switzerland under cover of darkness, pursued by the accusation of national betrayal with which his own "Constituent Assembly" stigmatised him, and went to ground in Feuerthalen in the canton of Zurich.

One could draw comfort from the thought that Herr Brentano has been punished enough by the total ruin of his political position and the universal contempt of all parties for his betrayal. The collapse of the Baden movement is of little consequence. The 13th June in Paris[c] and Görgey's refusal to march on Vienna[163] put an end to any hopes that Baden and the Palatinate still had, even if the movement

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[a] A name the Baden Provisional Government took in the decree on its formation published in the *Karlsruher Zeitung* No. 34, June 21, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] After a fashion.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, pp. 105-07.—*Ed.*

had been successfully transplanted to Hesse, Württemberg and Franconia. One would have fallen more honourably, but one would still have fallen. But what the revolutionary party will never forgive Herr Brentano, what it will always remember against the cowardly Baden petty bourgeoisie which supported him, is their direct responsibility for the death of those shot in Karlsruhe, in Freiburg and in Rastatt and of the countless and nameless victims silently executed by the Prussians with the help of typhus in the Rastatt casemates.

In the second issue of this *Revue* I will describe the conditions in the Palatinate and, to conclude, the Baden-Palatinate campaign.

## III. THE PALATINATE

From Karlsruhe we went to the Palatinate,[a] first stopping at Speyer where d'Ester and the Provisional Government were said to be. They had, however, already left for Kaiserslautern, where the government finally took up its seat at what it considered to be the "strategically best located point in the Palatinate". In its stead we found Willich and his volunteers in Speyer. With a corps of a few hundred men he was holding in check the garrisons of Landau and Germersheim, altogether over 4,000 men, cutting their lines of supply and harassing them in every possible way. That very day he had attacked two companies of the Germersheim garrison with about eighty riflemen and driven them back into the fortress without firing a single shot. The next day we accompanied Willich to Kaiserslautern where we met d'Ester, the Provisional Government, and the very flower of German democracy. Here also there could, of course, be no question of official participation in the movement, which was quite alien to our party. So after a few days we went back to Bingen, were arrested on the way, in the company of several friends, by Hessian troops, on suspicion of being implicated in the uprising, transported to Darmstadt and from there to Frankfurt, where we were finally set free.

Shortly after this we left Bingen and Marx went with a mandate from the Democratic Central Committee to Paris, where a crucial event was about to take place, as representative of the German revolutionary party to the French social-democrats.[164] I returned to Kaiserslautern to live there for the time being as a simple political refugee and perhaps later, should a suitable opportunity offer itself,

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[a] Marx and Engels left Karlsruhe for the Palatinate on May 24, 1849.—*Ed.*

take up at the outbreak of fighting the only position that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* could take up in this movement: that of soldier.

Anyone who has seen the Palatinate even once will understand that in this wine-producing and wine-loving province any movement inevitably assumes a most cheerful character. The ponderous, pedantic, Old-Bavarian beer-souls had at long last been shaken off and merry Palatinate wine-bibbers appointed in their place. One had finally seen the last of that pompous pettifoggery practised by the Bavarian police which was so delightfully parodied in the otherwise dull pages of the *Fliegende Blätter* and which lay more heavily than anything else on the hearts of the gay people of the Palatinate. The first revolutionary act of the people of the Palatinate was to restore the freedom of the taverns; the entire Palatinate was transformed into one enormous pot-house and the quantities of strong drink which were consumed "in the name of the people of the Palatinate" during those six weeks were beyond all calculation. Even though active participation in the movement in the Palatinate was nowhere near as widespread as in Baden, and even though there were many reactionary districts here, the entire population was as one in this general wine-bibbing and even the most reactionary philistine and peasant was carried along on the general wave of merriment.

One did not need an especially penetrating glance to recognise how bitterly the Prussian army was to disillusion these cheerful Palatinate souls in a few weeks' time. And yet the number of people in the Palatinate who did not revel in the most carefree manner could be counted on one's fingers. Scarcely anyone believed that the Prussians would come, but everyone was quite sure that if they did come they would be thrown out again with the greatest of ease. There was no trace here of that staunch gloominess whose motto "*Ernst ist der Mann*"[a] is engraved on the brow of every Baden people's militia officer and which still did not prevent all those wonderful things happening which I shall have to relate presently—that respectable solemnity which the philistine character of the movement in Baden had impressed on the majority of its participants. In the Palatinate people were only "serious" by the way. Here "enthusiasm" and "seriousness" only served to gloss over the universal jollity. But people were always "serious" and "enthusiastic" enough to believe themselves invincible before any power in the world, and especially the Prussian army; and if in the quiet hours of reflection a faint doubt raised its head, it was brushed aside with the

[a] Seriousness above all things.—*Ed.*

irrefutable argument that even if it were true, one still should not say it. The longer the movement dragged on and the more undeniable and massive the concentration of Prussian battalions between Saarbrücken and Kreuznach, the more frequent became these doubts, and the more vehement the bluster, precisely among the doubters and the timid, about the invincibility of a "people enraptured with its freedom", as the people of the Palatinate were called. This bluster soon grew into a regular soporific system which, encouraged only too readily by the government, had the effect of relaxing all work on defence measures and exposing everyone who opposed it to the danger of arrest as a reactionary.

This carefree attitude, this bluster about "enthusiasm" carrying all before it, in view of its minute material resources and the tiny corner of land where it asserted itself, provided the comic side of the Palatinate "uprising", and gave the handful of people whose advanced views and independent position permitted a detached judgment more than enough cause for hilarity.

The whole outward appearance of the movement in the Palatinate was cheerful, carefree and spontaneous. Whereas in Baden every newly appointed second lieutenant, in the regular army or the people's militia, laced himself into a heavy uniform and paraded with silver epaulettes which later, on the day of the battle, immediately found their way into his pockets, people in the Palatinate were much more sensible. As soon as the great heat of the first days of June made itself felt all the worsted coats, waistcoats and cravats disappeared to make way for a light tunic. It seemed as if all the old unsociable constraints had been thrown off along with the old bureaucracy. People dressed in a completely free-and-easy fashion, dictated solely by comfort and the season of the year; and together with differentiation in clothing disappeared in a moment every other differentiation in social intercourse. All social classes came together in the same public places and in this unrestrained intercourse a socialist dreamer would have glimpsed the dawn of universal brotherhood.

As the Palatinate, so its Provisional Government. It consisted almost exclusively of genial wine-bibbers, who were never so astonished as when they suddenly found themselves having to be the Provisional Government of their Bacchus-beloved fatherland. And yet there is no denying that these laughing regents conducted themselves better and accomplished relatively more than their Baden neighbours under the leadership of the "staunch-minded" Brentano. They were at least well-intentioned and in spite of their carousing had a more sober understanding than the philistine-

serious gentlemen in Karlsruhe; and hardly any of them became angry if one laughed at their easy-going fashion of making revolution and their impotent little decrees.

The Provisional Government of the Palatinate could not get anything done as long as it was left in the lurch by the Baden government. And it completely fulfilled its obligations towards Baden. It sent envoy after envoy and made one concession after another solely in order to come to an understanding, but all in vain. Herr Brentano was obdurate.

While the Baden government found everything ready at hand, the Palatinate government found nothing. It had no money, no weapons, a number of reactionary districts and two enemy fortresses on its territory. France at once banned the export of arms to Baden and the Palatinate, and all arms dispatched thither were impounded by Prussia and Hesse. The government of the Palatinate sent agents forthwith to France and Belgium to buy up arms and send them back; the arms were purchased but they never arrived. The government can be reproached with not proceeding with sufficient energy in the matter and in particular with failing to organise the smuggling in of rifles through the large number of contrabandists along the frontier; the greater blame, however, lies with its agents, who acted very negligently and in part allowed themselves to be fobbed off with empty promises instead of getting the French arms at least as far as Saargemünd and Lauterburg.

As far as funds were concerned, not much could be done with bank-notes in the little Palatinate. When the government found itself in pecuniary embarrassment it at least had the courage to take refuge in a forced loan on a progressive, albeit gently graduated, scale.

The only reproaches which can be made against the Palatinate government are that in its feeling of impotence it allowed itself to be too much infected by the universal light-heartedness and the related illusions about its own security; and that therefore, instead of energetically setting in motion the admittedly limited means of defending the state, it preferred to rely on the victory of the Montagne in Paris, the taking of Vienna by the Hungarians or even on actual miracles which were to happen somewhere or other to save the Palatinate—uprisings in the Prussian army, etc. Hence the remissness in procuring arms in a country where even a thousand serviceable muskets more or less would have made an infinite amount of difference and where finally, on the day the Prussians marched in, the first and last consignment of *forty* rifles arrived from abroad, namely from Switzerland. Hence the frivolous selection of civil and military commissaries, who consisted mainly of

the most incompetent and confused dreamers, and the retention of so many old officials and of all the judges. Hence finally the neglect of all the means, even those immediately at hand, of harassing and perhaps taking Landau. To this question I shall return later.

Behind the Provisional Government stood d'Ester, like a sort of secret General Secretary or, as Herr Brentano put it, like a "red camarilla which surrounded the moderate government of Kaiserslautern".[a] Moreover, this "red camarilla" included other German democrats too, in particular Dresden refugees. In d'Ester the Palatinate regents found that broad administrative vision which they lacked, together with a revolutionary understanding which impressed them because it always confined itself to what was immediately at hand, to that which was unquestionably practicable, and was therefore never at a loss for detailed measures. Because of this d'Ester acquired a significant influence and the unconditional confidence of the government. If even he at times took the movement too seriously and thought for example that he could achieve something worthwhile through the introduction of his for the moment totally unsuitable municipal regulations, it is none the less certain that d'Ester impelled the Provisional Government to each comparatively vigorous step and in particular always had appropriate solutions at hand when it came to conflicts over details.

If in Rhenish Prussia reactionary and revolutionary classes stood facing each other from the very outset and if in Baden a class which was initially in raptures about the movement, the petty bourgeoisie, gradually allowed itself at the approach of danger to be won over first into indifference and later into hostility towards the movement it itself had provoked, in the Palatinate it was not so much particular classes of the population as particular districts which, governed by local interests, declared themselves against the movement, some from the first and others little by little. Certainly the townspeople of Speyer were reactionary from the start; in Kaiserslautern, Neustadt, Zweibrücken, etc., they became so with the passage of time; but the main strength of the reactionary party was to be found in agricultural districts spread over the whole of the Palatinate. This confused configuration of the parties could only have been eliminated by one measure: a direct attack on the private property invested in mortgages and mortgage-usury, in favour of the debt-ridden peasants who had been sucked dry by the usurers. But this single measure, which would immediately have given the whole

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[a] From Brentano's justificatory memorandum: *Die Lage und das Verhalten der Mitglieder der Ministerien während der Revolution vom 13.5 bis 25.6, 1849.—Ed.*

of the rural population a stake in the uprising, presupposes a much larger territory and much more developed social conditions in the towns than is the case in the Palatinate. It was only feasible at the beginning of the insurrection, simultaneously with an extension of the uprising to the Moselle and the Eifel, where the same conditions obtain on the land and find their complement in the industrial development of the Rhenish towns. And the movement was directed outwards just as little in the Palatinate as it was in Baden.

Under these conditions the government had only limited means of combating the reactionary districts: isolated military expeditions into the refractory villages, arrests, especially of the Catholic priests, who placed themselves at the head of the resistance, and so on; appointment of energetic civil and military commissaries, and last of all propaganda. The expeditions, mostly of a very comical nature, only had a momentary effect, the propaganda none at all, and the commissaries mostly committed blunder upon blunder in their pompous ineptitude or confined themselves to the consumption of vast quantities of Palatinate wine and the inevitable bluster in the taverns.

Amongst the propagandists, the commissaries and the officials of the central administration, the democrats, of whom even more had gathered in the Palatinate than in Baden, played a very considerable role. Here, in addition to the refugees from Dresden and from Rhenish Prussia, a number of more or less enthusiastic "men of the people" had turned up to consecrate themselves to the service of the fatherland. The government of the Palatinate, which unlike its Karlsruhe counterpart understood instinctively that the resources of the Palatinate alone were not equal to the demands even of this movement, received them gladly. It was impossible to spend more than two hours in the Palatinate without being offered a dozen of the most varied and on the whole very honourable posts. The democrats, who saw in the Palatinate-Baden movement not a local uprising which was becoming daily more local and more insignificant, but the glorious dawn of the glorious uprising of all Germany's democrats, and who everywhere in the movement saw *their* more or less petty-bourgeois tendency prevailing, fell over themselves to accept these offers. At the same time, however, each felt he owed it to himself only to accept a post which satisfied his naturally very lofty pretensions of the part he should play in an all-German movement. At first this was possible. Whoever came along was at once put in charge of an office or made a government commissary, a major or a lieutenant-colonel. Little by little, however, the number of rivals increased, the positions became fewer and there started a petty,

philistine place-hunting which presented the disinterested spectator with a highly diverting spectacle. I imagine I do not have to underline the fact that in this strange hotchpotch of industry and confusion, importunacy and incompetence which the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has so often had occasion to wonder at among the German democrats, the officials and propagandists of the Palatinate faithfully mirrored the whole unpleasant medley.

As a matter of course I also was offered any number of civil and military positions, positions which in a proletarian movement I would not have hesitated for a moment to accept. As things were, I turned them all down. The only thing I agreed to was to write some agitational articles for a small paper[a] of which the Provisional Government had large quantities distributed in the Palatinate. I knew that this too would come to nothing, but I finally accepted the offer upon the urgent request of d'Ester and several members of the government in order at least to demonstrate my good will. Since I naturally felt few constraints, exception was taken to the very second article I wrote because it was too "inflammatory"; I wasted no words, took the article back, tore it up in d'Ester's presence and that was the end of the matter.

The best of the foreign democrats in the Palatinate were, incidentally, those who had come fresh from the struggle in their home provinces: the Saxons and the Rhenish Prussians. The handful of Saxons were mostly employed in the central offices, where they worked hard and distinguished themselves by their administrative knowledge, their calm, clear understanding and their lack of any pretensions or illusions. The Rhinelanders, mostly workers, joined the army *en masse*; the few who initially worked in the offices later also took up the musket.

In the offices of the central administration in the Fruchthalle[165] at Kaiserslautern there was a very easy-going atmosphere. What with the general *laisser aller*, the complete lack of any form of active intervention in the movement and the uncommonly large number of officials, there was on the whole little to do. It was a matter of hardly more than the day-to-day business of administration, and this was disposed of *tant bien que mal*. Unless a courier arrived, some patriotic citizen came with a profound proposal concerning the salvation of the fatherland, some peasant brought a complaint or some village sent a deputation, most of the offices had nothing to do. People yawned and chatted, told anecdotes and made bad jokes

[a] *Der Bote für Stadt und Land* which carried Engels' article "The Revolutionary Uprising in the Palatinate and Baden". See present edition, Vol. 9.—*Ed.*

and strategic plans and went from one office to another trying as well as they could to kill time. The main topics of conversation were naturally the political events of the day, about which the most contradictory rumours were circulating. The intelligence service was greatly neglected. The old post-office officials had almost without exception stayed at their posts and were needless to say very unreliable. Alongside them a "field-post" was set up, superintended by the Palatinate Chevaulegers[166] who had come over to our side. The commandants and the commissaries of the border areas paid not the slightest heed to what was happening on the other side of the border. The government took only the *Frankfurter Journal* and the *Karlsruher Zeitung* and I still remember with delight the astonishment it gave rise to when I discovered in the officers' club, in an issue of the *Kölnische Zeitung* which had arrived several days before, the news of the concentration of 27 Prussian battalions, 9 batteries and 9 regiments of cavalry, together with their exact location between Saarbrücken and Kreuznach.[a]

At last I come to the main point, the military organisation. About three thousand Palatinate soldiers from the Bavarian army had defected with bag and baggage. At the same time a number of volunteers, from the Palatinate and elsewhere, had placed themselves under arms. In addition to that the Provisional Government issued a decree calling up the first age group, in the first instance all unmarried men between the ages of eighteen and thirty. This call-up, however, only took place on paper, owing partly to the incompetence and negligence of the military commissaries, partly to the lack of arms and partly to the indolence of the government itself. Wherever the lack of arms was the main obstacle to the whole defence, as it was in the Palatinate, every means had to be used to muster arms. If none were forthcoming from abroad, then it was necessary to fetch out every musket, every rifle and every sporting-gun which could be unearthed in the Palatinate and place them in the hands of the active fighters. However, there were not only large numbers of private weapons at hand, but on top of that at least another 1,500 to 2,000 rifles, not counting carbines, in the hands of the various civic militia units. One could at least have demanded the handing over of private arms and rifles in the hands of those civic militiamen who were not obliged to join the first call-up and did not intend to volunteer. But nothing of the sort happened. After much insistence a resolution along these lines was finally adopted regarding the arms held by the civic militia, but never

[a] "Köln, 30. Mai", *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 129, May 31, 1849.— *Ed.*

put into effect; the Kaiserslautern civic militia, over three hundred philistines strong, paraded at the Fruchthalle every day in uniform, shouldering their arms, and the Prussians, when they marched in, had the pleasure of disarming these gentlemen. And thus it was everywhere.

In the official newspaper an appeal was issued to the forestry officials and the keepers of the woods, asking them to report to Kaiserslautern in order to form a rifle corps[a]; of these it was the forestry officials who did not turn up.

Throughout the whole land scythes were forged, or at least a call went out to that effect; a few scythes were actually produced. In the Rhenish Hessian corps at Kirchheimbolanden I saw several casks of scythe-blades being loaded and sent to Kaiserslautern. The journey takes roughly seven to eight hours; four days later the government was forced to abandon Kaiserslautern to the Prussians and the scythes had still not arrived. If the scythes had been given to those civic militiamen not yet mobilised, the so-called second age group, as compensation for giving up their guns, then the affair would have made sense; instead of this the lazy philistines kept their percussion-guns and the young recruits were expected to march against the Prussian cannon and needle-muskets with scythes.

While there was a general lack of fire-arms, there was by contrast a just as remarkable profusion of cavalry sabres; those who could not lay hands on a gun strapped on all the more eagerly a clattering broadsword, believing that by merely so doing they stamped themselves as officers. Precisely in Kaiserslautern these self-stamped officers were too numerous to count and the streets rang day and night to the clatter of their fearful weapons. It was the students in particular who by this new manner of intimidating the enemy and by their pretension of forming an academic legion entirely of cavalry on foot rendered great service for the saving of the fatherland.

In addition there was half a squadron of defected Chevaulegers at hand; however, they were so scattered due to their work for the field-post, etc., that they never came to form a special combat corps. The artillery, under the command of "Lieutenant-Colonel" Anneke, consisted of a few three-pounders whose horses I do not recall having ever seen, and a number of mortars. Lying in front of the Fruchthalle at Kaiserslautern was the most beautiful collection of old iron cannon-barrels one could ever wish to see. Needless to say, most of them remained lying there unused. The two biggest were laid on colossal home-made gun-carriages and carried off. The Baden

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[a] *Der Bote für Stadt und Land* No. 118, June 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

government finally sold the Palatinate a shot-out six-pound battery together with some ammunition; but without a team of horses, a crew or sufficient ammunition. The ammunition was as far as possible manufactured; the team of horses and riders was made up *tant bien que mal* with requisitioned peasants and horses; for the crew a few old Bavarian artillerymen were gathered together to train men in the ponderous and complicated Bavarian drill.

The top leadership of military affairs was in the worst hands. Herr Reichardt, who had taken over the military department in the Provisional Government, was active, but lacked vigour and professional knowledge. The first commander-in-chief of the military forces of the Palatinate, the enterprising Fenner von Fenneberg, was soon dismissed on account of his ambiguous conduct; he was temporarily replaced by Raquilliet, a Polish officer. At last it was learnt that Mieroslawski was to take over the supreme command of Baden and the Palatinate and that the command of the troops of the Palatinate was to be entrusted to "General" Sznayde, also a Pole.

General Sznayde arrived. He was a small, fat man, who looked more like an elderly *bon vivant* than a "Menelaus, caller to battle".[a] General Sznayde took over the command with a great deal of gravity. He had a report made on the state of affairs and at once issued a whole series of orders of the day. Most of these orders related to uniform (tunics and marks of rank for officers—tricolour armbands or sashes), or appeals to veteran cavalrymen and riflemen to come forward as volunteers (appeals which had already been made ten times without success) and things of a similar nature. He himself set a good example by immediately procuring a hussar tunic with tricolour braid, in order to inspire the army with respect. The really practical and important things in his orders of the day were merely repetitions of orders long since issued and proposals already made earlier by the handful of good officers present, but never carried out, and which only now, through the authority of a commanding general, could[b] be put into effect. As for the rest, "General" Sznayde placed his trust in God and Mieroslawski and dedicated himself to the pleasures of the table, the only reasonable thing that a so totally incompetent individual could do.

Amongst the other officers in Kaiserslautern was the uniquely capable Techow, the same Techow who as a Prussian first lieutenant

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[a] Homer, *Iliad*, Song II. (In the original Engels used the translation by Johann Heinrich Voss.)— *Ed.*

[b] The copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* corrected by Engels has *sollten* (should) instead of *konnten* (could).— *Ed.*

with Natzmer gave the Berlin arsenal over to the people after having taken it by storm [167] and, sentenced to fifteen years detention in a fortress, escaped from Magdeburg. Techow, chief of the Palatinate general staff, proved in all things to be knowledgeable, circumspect and calm, perhaps a little too calm to be trusted to make the rapid decisions on which everything often depends on the battlefield. "Lieutenant-Colonel" Anneke proved to be incompetent and indolent in organising the artillery, though he rendered good services in the ordnance shops. At Ubstadt he won no laurels as commander-in-chief and from Rastatt, where Mieroslawski had put him in charge of the materials for the siege, he escaped across the Rhine under strange circumstances already before the investment, leaving his horses behind.

There was not much to be said for the officers in the various districts either. A number of Poles had appeared, some in advance of Sznayde and some with him. As the best of the Polish émigrés were already in Hungary, one may suspect that these Polish officers were a pretty mixed bunch. Most of them made haste to obtain an appropriate number of saddle-horses and give out a few orders, paying only scanty attention to their execution. They tended to lord it over people and wanted to treat the peasants of the Palatinate like cringing Polish serfs. They were not familiar with the country, the language or the command, and hence accomplished little or nothing at all as military commissaries, i.e. organisers of battalions. In the course of the campaign they soon strayed into Sznayde's headquarters and shortly afterwards, when Sznayde was assailed and roughly handled by his soldiers, disappeared altogether. The better ones among them arrived too late to be able to organise anything.

There was not much talent of any use among the German officers either. The Rhenish Hessian corps, though it included elements who could have developed militarily, was under the leadership of a certain Häusner, a completely useless man, and under the even more lamentable moral and political influence of the two heroes Zitz and Bamberger, who later in Karlsruhe extricated themselves so successfully from the situation. In the Palatinate hinterland a former Prussian officer, Schimmelpfennig, organised a corps.

The only two officers who had already distinguished themselves in active service before the Prussian invasion were Willich and Blenker.

With a small corps of volunteers Willich took over the observation and later the siege of Landau and Germersheim. A company of students, a company of workers who had lived with him in Besançon,

three weak companies of gymnasts (from Landau, Neustadt and Kaiserslautern), two companies formed from volunteers from the surrounding villages and lastly a company of Rhenish Prussians armed with scythes, most of them fugitives from the Prüm and Elberfeld uprisings, gradually mustered under his command. In the end they amounted to between 700 and 800 men, certainly the most reliable soldiers in the whole Palatinate; most of the N.C.O.s had seen service and some of them had been familiarised in Algeria with guerrilla warfare.[168] With this scanty force Willich took up a position halfway between Landau and Germersheim, organised the civic militia in the villages, using them to guard the roads and do outpost duty, beat back all the sorties from the two fortresses in spite of the superior forces, in particular of the Germersheim garrison, blockaded Landau so effectively that almost all its supplies were intercepted, cut off its water-supplies, dammed up the Queich so that all the fortress cellars were flooded, and yet there was a lack of drinking-water, and harassed the garrison every night with patrols which not only cleared out the abandoned outworks and auctioned the guardroom stoves they found there for five guilders each, but also pushed forward even into the fortress trenches and frequently caused the garrison to open fire on a corporal and two men with a cannonade of twenty-four-pounders which was as intense as it was harmless. This was by far the most brilliant period during the existence of Willich's volunteer corps. If only a few howitzers had been at his disposal at that time, or even only field-guns, according to the reports of the spies who daily went in and out of Landau, the fortress, with its demoralised, weak garrison and its rebellious inhabitants, would have been taken in a few days. Even without artillery a continuation of the siege would have compelled capitulation in a week. In Kaiserslautern were two seven-pound howitzers, good enough to set fire to a few houses in Landau during the night. Had they been on the spot, then the unheard of, the taking of a fortress like Landau with a few field-guns, would have become a probability. Every day I preached to the general staff in Kaiserslautern the necessity of at least making the attempt. To no avail. One of the howitzers stayed in Kaiserslautern and the other found its way to Homburg, where it almost fell into the hands of the Prussians. Both came over the Rhine without having fired a shot.

"Colonel" Blenker, however, distinguished himself even more than Willich. "Colonel" Blenker, a former travelling salesman for a wine-firm, who had been in Greece as a philhellenist and later set himself up as a wine-merchant in Worms, can in any case be numbered among the most outstanding military personalities of the

whole glorious campaign. Always on horseback, surrounded by a numerous staff, big, strong, with a defiant face, an impressive Hecker-type beard, a stentorian voice and all the other characteristics that go to make up a South German "man of the people", and among which, as everybody knows, intelligence does not exactly feature, "Colonel" Blenker gave the impression of a man at the mere sight of whom Napoleon would have to sneak away, a man worthy to figure in that refrain with which we opened these accounts.[a] "Colonel" Blenker felt he had it in himself to overthrow the German princes even without "Hecker, Struve, Zitz and Blum" and immediately set about the task. It was his intention to fight the war not as a soldier but as a travelling wine-salesman, and to this end he resolved to conquer Landau. Willich was not yet there at that time. Blenker got together everything at hand in the Palatinate, both regular troops and people's militia, organised foot-soldiers, cavalry and artillery that had all been jumbled up together, and moved off in the direction of Landau. A council of war was held in front of the fortress, the assault columns formed up and the position of the artillery fixed. The artillery, however, consisted of a few mortars whose calibre varied from $^1/_2$lb. to $1^3/_8$lb., and was brought up on a hay-cart which at the same time served to carry the ammunition. The ammunition for these various mortars consisted of *one*, I repeat *one*, 24 lb. cannon-ball; there was no question of any gunpowder. After everything had been organised, everyone moved forward full of contempt for death. The glacis was reached without meeting any resistance; the march continued, right up to the gate. At the head were the soldiers who had defected from Landau. A few soldiers appeared on the ramparts to parley. They were called upon to open the gate. There began already a quite good-natured exchange and everything appeared to be going according to wish. All at once a cannon-shot rang out from the ramparts, case-shot whistled over the heads of the assailants and in no time the whole heroic army broke into wild flight together with their Palatinate Prince Eugene.[b] Everyone was running, running, running, with such irresistible momentum that the couple of cannon-balls loosed off soon afterwards from the ramparts were already no longer whistling over the heads of the fleeing men, but only over their discarded guns, cartridge-pouches and knapsacks. A few hours away from Landau a halt was finally made and the army was gathered together again and led home by Herr "Colonel" Blenker, without the keys of Landau

[a] See this volume, p. 149.— *Ed.*
[b] An ironical comparison of Blenker with Prince Eugene of Savoy.— *Ed.*

but none the less proud for that. Such is the story of the conquest of Landau with three mortars and a 24lb. cannon-ball that never happened.

The case-shot was fired off in all haste by some Bavarian officers, when they saw that their soldiers wanted to open the gate. The gun was brought off the target by soldiers themselves, and it was because of this that nobody was hit. But when the Landau garrison saw what an effect this random shot had, there was naturally no more talk of surrender.

Hero Blenker, however, was not the sort of man to take such a piece of bad luck lying down. He now resolved to conquer Worms. He moved up from Frankenthal, where he commanded a battalion. The handful of Hessian soldiers stationed in Worms made themselves scarce and hero Blenker marched into his home town with drums beating and trumpets sounding. After the liberation of Worms had been celebrated with a solemn luncheon, the main ceremony began, that is, the tendering of an oath of allegiance to the Imperial Constitution to twenty Hessian soldiers who had stayed behind sick. During the night after this prodigious success, however, the imperial troops under Peucker brought up artillery on the right bank of the Rhine and gave the victorious conquerors a most violent awakening with the early thunder of cannon. There was no mistake about it: the imperial troops were sending over round shot and shells. Without uttering a word hero Blenker gathered together his brave men, and stole away from Worms back to Frankenthal. The muse will report further particulars of his later heroic deeds in the appropriate place.

While in the districts the motliest collection of characters were each in their own way giving themselves vent and the soldiers and people's militiamen, instead of drilling, sat in the taverns and sang, the gallant officers were in Kaiserslautern busy thinking up the most profound strategic plans. It was a question of nothing less than the possibility of holding a small province like the Palatinate, accessible from several sides, with almost wholly imaginary forces against an extremely real army of over 30,000 men and 60 cannon. Precisely because in such a situation every project was equally useless and equally absurd, and precisely because all the conditions for any strategic plan were absent, precisely for those reasons these profound military men, these thinking heads of the Palatinate army, were all the more resolved to concoct some strategic miracle which would bar to the Prussians the way into the Palatinate. Every freshly baked lieutenant, every sabre-trailer from the academic legion finally established under the auspices of Herr Sznayde, with the rank of

lieutenant for every member, every administrative pen-pusher, stared pensively at the map of the Palatinate in the hope of finding the strategic philosophers' stone. It is easy to imagine the amusing results this had. The Hungarian method of warfare was especially popular. From "General" Sznayde down to the as yet least recognised Napoleon in the army one could constantly hear the phrase: "We must do as Kossuth did, we must give up a piece of our territory and retreat, here or there, into the mountains or onto the plain according to the situation." "We must do as Kossuth did," the cry went up in every tavern. "We must do as Kossuth did," echoed every corporal, every soldier and every street-urchin. "We must do as Kossuth did," echoed the Provisional Government good-naturedly, for they knew better than anyone else that it was best not to meddle in these things, and in the long run it was all the same to them how it was done. "We must do as Kossuth did, or we are lost."—The Palatinate and Kossuth!

Before I go on to describe the campaign itself, I must briefly mention a matter which has been touched on in various newspapers: my momentary arrest in Kirchheim. A few days before the Prussians marched in I accompanied my friend Moll on a mission he had undertaken to Kirchheimbolanden, on the border. Here was stationed a part of the Rhenish Hessian corps, in which we had acquaintances. We were sitting in the evening with these and several other volunteers from the corps in an inn. Among the volunteers were a number of those serious, enthusiastic "men of action" of whom mention has been made on more than one occasion and who foresaw no difficulties in beating any army in the world, with few arms and much enthusiasm. These are men whose experience of the military does not extend beyond the changing of the guards, who never pay the slightest heed to the material means of attaining a given purpose and who for this reason mostly experience such a shattering disillusion in their first battle, as I was later to observe on more than one occasion, that they make off as fast as their legs can carry them. I asked one such hero if he really intended to defeat the Prussians with the thirty thousand cavalry sabres and three and a half thousand fire-arms, including several rusty carbines, available in the Palatinate, and I was in proper train to enjoy the holy indignation of a man of action wounded in his noblest enthusiasm when in stepped the guard and declared me under arrest. At the same time I saw two men rush upon me from behind foaming with rage. One of them announced that he was Civil Commissary Müller and the other was Herr Greiner, the only member of the government with whom I had never entered into more intimate

contact, on account of his frequent absence from Kaiserslautern (he had been turning his wealth into movable property on the quiet) and his suspicious-looking, snivellingly sullen appearance.[169] At the same time an old acquaintance of mine,[a] a captain in the Rhenish Hessian corps, stood up and declared that if I were to be arrested, he, together with a considerable number of the best men in the corps, would leave it at once. Moll and others were for defending me there and then with force. Those present split into two parties, the scene promised to become interesting and I declared I would naturally allow myself to be arrested with pleasure: it would finally be clear for all to see what the colour of the Palatinate movement was. I went with the guard.

The next morning, after a comical interrogation which Herr Zitz put me through, I was handed over to the civil commissary and by him to a gendarme. The gendarme, on whom it had been impressed to treat me as a *spy*, handcuffed me and led me on foot to Kaiserslautern, accused of disparaging the uprising of the Palatinate people and inciting against the government, which, by the way, I had not mentioned. On the way I succeeded in getting a carriage. In Kaiserslautern, where Moll had hurried on ahead of me, I found the government highly bewildered at the valiant Greiner's *bévue* and even more bewildered at the treatment meted out to me. Needless to say I carried on quite a bit at the gentlemen in the presence of the gendarme. Since no report from Herr Greiner had yet arrived, I was offered freedom on parole. I refused to give my parole and went into the cantonal gaol—without an escort, which condition was agreed to at d'Ester's request. D'Ester declared that he could stay no longer after such treatment had been meted out to a party comrade. Tzschirner, who arrived just at that time, also took a very resolute stand. The same evening the news spread throughout the town and everyone who belonged to the resolute trend immediately sided with me. On top of that, news arrived that disturbances had broken out in the Rhenish Hessian corps on account of this affair and that a large part of the corps intended to disband. It would have taken less than that to demonstrate to the provisional regents, in whose company I had been daily, the necessity of giving me satisfaction. After I had spent 24 quite amusing hours in gaol, d'Ester and Schmitt came to see me; Schmitt explained to me that I was unconditionally free and that the government hoped that I would not be deterred from continuing to take part in the movement. Besides this, I was told, the order had been given that in future no political prisoner was to be

[a] Victor Schily.—Ed.

brought in handcuffed, and the investigation against the instigator of this infamous treatment as well as of the arrest and its cause was proceeding. After the government had taken these steps to give me all the satisfaction that it could for the moment, since Herr Greiner had still not sent in a report, the solemn faces on both sides were discarded and the company had a few drinks together in the Donnersberg. The next day Tzschirner departed for the Rhenish Hessian corps in order to appease it and I gave him a short note to take with him. When Herr Greiner returned he made such a snivelling exhibition of himself that his colleagues gave him a doubly severe dressing-down.

At the same time the Prussians marched in from Homburg. Since things thus took an interesting turn, since I had no intention of letting slip the opportunity of gaining some military education, and lastly since the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* also had to be represented *honoris causa* in the army of Baden and the Palatinate, I too buckled on a broadsword and went off to join Willich.

## IV. TO DIE FOR THE REPUBLIC!

**Nur im Sturz von sechsunddreissig Thronen**
**Kann die deutsche Republik gedeibn;**
**Darum, Brüder, stürzt sie ohne Schonen,**
**Setzet Gut und Blut und Leben ein.**
**Für Republik zu sterben,**
**Ist ein Los, hehr und gross, ist das Ziel unsres Muts!**[a]

Thus sang the volunteers on the train when I was on my way to Neustadt to seek out Willich's temporary headquarters.

So from now on to die for the republic was the aim of my courage or at least was supposed to be. It seemed strange to me to have this new aim. I looked at the volunteers, young, handsome, lively lads. They did not at all look as if death for the republic was just now the aim of their courage.

From Neustadt I travelled on a requisitioned peasant's cart to Offenbach, between Landau and Germersheim, where Willich was still to be found. Just the other side of Edenkoben I came across the first sentries, posted by the peasants on his orders, who were from now on to be found at the entrance and exit of every village and at every cross-road and who allowed nobody through without a written authorisation of the insurgent authorities. It was clear

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[a] Only through the overthrow of thirty-six thrones
Can the German republic prosper;
Therefore, brothers, overthrow them without mercy,
And stake property, life and limb.
To die for the Republic
Is a lofty and great destiny, the aim of our courage.

A stanza from a song popular during the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany which began with the words: "Wenn die Fürsten ihre Söldnerscharen...." — *Ed.*

that one was getting a little nearer to war conditions. Late in the night I arrived at Offenbach and at once took up duties as Willich's adjutant.

In the course of that day (it was June 13) a small part of Willich's corps had fought a brilliant engagement. A few days previously Willich had got reinforcements for his volunteer corps in the shape of a Baden people's militia battalion, the Dreher-Obermüller Battalion, and had moved up some fifty men of this battalion to Bellheim against Germersheim. To their rear, in Knittelsheim, there was still a company of volunteers together with a few scythe-men. A battalion of Bavarians with two cannon and a squadron of Chevaulegers made a sortie. The Badeners fled without putting up any resistance; only one of them, overtaken by three mounted gendarmes, defended himself furiously until finally, hacked to pieces by sabre blows, he fell and was finished off by his assailants. When the fugitives arrived at Knittelsheim the captain[a] stationed there set out against the Bavarians with a little less than fifty men, some of whom were still armed with scythes. He expertly divided up his men into several detachments and advanced in extended order with such determination that after two hours' fighting the Bavarians, who were over ten times more numerous, were driven back into the village abandoned by the Badeners and finally, when some reinforcements arrived from Willich's corps, thrown out of the village again. They retreated with a loss of some twenty dead and wounded to Germersheim. I am sorry to say that I cannot give the name of this bold and talented young officer, since he is probably not yet in safety. His men had only five wounded, none seriously. One of these five, a French volunteer, had been shot in the upper arm before he himself had fired a shot. Nevertheless he fired all his sixteen cartridges and when his wound prevented him from loading his gun he got one of the scythe-men to load it for him so that he could just fire. The next day we went to Bellheim to look at the battlefield and make new arrangements. The Bavarians had fired at our skirmishers with round shot and case-shot but hit nothing except the twigs on the trees, with which the whole road was strewn, and the tree behind which the captain was standing.

The Dreher-Obermüller Battalion was now present in full strength with the intention of establishing itself firmly in Bellheim and the surrounding area. It was a splendid, well-armed battalion and the officers especially, with their turned-up moustaches and their tanned faces full of seriousness and enthusiasm, really did look

[a] Loreck.—*Ed.*

like man-eaters endowed with reason. Fortunately, they were not so dangerous, as we were to become more and more aware.

To my amazement I discovered that there was almost no ammunition whatever available, that most men only had five or six cartridges, and in a few cases twenty, and that the stock in hand would not be enough even to replenish the now completely empty cartridge-pouches of the men who had been under fire the day before. I at once volunteered to go to Kaiserslautern and fetch ammunition, and set out the same evening.

The peasants' carts were slow; the necessity of requisitioning new carts at regular stages, unfamiliarity with the roads, etc., also helped to slow things down. It was daybreak when I arrived at Maikammer, about halfway to Neustadt. Here I came across a detachment of Pirmasens people's militia with the four cannon sent to Homburg, which in Kaiserslautern were already believed lost. By way of Zweibrücken and Pirmasens, and then by the most wretched mountain tracks, they had succeeded in getting as far as here, where they at last came out into the plain. The gentlemen from Prussia were in no great hurry to pursue them, even though our men from Pirmasens, excited by exertions, night marches and wine, believed they were right on their heels.

A few hours later (it was on June 15) I arrived at Neustadt. The whole population was on the streets, among them soldiers and volunteers, as all people's militiamen in tunics were indiscriminately called in the Palatinate. Carts, cannon and horses blocked every approach. In short, I had landed up in the middle of the retreat of the entire Palatinate army. The Provisional Government, General Sznayde, the general staff, the office staff, everyone was there. Kaiserslautern had been abandoned, the Fruchthalle, the "Donnersberg", the beerhouses, the "strategically best located point in the Palatinate", and for the moment Neustadt had become the centre of the Palatinate's confusion, which reached its climax only now that it came to fighting. Suffice it to say, I made myself acquainted with the facts, took as many kegs of gunpowder, lead-shot and ready-made cartridges as I could (what further use was this ammunition to an army which had gone to pieces without even a battle?), after countless vain attempts finally got hold of a wain in a neighbouring village and left in the evening with my booty and a small escort.

But before doing so I went to Herr Sznayde and asked if he did not have any message for Willich. The old gourmand gave me a few meaningless instructions and added with an air of importance: "You see, we are now doing just as Kossuth did."

How the Palatinate came to do just as Kossuth did, however, was to be explained as follows. In the heyday of the "rebellion", that is to say, on the day before the Prussians marched in, the Palatinate had roughly 5,000 to 6,000 men armed with weapons of all sorts and about 1,000 to 1,500 scythe-men. These 5,000 to 6,000 possible combatants consisted firstly of Willich's and the Rhenish Hessian volunteer corps and secondly of the so-called people's militia. In the area covered by each provincial commissariat was a military commissary whose task was to organise a battalion. The defected soldiers belonging to each district were to serve as nucleus and as instructors. This system of mixing regular troops with raw recruits, though it could have had excellent results during an active campaign with strict discipline and continual military exercise, ruined everything under the circumstances. The battalions did not materialise owing to lack of arms; the soldiers, having nothing to do, neglected all discipline and military bearing and for the most part melted away. Eventually a battalion of sorts came together in some districts but in the others only armed crowds existed. There was absolutely nothing to be done with the scythe-men; everywhere in the way and never really of any use, they were partly left with their respective battalions as a provisional appendage until such a time as guns could be acquired for them, and partly concentrated in a special corps under the half-crazy Captain Zinn. Citizen Zinn, the most perfect Shakespearean Pistol one could ever meet, who on bolting from Landau under hero Blenker stumbled over his scabbard and broke it and afterwards swore blind that a "fiery 24 lb. cannon-ball" had rent it asunder, this same invincible Pistol had hitherto been employed to requisition supplies from reactionary villages. He had applied himself with great zeal to this office, so that the peasants held him and his corps in very great respect, but they gave him a sound thrashing every time they caught him by himself. On their way back from such trips the men had to beat their scythes to smithereens and when he arrived in Kaiserslautern he would relate murderous Falstaffiads about his fights with the peasants.

Since it was obvious that little could be accomplished with such forces, Mieroslawski, who only arrived at the Baden headquarters on the 10th, ordered the Palatinate troops to make a fighting withdrawal to the Rhine and if possible win the Rhine crossing at Mannheim; otherwise they were to go over to the right bank of the Rhine at Speyer or Knielingen and then defend the Rhine crossings from Baden. At the same time as this order, the news came in that the Prussians had penetrated the Palatinate from Saarbrücken and after a few musket-shots driven back towards Kaiserslautern the

meagre forces we had drawn up at the border. At the same time all the more or less organised units were concentrating in the direction of Kaiserslautern and Neustadt; an unbounded confusion ensued and a large number of the recruits melted away. A young officer, Rakow, from the 1848 Schleswig-Holstein volunteer corps, went out with thirty men to round up the deserters and in the space of two days had rallied 1,400 of them. He formed them into a "Kaiserslautern Battalion" and led them until the end of the campaign.

The Palatinate, strategically speaking, is such a straightforward terrain that not even the Prussians could make any blunders here. Along the Rhine lies a valley four to five hours' journey across and completely free from any natural obstacles. In a comfortable three days' march the Prussians came from Kreuznach and Worms as far as Landau and Germersheim. The "Kaiserstrasse" leads over the mountainous hinterland of the Palatinate from Saargemünd to Mainz, mostly on the mountain ridge or through a broad gully. Here too there are as good as no natural obstacles behind which a numerically weak and tactically unschooled army could hold out to any extent. Close by the Prussian border, near Homburg, there is at last an excellent road which leads from the "Kaiserstrasse" to Landau via Zweibrücken and Pirmasens, running partly through river valleys and partly over the ridge of the Vosges. It is true that this route presents greater difficulties, but it cannot be blocked with few troops and no artillery, especially when an enemy corps manoeuvres on the plain and can cut off the retreat via Landau and Bergzabern.

In the light of this, the Prussians' offensive was a very straightforward matter. The first thrust was from Saarbrücken against Homburg; from here one column marched directly on Kaiserslautern and the other on Landau via Pirmasens. Thereupon a second corps immediately attacked in the Rhine valley. In Kirchheimbolanden this corps met its first violent resistance from the Rhenish Hessians stationed there. The Mainz riflemen defended the castle garden with great doggedness and in spite of considerable losses. They were eventually outflanked and retreated. Seventeen of them fell into the hands of the Prussians. They were forthwith put up against trees and shot without further ado by these heroes of the "glorious army",[170] who were drunk on schnaps. With this piece of villainy the Prussians began their "short but glorious campaign"[a] in the Palatinate.

[a] From the order issued by Frederick William IV on July 28, 1849, on the occasion of the end of the Baden-Palatinate campaign (*Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*, Berlin, No. 215, August 8, 1849).—*Ed.*

This meant that the whole northern half of the Palatinate was won and the link-up effected between the two main columns. Now they only needed to advance in the plain and relieve Landau and Germersheim to secure the rest of the Palatinate and capture all those corps that might still be holding out in the mountains.

There were some 30,000 Prussians in the Palatinate, equipped with numerous cavalry and artillery. On the plain, where the Prince of Prussia and Hirschfeld were pressing forward with the strongest corps, nothing stood between them and Neustadt except a few people's militia detachments, incapable of resistance and already half disbanded, and a section of the Rhenish Hessians. A swift march on Speyer and Germersheim, and all the 4,000 to 5,000 troops of the Palatinate concentrated or rather chaotically entangled at Neustadt and Landau would have been doomed, routed, scattered and captured. But the Prussian gentlemen, who were so active when it came to shooting unarmed prisoners, were extremely cautious about fighting and extremely somnolent in pursuit.

If throughout the campaign I am frequently forced to return to this decidedly strange lukewarmness which the Prussians and the other imperial troops displayed in attack as well as in pursuit, against an army mostly six times and never less than three times smaller, badly organised and in parts pitifully commanded, it should be understood that I am not blaming it on some singular cowardice on the part of the Prussian soldiers, all the less so since I had absolutely no illusions, as will already have become clear, that our troops were especially brave. Neither do I ascribe it, as reactionaries would do, to some sort of magnanimity or the desire to avoid the inconvenience of too many prisoners. The Prussian civil and military bureaucracy has from time immemorial gloried in gaining striking victories over weak enemies and taking its revenge on defenceless men in a frenzy of blood-lust. It did this also in Baden and the Palatinate. Proof: the executions by firing squad in Kirchheim, the night-time shootings in the Karlsruhe pheasantry, the countless instances on all the battlefields of the wounded and those who had surrendered being butchered, the ill-treatment of the few who were taken prisoner, the murders by summary justice in Freiburg and Rastatt and lastly the slow, secret and therefore all the more inhuman killing of the Rastatt prisoners through ill-treatment, hunger, overcrowding in damp, suffocating dungeons and the typhus that resulted. The Prussians' lukewarm prosecution of the war was certainly rooted in cowardice, and indeed in that of the commanders. Quite apart from the slow, faint-hearted precision of our Prussian martinets and manoeuvre heroes, which is enough in itself to inhibit any bold move or quick

decision, quite apart from the complicated service regulations intended to prevent in a roundabout way a recurrence of so many ignominious defeats—would the Prussians ever have conducted a war in a manner so insufferably boring for us and so downright disgraceful for them if they had been sure of their own men? Therein lay the key. Messrs the Generals knew that a third of their army consisted of recalcitrant army reserve regiments who after the first victory of the insurgent army would go over to it and very soon bring after them half the regular troops and in particular all the artillery. And it is not very difficult to see what the prospects would then have been for the House of Hohenzollern and the unimpaired crown.[171]

In Maikammer, where I was forced to wait until the morning of the 16th for a new cart and escort, the army, which had set out from Neustadt very early in the morning, caught up with me again. The previous day there had still been talk of a march on Speyer, but this plan had evidently been abandoned and they were making directly for the Knielingen bridge. With fifteen Pirmasensers, half-wild peasant lads from the virgin forests of the Palatinate hinterland, I marched off. It was not until I reached the vicinity of Offenbach that I learned that Willich had marched off with all his troops to Frankweiler, a place situated to the north-west of Landau. I therefore turned round and arrived towards noon at Frankweiler. Here I found not only Willich, but once again the entire advanced guard of the Palatinate, which had taken the route to the west of Landau in order not to have to march between Landau and Germersheim. In the tavern sat the Provisional Government with its officials, the general staff and the large numbers of democratic hangers-on who had attached themselves to both of these. General Sznayde was having breakfast. Everyone was rushing around in great confusion—in the inn the regents, the commandants and the hangers-on and in the street the soldiers. Gradually the main body of the army moved in: Herr Blenker, Herr Trocinski, Herr Strasser and whatever their names were, all mounted on horseback at the head of their valiant troops. The confusion grew and grew. Little by little it became possible to send individual corps further on in the direction of Impflingen and Kandel.

One would not guess from looking at it that this army was on the retreat. Disorder was from the very beginning as if at home in it, and even if the young warriors were already starting to grumble about the unaccustomed marching, that still did not stop them from carousing in the taverns to their hearts' content, talking big and threatening the Prussians with imminent extinction. Despite their

certainty of victory, one regiment of cavalry with some horse-artillery would have sufficed to blow the whole merry company to the four winds and totally disperse the "liberation army of the Rhenish Palatinate". It needed only a quick decision and a dash of boldness; but in the Prussian camp there was no question of either.

The next morning we set out. While the main body of the fleeing troops moved off towards the Knielingen bridge, Willich marched with his corps and the Dreher Battalion into the mountains against the Prussians. One of our companies, some fifty Landau gymnasts, had advanced right up into the highest mountains, to Johanniskreuz. Schimmelpfennig and his corps were likewise still on the road from Pirmasens to Landau. The idea was to hold the Prussians up and bar the roads to them in Hinterweidenthal to Bergzabern and the Lauter valley.

Schimmelpfennig, however, had already abandoned Hinterweidenthal and was in Rinnthal and Annweiler. The road makes a curve here, and it is precisely here that the mountains enclosing the Queich valley form a sort of defile beyond which lies the village of Rinnthal. This defile was manned by a sort of picket. In the night his patrols had reported that they had been shot at; early in the morning ex-Civil Commissary Weiss from Zweibrücken and a young Rhinelander, M. J. Becker, brought the news that the Prussians were advancing and demanded that reconnaissance patrols be sent out. However, no reconnaissance was undertaken nor were the heights on either side of the defile manned, so that Weiss and Becker decided to go reconnoitring on their own initiative. As further reports came of the approach of the enemy, Schimmelpfennig's men began to barricade the defile; Willich arrived, reconnoitred the position, issued some orders to man the heights and had the completely useless barricade removed. He then rode quickly back to Annweiler and fetched his troops.

As we were marching through Rinnthal we heard the first shots. We hurried through the village and saw Schimmelpfennig's troops drawn up on the highway, many scythe-men and few flintlocks, some already advancing into action. The Prussians were pushing forward on the heights, shooting as they went; Schimmelpfennig had calmly allowed them to get into the position that he was supposed to occupy himself. No bullets fell into our columns yet; they all went flying high over our heads. Whenever a bullet went whistling over the heads of the scythe-men the whole line swayed and everyone started shouting at the same time.

Only with difficulty did we get past these troops, who blocked almost the whole of the road, brought everything into disorder and

anyway were quite useless with their scythes. The company commanders and lieutenants were just as helpless and confused as the soldiers themselves. Our riflemen were ordered to the front, where they were to advance on the heights, some to the right, some to the left; on the left were two additional companies to reinforce the riflemen and outflank the Prussians. The main column stayed where it was in the valley. Some riflemen posted themselves behind the remains of the barricade in the curve of the road and shot at the Prussian column, which was positioned a few hundred paces back. I went with a few men up the mountain to the left.

We had scarcely climbed the bushy slope when we came to an open field from the opposite wooded edge of which Prussian riflemen were loosing off their elongated bullets at us. I fetched up a few more of the volunteers, who were scrambling around the slope helpless and rather nervous, posted them with as much cover as possible and took a closer look at the terrain. I could not advance with these few men over a completely exposed field 200 to 250 paces across, as long as the outflanking detachment sent ahead further to the left had not reached the Prussians' flank; at the very most we could hold out, since we were badly covered in any case. In spite of their elongated-bullet guns, incidentally, the Prussians shot extremely badly; we stood for over half an hour with next to no cover in the fiercest possible skirmish fire, and the enemy sharpshooters hit only one shotgun barrel and the lappet of one tunic.

At last I had to go and see where Willich was. My men promised to hold their ground and I climbed back down the slope. Down below everything was fine. The Prussian main column, shot at by our riflemen on the road and to the right of it, was forced to retreat a little further. All of a sudden our volunteers came leaping down the slope to the left, where I had been positioned, and abandoned their ground. The companies which had advanced on the extreme left flank, weakened by having left behind numerous skirmishers, considered that the route through a coppice lying further on would take too long; with the captain[a] who had won the battle of Bellheim at their head, they advanced across the fields. They were met with a hail of fire; the captain and several others fell; the rest, leaderless, yielded to the superior forces. The Prussians now advanced, attacked our skirmishers in the flank, shot down on them from above and thus forced them to retreat. The whole mountain was soon in the hands of the Prussians. They shot into our columns from above; there was nothing more to be done, and we started to retreat. The

[a] Loreck.— *Ed.*

road was blocked by Schimmelpfennig's troops and the Dreher-Obermüller Battalion, which in accordance with the laudable Baden custom marched not in sections of four to six but in half-platoons of twelve to fifteen abreast and took up the whole breadth of the highway. Our men had to march through swampy meadows to get to the village. I stayed with the riflemen to cover the retreat.

The battle was lost partly because Schimmelpfennig had disobeyed Willich's order and not manned the heights, which we could not retake from the Prussians with the few troops at our disposal; partly because of the utter uselessness of Schimmelpfennig's troops and the Dreher Battalion; and last of all partly because of the impatience of the captain who had been ordered to outflank the enemy, and that impatience almost cost him his life and exposed our left flank. It was, incidentally, lucky for us that we were beaten; a Prussian column was already on the way to Bergzabern, Landau was relieved, and thus we would have been surrounded on all sides in Hinterweidenthal.

We lost more men during the retreat than in the battle. From time to time Prussian musket bullets hit the dense column, which was progressing, for the most part a model of disorder, shrieking and bawling. We had about fifteen wounded, among them Schimmelpfennig, who had received a shot in the knee soon after the beginning of the battle. Once again the Prussians showed no great eagerness to pursue us and soon stopped shooting. Only a few skirmishers on the mountain slopes came after us. In Annweiler, half an hour away from the battlefield, we were able to take some food quite undisturbed and then marched to Albersweiler. We had the most important thing: 3,000 guilders payment towards the forced loan which had been waiting for us in Annweiler. Afterwards the Prussians called it robbery. They also maintained in the elation of victory that at Rinnthal they had killed Captain Manteuffel, a member of our corps, cousin of Ehren-Manteuffel[a] in Berlin and a Prussian N.C.O. who had come over to us. Herr Manteuffel is so far from being dead that he has since even won a prize for gymnastics in Zurich.

In Albersweiler two Baden guns joined up with us, part of the reinforcements sent by Mieroslawski. We wanted to use them to make one more stand in the vicinity; but then we were brought the news that the Prussians were already in Landau, so we were left with no choice but to march straight to Langenkandel.

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[a] A pun on *Ehrenmann* (man of honour) and *Teufel* (devil).— *Ed.*

In Albersweiler we were safely rid of the ineffectual troops that had been marching with us. The Schimmelpfennig corps had already partially disbanded following the loss of its leader and on its own initiative was branching off to Kandel. At every step it left behind in the taverns exhausted soldiers and other stragglers. In Albersweiler the Dreher Battalion started to become rebellious. Willich and I went there to ask what they wanted. They all remained silent. At last a volunteer, already pretty advanced in years, cried out: "They want to lead us to the slaughter!" This exclamation was highly comical coming from a corps that had not even once seen battle and had sustained two or at the most three light casualties during the retreat. Willich bade the man step forward and surrender his rifle. The greybeard, rather the worse for drink, did so, staged a tragi-comic scene and snivelled his way through a long speech, the gist of which was that no such thing had ever happened to him before. This gave rise to general indignation among these very good-natured but badly disciplined warriors, so that Willich ordered the whole company to march off at once, saying he was sick of chatter and grumbling and did not intend to lead such soldiers one moment longer. The company, which needed no second bidding, wheeled to the right and started marching. The rest of the battalion, to which Willich had further allocated two cannon, followed suit five minutes later. It was more than they could bear that they should be "led to the slaughter" and expected to keep discipline! We let them go with pleasure.

We turned right into the mountains in the direction of Impflingen. Soon we arrived in the proximity of the Prussians; our riflemen exchanged a few shots with them. Throughout the evening shots were fired from time to time. I stayed behind in the first village we came to in order to send news by messenger to our company of gymnasts from Landau; whether or not they received it, I do not know, but they got safely to France and from there went over to Baden. Because of this I lost the corps and had to make my own way to Kandel. The roads were crowded with army stragglers; all the taverns were full; the whole splendour seemed to have faded into complacency. Officers without soldiers here, soldiers without officers there, and volunteers from all corps hurrying in colourful confusion on foot and by wagon in the direction of Kandel. And yet the Prussians never gave a thought to serious pursuit! Impflingen is only an hour away from Landau, and Wörth (which is just before the Knielingen bridge) only four to five hours from Germersheim; yet the Prussians made no hurry to dispatch troops to either of the two positions, here to cut off the stragglers, there to cut off the

entire army. The Prince of Prussia certainly won his laurels in an odd way!

In Kandel I found Willich but not the corps, which was billeted further back. Instead, I once more found the Provisional Government, the general staff and the large retinue of hangers-on. The same cram of troops, only a much greater disorder and confusion than yesterday in Frankweiler. There was a continuous stream of officers making enquiries about their corps and soldiers making enquiries about their leaders. Nobody could tell them anything. The disintegration was complete.

The next morning, June 18, the entire gathering defiled through Wörth and over the Knielingen bridge. In spite of the large number of troops who had been cut off from the main body or gone home, the army, with the reinforcements arrived from Baden, still numbered some 5,000 to 6,000 men. They marched as proudly through Wörth as if they had just conquered the village and were pushing on to fresh triumphs. They were still doing as Kossuth did. A Baden battalion of regulars was the only one to display any military bearing and march past a tavern without some of its number diving in. At last our corps came. We stayed behind as cover until the bridge could be carted off; when everything was in order we marched over to Baden and helped carry out the piles.

The government of Baden, in order to spare the valiant Karlsruhe philistines who had made such a courageous stand against the republicans on June 6,[172] billeted everyone from the Palatinate in the surrounding districts. We had explicitly insisted on coming to Karlsruhe with our corps; we needed a lot of repairs and articles of clothing, and we also considered the presence of a reliable, revolutionary corps in Karlsruhe very desirable. But Herr Brentano had taken care of us. He directed us to Daxlanden, a village an hour and a half away from Karlsruhe, which was pictured to us as a veritable Eldorado. We marched there and discovered the most reactionary den in the whole area. Nothing to eat, nothing to drink, scarcely any straw; half the corps had to sleep on the bare floor. Added to that, scowling faces at all the doors and windows. We acted quickly. Herr Brentano was warned: unless he had by then assigned us other and better quarters, we would be in Karlsruhe the next morning, June 19. We kept our word. We marched off at nine o'clock in the morning. Not a rifle-shot away from the village Herr Brentano came up to us with a staff officer and summoned up all his powers of flattery and eloquence to keep us away from Karlsruhe. The town was already putting up 5,000 men, he said, the wealthier class had departed and the middle-class was overburdened with

billeted soldiers; he would not tolerate bad accommodation for the valiant Willich corps, he continued, whose praises were on everybody's lips, etc. But nothing helped. Willich demanded a few empty palaces belonging to the departed aristocrats, and when Brentano refused we went to Karlsruhe for our billets.

In Karlsruhe we acquired rifles for our company of scythe-men and some cloth for topcoats. We had our shoes and clothes mended as quickly as possible. Fresh forces came to us too, several workers whom I knew from the Elberfeld uprising, then Kinkel, who joined the Besançon workers' company as a musketeer, and Zychlinski, adjutant to the supreme command in the Dresden uprising and leader of the rearguard during the retreat of the insurgents. He joined the students' company as a rifleman.

While we were replenishing our equipment, we did not neglect tactical instruction. Drill was assiduously carried out and on our second day there we undertook a mock storm of Karlsruhe from the castle yard. The philistines demonstrated by their universal and deeply-felt indignation at the manoeuvre that they had fully understood the threat.

Eventually the bold decision was taken to requisition the Grand Duke's[a] arms collection, which had up to now remained inviolable like something holy. We were just on the point of having twenty of the guns thus obtained fitted with pistons when the news arrived that the Prussians had crossed the Rhine near Germersheim and were in Graben and Bruchsal.

We marched off at once (on the evening of June 20) with two Palatinate cannon. When we arrived at Blankenloch, an hour and a half from Karlsruhe in the direction of Bruchsal, we found Herr Clement and his battalion there and learned that the Prussian advanced posts had pushed forward to about an hour's march from Blankenloch. While our men were taking their evening meal under arms, we held a council of war. Willich was for attacking the Prussians at once. Herr Clement declared that with his untrained troops he could not make a night-attack. It was therefore decided that we should immediately go ahead to Karlsdorf, attack shortly before daybreak and try to break through the Prussian line. If we were successful, then we intended to march on Bruchsal and throw in our forces wherever we could. Herr Clement was to attack at daybreak by way of Friedrichsthal and support our left flank.

It was about midnight when we set out. Our venture was fairly risky. We had not quite 700 men with two cannon; our troops were

[a] Leopold.—*Ed.*

better drilled and more reliable than the rest of the Palatinate troops, and also pretty accustomed to fire. With them we intended to attack an enemy corps which was at all events much better experienced and staffed with more experienced subalterns than ours, among whom were some captains who had scarcely even been in the civic militia; a corps whose exact strength we did not know, but which numbered not less than 4,000 men. Our corps had already fought more unequal battles, however, and there was certainly no hope of less unfavourable odds in this campaign.

We sent ten students a hundred paces ahead as an advance guard; then followed the first column, at the head of which were half a dozen Baden dragoons allocated to us for courier service, and behind them three companies. The artillery, along with the three other companies, were a little further back and the riflemen brought up the rear. The order was given not to shoot under any circumstances, to march as quietly as possible and, as soon as the enemy showed himself, to attack him with the bayonet.

Soon we saw in the distance the glow of the Prussian watch-fires. We got as far as Spöck without being challenged. The main body halted; only the advance guard pushed forward. All at once there were shots; on the road at the entrance to the village a blazing straw-fire flared up and the tocsin rang. To the right and to the left our skirmishers circumvented the village and the column marched in. Large fires were also burning inside; at every corner we expected a volley. But everything was quiet and only a sort of guard of peasants was encamped in front of the town hall. The Prussian guard had already made off.

In spite of their colossal numerical superiority, the Prussian gentlemen did not consider themselves safe, as we saw on this occasion, unless they had carried out the pedantic service regulations covering outpost duties to the last boring detail. This outermost post was a whole hour away from their camp. If we had wanted to tire our own men, unaccustomed to the exertions of war, with outpost duties, just as the Prussians did, numbers of them would have been unfit to march. We relied on the Prussian nervousness and were of the opinion that they would hold us in more respect than we did them. And rightly so. Our outposts were never attacked the whole way to the Swiss frontier and our quarters never raided.

At all events the Prussians had now been warned. Ought we to turn back? We decided not, and marched on.

At Neuthard once more the tocsin; this time, however, neither beacons nor shots. Here too we marched in fairly closed order through the village and the heights up to Karlsdorf. Our advance

guard, now only thirty paces ahead, had scarcely reached the high ground when it saw the Prussian outpost close in front of it and was challenged by it. I heard the "Who goes there?" and leapt forward. One of my comrades said: "He's a goner, we won't see him again." But it was precisely my going forward that saved me.

For at the same moment the enemy outpost loosed off a volley and our advance guard, instead of despatching them with the bayonet, fired back. The dragoons, alongside whom I had been marching, did an immediate about-turn in keeping with their customary cowardice, charged at a gallop into the column, rode down a number of men, totally dispersed the first four to six sections and galloped off. At the same time the enemy's mounted guards posted in the fields to right and left fired at us and to put the finishing touch to the confusion some blockheads in the middle of our column started firing on our own men at the head, whereupon other blockheads followed suit. In next to no time the first half of the column was routed, some scattered across the fields, some put to flight, and some caught up in a confused tangle on the road. Wounded men, knapsacks, hats and flintlocks lay in motley confusion amidst the young corn. All this was interspersed with wild, distraught cries, shots and the whistle of bullets in all possible directions. And as the noise subsided a little, far to the rear I heard our cannon trundling off in headlong flight. They had performed the same service for the second half of the column as the dragoons for the first.

Though at that moment I was seized with rage at the childish terror that had gripped our soldiers, I felt equal contempt for the behaviour of the Prussians who, notified as they had been of our arrival, stopped firing after a few shots and likewise bolted off at top speed. Our advance guard was still in its old position and had not been attacked once. A cavalry squadron or a tolerably sustained skirmish fire would have put us to headlong flight.

Willich came rushing up to us from the advance guard. The Besançon company was the first to be formed up again. The others, more or less ashamed, closed ranks. Day was just breaking. Our losses amounted to six wounded, among whom was one of our staff officers: he had been trampled underfoot on the same spot that I had left the moment before to hurry to the advance guard. Several others had clearly been hit by the bullets of our own men. We carefully collected up all the discarded accoutrements so that not even the slightest trophy would fall into the hands of the Prussians, and then retreated slowly to Neuthard. The riflemen took up a position behind the first houses as cover. But there was no sign of the Prussians; and when Zychlinski went reconnoitring again he found

them still on the other side of the heights, whence they fired a few shots without hitting anything.

The Palatinate peasants who had been conveying our artillery had taken the one cannon right through to the other side of the village; the other had overturned and the men in charge had ridden off with five horses, whose traces they had removed. We had to get the cannon upright and shift it with just the one wheel-horse.

When we arrived at Spöck we heard rifle fire to our right, in the direction of Friedrichsthal. It was gradually getting more intense. Herr Clement had at last attacked, an hour later than arranged. I proposed supporting him with an attack on the flank, in order to make up for his mistake. Willich was of the same opinion and gave the order to take the first path to the right. A part of our corps had already taken the turning when one of Clement's orderly officers reported that Clement was retreating. We therefore went to Blankenloch. Soon Herr Beust of the general staff met us and was most surprised to see us alive and the corps in such fine trim. The blackguardly dragoons had spread the word everywhere on their flight, which took them as far as Karlsruhe, that Willich was dead, the officers all dead, and the corps scattered to the four winds and annihilated. We were said to have been shot at with case-shot and "fiery cannon-balls".

Outside Blankenloch we were met by troops of the Palatinate and Baden and finally Herr Sznayde and his staff. The old codger, who had probably spent a very comfortable night in bed, had the impudence to call over to us: "Gentlemen, where are you going? The enemy is that way!" Needless to say we gave him a fitting reply, marched on past him and saw about getting some rest and refreshment in Blankenloch. After two hours Herr Sznayde returned with his troops, naturally without having seen the enemy, and had breakfast.

Counting the reinforcements received from Karlsruhe and the surrounding area, Herr Sznayde now had approximately 8,000 to 9,000 troops under his command, including three Baden regular battalions and two Baden batteries. All in all there were probably some twenty-five pieces of ordnance. As a consequence of Mieroslawski's rather vague orders and even more of the total incompetence of Herr Sznayde, the entire army of the Palatinate stayed put in the region of Karlsruhe until the Prussians had made their way across the Rhine under the cover of the Germersheim bridge-head. Mieroslawski (vid. his reports on the campaign in Baden[a]) had issued

[a] *Rapports du Général Mieroslawski sur la campagne de Bade*, Berne, 1849.—*Ed.*

the general order to defend the Rhine crossings from Speyer to Knielingen after the withdrawal from the Palatinate and the special order to cover Karlsruhe and to make the Knielingen bridge the assembly point of the entire army corps. Herr Sznayde interpreted this as meaning that he should stay at Karlsruhe and Knielingen until further notice. If, as Mieroslawski's general orders implied, he had sent a strong corps with artillery against the Germersheim bridge-head, then the absurdity would never have occurred of sending Major Mniewski, with 450 recruits and no artillery, to capture the bridge-head, 30,000 Prussians would never have got over the Rhine unchallenged, communications with Mieroslawski would never have been broken and the Palatinate army could have appeared in good time on the battlefield of Waghäusel. Instead of this, on the day of the battle of Waghäusel, June 21, it wandered around aimlessly between Friedrichsthal, Weingarten and Bruchsal, lost sight of the enemy and wasted its time marching in all directions.

We received the order to set out for the right flank and skirt the mountains via Weingarten. We started out at noon on the same day, June 21, from Blankenloch and about five in the afternoon from Weingarten. The Palatinate troops at last began to get uneasy; they noticed that the odds were heavy against them and they lost that boastful certainty which up to now they had at least had *before* battle. From now on the people's militia of the Palatinate and Baden, and gradually the regular infantry and artillery too, began to smell Prussians everywhere, and false alarms, which now became a regular daily occurrence, threw everything into disorder and gave rise to the most amusing scenes. At the very first piece of high ground beyond Weingarten patrols and peasants came rushing up to us with the cry: "The Prussians are here!" Our corps formed up in battle order and advanced. I went back to the little town to have the alarm sounded and in doing so lost the corps. The whole fuss was without foundation, needless to say. The Prussians had withdrawn towards Waghäusel and the same evening Willich marched into Bruchsal.

I spent the night in Obergrombach with Herr Oswald and his Palatinate battalion and marched with him the next morning to Bruchsal. Outside the town we met wagons full of stragglers coming in our direction: "The Prussians are here!" At once the whole battalion started to waver and could only with difficulty be made to advance. Of course it was another false alarm; Willich and the rest of the Palatinate advance guard were in Bruchsal; the others came marching in one after the other and there was no trace of the

Prussians. Besides the army and its leaders, d'Ester, the ex-government of the Palatinate and Goegg were there. Since Brentano's dictatorship had become indisputable, Goegg had stayed almost exclusively with the army and helped to look after the day-to-day civil affairs. The victualling was bad and the confusion was great. As usual, only the headquarters lived well.

Once again we obtained a considerable number of cartridges from the Karlsruhe supplies and marched off in the evening, the entire advance guard with us. The latter took up quarters in Ubstadt, while we marched off to the right to Unteröwisheim to cover the flank in the mountains.

To all appearances we were now quite a respectable force. Our corps had been reinforced with two new units. The first of these was the Langenkandel Battalion, which had dispersed on the way from its home town to the Knielingen bridge and whose *beaux restes*[a] had joined up with us; they consisted of a captain, a lieutenant, a standard-bearer, a sergeant, an N.C.O. and two men. The other was the "Robert Blum Column" with a red flag, a body of approximately sixty men who looked like cannibals and had performed heroic deeds in requisitioning. Besides that we were allocated four Baden cannon and a Baden people's militia battalion, the Kniery, Knüry or Knierim Battalion (it was impossible to discover the correct reading of the name). The Knierim Battalion was worthy of its leader and Herr Knierim worthy of his battalion. Both were staunch-minded, both were braggarts and roisterers and both constantly drunk. The famous "enthusiasm" kindled their hearts to deeds of the most prodigious heroism, as we shall have occasion to see.

On the morning of the 23rd Willich received a note from Anneke, who commanded the advance guard of the Palatinate in Ubstadt. It announced that the enemy was advancing, a council of war had been held and the decision made to withdraw. Willich, flabbergasted at this strange piece of news, rode over at once and managed to persuade Anneke and his officers to give battle at Ubstadt. He reconnoitred the position himself and specified the deployment of the artillery. He then returned and had his troops stand to their arms. While our troops were forming up we received the following order from the Bruchsal headquarters, signed by Techow: the main body of the army was to proceed along the road to Heidelberg and should expect to get as far as Mingolsheim the same day; at the same time we were to march via Odenheim to Waldangelloch and spend the night there. Further news as to the successes of the main corps

[a] Beautiful remains.—*Ed.*

and instructions as to our subsequent course of action were to be sent there.

In his fanciful *Geschichte der drei Volkserhebungen in Baden*, pp. 311-17, Herr Struve published a report on the operations of the Palatinate army from June 20 to 26 which is nothing more than an apologia for the incompetent Sznayde and teems with inaccuracies and misrepresentations. The following points emerge from what was said above: firstly, it is not true that Sznayde "received reliable news of the battle of Waghäusel and its outcome a few hours after marching into Bruchsal (on the 22nd)"; secondly, it is therefore not true that "because of this he changed his plan and, instead of marching to Mingolsheim, as at first had been the plan, decided" (as early as the 22nd) "to stay with the main body of his division in Bruchsal" (the note from Techow which is referred to was written during the night of the 22nd to the 23rd); thirdly, it is not true that "on the morning of the 23rd a large-scale reconnaissance was to be carried out"—on the contrary, it was the march on Mingolsheim which was to take place; and to say that fourthly "all detachments received the order to march in the direction of the firing as soon as they heard that firing"; and fifthly that "the detachment on the right flank (Willich) excused its failure to turn up at the battle of Ubstadt by saying that it had heard nothing of the firing", is a gross lie, as will be seen.

We marched off at once. We were to have breakfast in Odenheim. Some Bavarian Chevaulegers, who had been attached to us for dispatch duties, rode around the village to the left to reconnoitre possible enemy corps. Prussian hussars had been in the village requisitioning fodder, which they intended to collect later. While we were confiscating this fodder, and wine and food was being distributed to our men under arms, one of the Chevaulegers came dashing in and shouted: "The Prussians are here!" In next to no time the Knierim Battalion, which was nearest, broke ranks and stampeded in all directions in a wild tangle, screaming, cursing and lumbering, while the major was forced to leave his men in the lurch because his horse shied. Willich came riding up, restored order and we marched off. Needless to say there were no Prussians there.

On the heights beyond Odenheim we heard the roar of cannon coming from the direction of Ubstadt. The gunfire soon became more intense. More experienced ears were already able to distinguish between the sound of bullets and the sound of case-shot. We deliberated whether to continue our march or to go in the direction of the firing. Since our order was positive and since the firing seemed to be moving in the direction of Mingolsheim, which

indicated an advance by our side, we resolved on the more dangerous march, the march on Waldangelloch. If the forces of the Palatinate were defeated at Ubstadt, we would be as good as cut off up there in the mountains and in a fairly critical position.

Herr Struve maintains that the battle of Ubstadt "could have led to brilliant results if the flank detachments had attacked at the right moment" (p. 314). The gunfire did not last an hour and we would have needed two to two and a half hours to reach the battlefield between Stettfeld and Ubstadt, that is an hour and a half after it had been abandoned. That is the way Herr Struve writes "history".

A halt was called near Tiefenbach. While our troops were refreshing themselves, Willich sent out some dispatches. The Knierim Battalion discovered a kind of municipal cellar in Tiefenbach, slapped a confiscation order on it, fetched out the barrels of wine and within an hour everyone was drunk. Annoyance at the Prussian scare of that morning, the cannon-roar from Ubstadt, the lack of confidence that these heroes had in one another and their officers—all this, aggravated by the wine, suddenly broke out in open rebellion. They demanded an immediate retreat; they said they did not care for eternally marching through the mountains in the face of the enemy. As this was of course out of the question, they faced about and marched off on their own. The man-eating "Robert Blum Column" joined them. We let them go and marched to Waldangelloch.

Here, in a deep basin-shaped valley, it was impossible to pass the night in any safety. Therefore a halt was called and intelligence collected about the conditions of the terrain in the area and the position of the enemy. In the meantime a few vague rumours of the retreat of the army on the Neckar had been spread by peasants. It was claimed that considerable Baden corps had marched on Bretten via Sinsheim and Eppingen, that Mieroslawski himself had passed through in strictest incognito and that people in Sinsheim had wanted to arrest him. The artillerymen became uneasy and even our students started to murmur. So the artillery was sent back and we marched on Hilsbach. Here we learned further particulars about the retreat of the Neckar army 48 hours earlier and about the Bavarians stationed in Sinsheim, an hour and a half away from where we were. Their number was given as 7,000, but in fact, as we later discovered, it was about 10,000. We were at the most only 700 strong. Our men could not march any further. We therefore quartered them in barns, as we always did when we had to keep them together as much as possible, detailed strong outposts and lay down to sleep. As we marched out the next morning, the 24th, we could hear quite

distinctly the sound of the Bavarians' marching step. A good quarter of an hour after we had marched off the Bavarians were in Hilsbach.

Two days before, on the 22nd, Mieroslawski had spent the night in Sinsheim and was already in Bretten with his troops when we marched into Hilsbach. Becker, who was commanding the rearguard, was likewise already through. It follows that he cannot, as Herr Struve maintains on page 308, have passed the night of the 23rd to the 24th in Sinsheim, for the Bavarians, who the evening before had fought a small engagement with Mieroslawski, were there at eight o'clock in the evening and probably even earlier. Mieroslawski's retreat from Waghäusel via Heidelberg to Bretten is depicted by the men who took part in it as a highly dangerous manoeuvre. Mieroslawski's operations from June 20 to 24, the rapid concentration of a corps at Heidelberg, with which he hurled himself against the Prussians, and his speedy retreat after losing the battle of Waghäusel certainly constituted the most brilliant episode of his entire activity in Baden; but the fact that this manoeuvre in the face of such a lethargic enemy was by no means so dangerous is proved by the fact that 24 hours later our little corps effected its retreat from Hilsbach without once being molested. We even passed through the Flehingen defile, where Mieroslawski had already expected an attack on the 23rd, without being attacked and marched on Büchig. Here we intended staying in order to cover against a first attack the camp Mieroslawski had set up at Bretten.

Everywhere on our march, which led through Eppingen, Zaisenhausen and Flehingen, we were the object of amazement, since all the corps of the Neckar army, including the rearguard, had already marched through. When we marched into Büchig and our bugler started to play, we panicked people into thinking that the Prussians had arrived. A commando of the Bretten civic militia, requisitioning victuals for Mieroslawski's camp, took us for Prussians and were the very picture of confusion until we turned the corner and the sight of our tunics reassured them. We at once confiscated the victuals and had barely consumed them when the news that Mieroslawski had set out from Bretten with all the troops caused us to withdraw to Bretten.

We stayed overnight in Bretten, the civic militia providing outposts. Wagons were requisitioned for the next morning to carry the whole corps to Ettlingen. Since Bruchsal had already been taken by the Prussians on the 24th and we could not afford to engage in a battle in case the road via Diedelsheim to Durlach was occupied by the enemy (it actually was, as we later discovered), this was the only route to the main army open to us.

In Bretten a deputation of students came to us with a declaration that they did not like constantly marching in the face of the enemy and they asked to be discharged. Needless to say they were told by way of reply that no one is discharged in the face of the enemy; but if they wished to desert, then they were free to do so. Thereupon about half the company marched off; the number of those remaining soon dwindled so much due to individual desertions that only the riflemen were left. During the course of the entire campaign the students generally showed themselves to be malcontent and timid young gentlemen; they always wanted to be let into all the plans of operation, complained about sore feet and grumbled when the campaign did not afford all the comforts of a holiday trip. Among these "representatives of intelligence" there were only a handful who through their truly revolutionary character and shining courage proved themselves exceptions.

We were later informed that the enemy had marched into Bretten half an hour after we left. We arrived at Ettlingen, and there Herr Corvin-Wiersbitzki directed us to march to Durlach, where Becker was to hold up the enemy until Karlsruhe had been evacuated. Willich sent a Chevauleger with a note to Becker in order to find out whether he intended to stay for a while; the man returned in a quarter of an hour with the news that he had met Becker's troops already in full retreat. We therefore marched off to Rastatt, where everyone was concentrating.

The road to Rastatt presented a picture of the most splendid disorder. Any number of the most varied corps were marching or camping in motley confusion, and we had difficulty in holding our troops together under the blazing sun and amidst the universal disarray. The Palatinate troops and a few Baden battalions were encamped on the Rastatt glacis. The Palatinate forces were severely depleted. The best corps, the Rhenish Hessian, had been assembled in Karlsruhe by Zitz and Bamberger before the battle of Ubstadt. These bold freedom-fighters had declared to the corps that all was lost, the odds were too great but there was still time to get home in safety; that they, the parliamentary windbag Zitz and the valiant Bamberger, did not want innocent blood or any other calamity on their hands and thereupon declared the corps disbanded. The Rhenish Hessians were naturally so indignant at this infamous presumption that they wanted to arrest the two traitors and shoot them; d'Ester and the government of the Palatinate were also after them to arrest them. But the honourable citizens had already fled and the valiant Zitz watched the further course of the campaign for an Imperial Constitution from the safety of Basle. As in September

1848, in his *Frakturschrift*,[173] so also in May 1849, Herr Zitz was among those parliamentary braggarts who did most to incite the people to rise up, but on both occasions he occupied a prominent place among those who during the uprising were the first to leave the people in the lurch. At Kirchheimbolanden too Herr Zitz was among the first to bolt, while his riflemen were fighting and being shot.

The Rhenish Hessian corps, in any case seriously weakened by desertion, as all corps were, and disheartened by the retreat to Baden, at once lost its balance completely. Part of it disbanded and went home; the remainder constituted itself anew and fought on until the end of the campaign. The rest of the Palatinate troops were demoralised at Rastatt by the news that all those who returned home before July 5 were to be amnestied. More than half of them dispersed, battalions dwindled to company size, the subaltern officers were for the most part gone and the 1,200 or so troops still remaining were now hardly of any more value. Our corps, although not in the least disheartened, had also dwindled to little more than 500 men through losses, illness and the desertion of the students.

We went to Kuppenheim, where other troops were already present, for our billets. The next morning I accompanied Willich to Rastatt and there met *Moll* once again.

There have been memorials from all sides in the press, in the democratic clubs, in verse and in prose to the more or less educated victims of the Baden uprising. But no voice is raised on behalf of the hundreds and thousands of workers who fought out the battles, who fell on the field, who rotted alive in the Rastatt casemates or who now, alone of all the refugees, must drain to the dregs the cup of exile. The exploitation of the workers is a traditional affair, too familiar for our official "democrats" to consider the workers as anything else than raw material for agitation, for exploiting, for causing trouble, as anything but cannon-fodder. Our "democrats" are far too ignorant and bourgeois to comprehend the revolutionary position of the proletariat, the future of the working class. That is why they hate those genuinely proletarian characters who, too proud to flatter them and too discerning to allow themselves to be used by them, are none the less always there, arms in hand, whenever it is a question of overthrowing an existing authority, and who in every revolutionary movement directly represent the party of the proletariat. But if it is not in the interests of the so-called democrats to recognise such workers, it is the duty of the party of the proletariat to honour them as they deserve. And among the best of these workers was *Joseph Moll of Cologne.*

Moll was a watchmaker. He had left Germany years ago and in France, Belgium and England played his part in all the public and secret revolutionary societies. He helped found the German Workers' Society in London in 1840.[174] After the February Revolution he returned to Germany and with his friend Schapper soon took over the leadership of the Cologne Workers' Association.[175] A fugitive in London since the Cologne riots of September 1848,[176] he soon returned to Germany under an assumed name, agitated in all sorts of districts and undertook missions so dangerous that everyone else shrank back from them. I met him again in Kaiserslautern. Here too he undertook missions to Prussia which, if he had been found out, would have incurred the summary grace of a firing squad. Returning from his second mission, he got safely through all the enemy armies to Rastatt, where he immediately joined the Besançon workers' company in our corps. Three days later he had fallen. I lost in him an old friend and the party one of its most unflagging, intrepid and reliable champions.

The party of the proletariat was quite strongly represented in the army of Baden and the Palatinate, especially in the volunteer corps, as for example in our own, in the refugee legion, etc., and it can safely challenge all the other parties to find even the slightest fault with any one of its members. The most resolute Communists made the most courageous soldiers.

On the next day, the 27th, we were moved somewhat further into the mountains, to Rothenfels. The detailing of the army and the distribution of the various corps was gradually established. We belonged to the right-flank division, which was commanded by Colonel Thome, the same as had wanted to arrest Mieroslawski in Meckesheim[177] and who had childishly been allowed to retain his command, and then from the 27th onwards by Mersy. Willich, who had refused the command of the Palatinate forces which Sigel had offered him, was acting as chief of divisional staff. The division was located in the area stretching from Gernsbach and the Württemberg frontier to the other side of Rothenfels and leaned on its left side against the Oborski division, which was concentrated around Kuppenheim. The advance guard was pushed forward to the frontier as well as to Sulzbach, Michelbach and Winkel. The victualling, at first irregular and bad, improved from the 27th on. Our division consisted of several Baden regular battalions, the remainder of the Palatinate forces under hero Blenker, our corps and one or one and a half batteries of artillery. The Palatinate forces were stationed in Gernsbach and the surrounding area and the

regulars and ourselves in and around Rothenfels. The headquarters were in the hotel in Elisabethenquelle opposite Rothenfels.

On the 28th we—the divisional staff and that of our own corps together with Moll, Kinkel and other volunteers—were just taking coffee after our meal in this hotel when the news arrived that our advance guard near Michelbach had been attacked by the Prussians. We at once set out, although we had every reason to suppose that the enemy had nothing more than a reconnaissance in mind. It indeed proved to be nothing more. The village of Michelbach situated down in the valley which had momentarily been captured by the Prussians had already been re-taken by the time we arrived. There was shooting across the valley from both mountain-sides and much ammunition was expended to no purpose. I saw only one dead and one wounded. While the regulars were pointlessly shooting off their cartridges at distances of 600 to 800 paces, Willich bade our troops quietly pile their rifles and take a rest close by the alleged fighters and in the thick of the alleged firing. Only the riflemen went down the wooded slope and, supported by a handful of regulars, drove the Prussians from the heights opposite. One of our riflemen shot a Prussian officer off his horse at about 900 paces with his colossal heavy rifle, a veritable portable cannon; the officer's entire company at once did a right-about turn and marched back into the wood. A number of Prussian dead and wounded as well as two prisoners fell into our hands.

The next day the general attack on the whole line took place. This time the Prussian gentlemen disturbed us at our midday meal. The first attack of which we were notified was against Bischweier, that is, against the point at which the Oborski division linked up with ours. Willich urged that our troops should be held in the greatest possible readiness at Rothenfels, since the main attack was expected in any case in the opposite direction, at Gernsbach. But Mersy replied that we knew how things were, that if one of our battalions were attacked and the others did not come to its aid at once and in force, then the cry of treason would go up and everyone would take to their heels. We therefore marched towards Bischweier.

Willich and I advanced with the rifle company along the road to Bischweier on the right bank of the Murg. Half an hour away from Rothenfels we came across the enemy. The riflemen spread out in extended order and Willich rode back to fetch the corps, which stood a little way in the rear, up into the fighting line. For a while our riflemen, taking cover behind fruit-trees and vineyards, stood up to some quite heavy fire, which they returned in good measure. But when a strong enemy column advanced along the road in support of

its skirmishers, the left flank of our riflemen gave way and no amount of talking to could persuade them to stand their ground. The right flank had advanced further towards the heights and was later taken into our corps.

When I saw that nothing was to be done with the riflemen I abandoned them to their fate and went towards the heights, where I could see the flags of our corps. One company had stayed behind; its captain, a tailor, usually a brave fellow, was all of a dither. I took the company along to join the others and met Willich, just as he was pushing the Besançon company forward in extended order and drawing up the rest behind them in two battle lines, together with a company pushed forward on the right towards the mountains to cover the flank.

Our skirmishers were met with a hail of fire. Facing them were Prussian riflemen, and against their elongated-bullet rifles our workers only had muskets. However, they advanced so resolutely, reinforced by the right flank of our riflemen who joined up with them, that the inferior quality of their arms was soon made up for by the closeness of the range, especially on the right flank, and the Prussians were dislodged. The two battle lines kept quite close on the heels of the skirmishers. In the meantime two Baden artillery pieces had also been brought up on our left, in the Murg valley, and they opened fire on the Prussian infantry and artillery occupying the road.

The battle here had probably been going on for an hour or so with intense rifle and musket fire, the Prussians continually retreating (some of our riflemen had already penetrated as far as Bischweier), when the Prussians received reinforcements and pushed their battalions forward. Our skirmishers retreated; the first line gave platoon fire and the second moved to the left into a defile and also started firing. But the Prussians pressed forward in serried masses along the entire line; both the Baden artillery pieces covering our left flank had already retreated. On the right flank the Prussians came down from the mountains and we were forced to fall back.

As soon as we were out of the enemy cross-fire we took up a fresh position on the mountain range. If up to now we had been facing the Rhine plain, and Bischweier and Niederweier, we were now facing the mountains which the Prussians had occupied from Oberweier. Now the regular battalions at last joined the fighting line and gave battle, together with two companies of our corps which were once more pushed forward in extended order.

We had suffered heavy losses. About thirty men were missing, including Kinkel and Moll and not counting the dispersed riflemen.

The two above-named had advanced too far with the right flank of their company and some riflemen. The riflemen's captain, head forester Emmermann from Thronecken in Rhenish Prussia, who marched against the Prussians as if he were hunting hares, had led them into a position from which they fired into a Prussian artillery section and forced it to beat a speedy retreat. However, a company of Prussians at once emerged from a defile and fired upon them. Kinkel fell to the ground, hit in the head, and he was dragged along until he could once more walk unaided; soon, however, they came under cross-fire and had to hurry to get out of it. Kinkel was unable to keep up and went into a farm-house, where he was taken prisoner by the Prussians and ill-treated; Moll received a shot in the abdomen, was also taken prisoner and died later of his wound. Zychlinski too had been hit in the neck by a ricochet, but this did not stop him staying with his corps.

While the main body remained where it was and Willich rode to another part of the battlefield, I hastened to the Murg bridge lower down than Rothenfels, which formed a sort of assembly point. I wanted news of Gernsbach. But even before I reached there I saw the smoke rising from Gernsbach which was in flames, and on the bridge itself I learned that they had heard the cannon-roar from there. Later I returned to this bridge a few more times; each time the news about Gernsbach was worse and each time there were more Baden regular troops assembled behind the bridge, demoralised already even though they had scarcely been under fire. Eventually I learned that the enemy was already in Gaggenau. It was now high time to face up to him. Willich marched over the Murg with the corps in order to take up position opposite Rothenfels and took with him another four artillery pieces which had just happened to come his way. I went to fetch our two companies of skirmishers, who in the meantime had pushed far ahead. Everywhere I met regular troops, mostly without officers. One detachment was led by a doctor, who made use of the occasion to introduce himself to me with the following words: "You must know me, I am Neuhaus, chief of the Thuringian movement!" These good fellows had beaten the Prussians on all fronts and were now on their way back because they could no longer see any of the enemy. Our companies were nowhere to be found—they had made their way back through Rothenfels for the same reason—and I returned to the bridge. Here I met Mersy with his staff and troops. I begged him to give me at least a few companies with which to support Willich. "Take the whole division if you can still do something with them," was the reply. The same soldiers who had driven back the enemy at all points and who had

only been on their feet for five hours now lay around in the meadows, dispersed, demoralised and fit for nothing. The news that they had been outflanked in Gernsbach had done for them. I went my way. A company I came across on its way back from Michelbach was not to be moved either. When I found the corps again at our old headquarters, the fugitive forces of the Palatinate—Pistol Zinn and his gang, now with muskets, by the way—came pressing on from Gaggenau. While Willich had been looking for and had found a position for the artillery, a position that dominated the Murg valley and offered considerable advantages for simultaneous skirmishing, the artillerists had run away with the cannon and the captain had been unable to do anything to stop them. They were already back with Mersy at the bridge. At the same time Willich showed me a note from Mersy in which the latter informed him that everything was lost and that he was going to pull back to Oos. We had no other choice but to do the same and we marched into the mountains at once. It was about seven o'clock.

At Gernsbach things had taken the following course. Peucker's imperial troops, whom our patrols had already sighted the day before at Herrenalb on Württemberg territory, had taken the Württemberg troops drawn up at the frontier with them and attacked Gernsbach on the afternoon of the 29th, after using treachery to make our advanced troops withdraw; they approached them with the call not to shoot, saying they were brothers, and then fired off a volley at eighty paces. They then shelled Gernsbach, setting it on fire, and when the flames got out of hand Herr Sigel, who had been sent by Mieroslawski to *hold* the position at any price, Herr Sigel *himself* gave the order that Herr Blenker should make a fighting retreat with his troops. Herr Sigel will no more deny this now than he did in Berne, when one of Herr Blenker's adjutants related the curious fact in his, Herr Sigel's, and Willich's presence. With this order to make a "fighting"(!) surrender of the key to the whole Murg position, the battle along the whole line, and with it the Baden army's last position, was needless to say lost.

The Prussians incidentally did not particularly enhance their reputation by winning the battle of Rastatt. We had 13,000 troops, for the most part demoralised and with few exceptions abominably led; their army, together with the imperial troops that marched on Gernsbach, numbered at least 60,000 men. In spite of this colossal superiority they did not venture a serious frontal attack, but defeated us through cowardice and treachery by encroaching upon the neutral territory of Württemberg, which was closed to us. But even this piece of treachery would not have done them much good, at least

to begin with, and in the long run would not have saved them the necessity of a decisive frontal attack, had not Gernsbach been so incredibly badly manned and had not Herr Sigel given the priceless order spoken of above. There cannot be any doubt that the by no means formidable position would have been snatched from us the next day; but victory would have cost the Prussians many more casualties and would have done endless harm to their military reputation. For this reason they preferred to violate Württemberg's neutrality, and Württemberg calmly let it happen.

By now barely 450 men strong, we marched back through the mountains to Oos. The road was covered with troops in the wildest disarray, with wagons, artillery, etc., all in the greatest confusion. We marched through and rested in Sinzheim. The next morning we assembled a number of fugitives the other side of Bühl and spent the night in Oberachern. That day the last battle took place; the German-Polish Legion, alongside some other troops from Becker's division, beat back the imperial troops at Oos and captured from them a (Mecklenburg) howitzer which they got safely into Switzerland.

The army was completely disbanded; Mieroslawski and the other Poles laid down their commands; Colonel Oborski already on the evening of the 29th left his post on the battlefield. However, this momentary disbandment did not really mean much. The Palatinate forces had already been disbanded three or four times and each time had formed up anew *tant bien que mal.* A retreat spun out as long as possible, accompanied by the call-up of all the age groups in the territories to be ceded and a rapid concentration of the conscripts from Upper Baden at Freiburg and Donaueschingen, were two measures still to be tried. This would soon have restored order and discipline to a tolerable level and made possible a last hopeless but honourable battle on the Kaiserstuhl near Freiburg or at Donaueschingen. But the chiefs of the civil as well as the military administration were more demoralised than the soldiers. They abandoned the army and the entire movement to their fate and fell further and further back, dejected, distraught and shattered.

Since the attack on Gernsbach, the fear of being outflanked through Württemberg territory had spread everywhere and contributed greatly to the general demoralisation. Willich's corps now went to cover the Württemberg frontier, taking two mountain howitzers through the Kappel valley into the mountains—several other artillery pieces assigned to us did not want to go any further than Kappel. Our march through the Black Forest, in which we did not sight the enemy, was a veritable pleasure tour. On July 1 we arrived

at Oppenau via Allerheiligen and on the 2nd at Wolfach via the Hundskopf. Here we learned on July 3 that the government was in Freiburg and that the abandonment of that town also was being considered. We therefore set out for there at once. We intended to force Messrs. the Regents and the high command, which hero Sigel now led, not to relinquish Freiburg without a fight. It was already late when we marched off from Wolfach, and so it was not until late that evening that we arrived at Waldkirch. Here we learned that Freiburg had already been relinquished and that government and headquarters had been removed to Donaueschingen. At the same time we received the positive order to occupy and entrench ourselves in the Simonswald valley and set up our headquarters in Furtwangen. We therefore had to go back to Bleibach.

Herr Sigel had now drawn up his troops behind the Black Forest mountain ridge. The defence line was supposed to stretch from Lörrach via Todtnau and Furtwangen to the Württemberg frontier, in the direction of Schramberg. The left flank was formed by Mersy and Blenker, who marched through the Rhine valley towards Lörrach; then followed Herr Doll, a former *commis voyageur*, who in his capacity as one of Hecker's generals had been appointed divisional commander and was posted in the region of the Höllental; then our corps in Furtwangen and the Simonswald valley and, lastly on the right flank, Becker at St. Georgen and Triberg. On the other side of the mountains at Donaueschingen was Herr Sigel with the reserve. The forces, considerably weakened by desertion and not reinforced by any contingents of conscripts, still amounted to 9,000 men and 40 cannon.

The orders which reached us one after the other from headquarters in Freiburg, Neustadt on the Gutach and Donaueschingen breathed the most resolute defiance of death. Though the enemy was expected to come through Württemberg again and attack us in the rear via Rottweil and Villingen, there was a determination to defeat him and to hold the Black Forest ridge come what may, in fact to do so, as it said in one of these orders, "almost without any regard for the movements of the enemy", in other words, Herr Sigel had ensured for himself a glorious retreat in four hours from Donaueschingen onto Swiss territory; he could then sit back in Schaffhausen and wait in perfect calm for news of what had become of us, encircled in the mountains. We shall soon see what a merry end this defiance of death came to.

On the 4th we arrived at Furtwangen with two companies (160 men). The rest was employed to occupy the Simonswald valley and the passes of Gütenbach and St. Märgen. Via the last-mentioned

place we were in contact with Doll's corps, via Schönwald with Becker. All the passes were blocked.—We stayed in Furtwangen on the 5th. On the 6th news came from Becker that the Prussians were advancing on Villingen,[a] together with the request to attack them via Vöhrenbach and thus support Sigel's operation. At the same time he informed us that his main corps was duly entrenched in Triberg, whither he himself would go as soon as Villingen was occupied by Sigel.

There could be no question of an attack from our side. With fewer than 450 men we had three square miles to occupy and therefore could not spare a single man. We had to stay where we were and informed Becker to this effect. Soon afterwards a dispatch arrived from headquarters: Willich was to go to Donaueschingen at once and assume command of the entire artillery. We were just getting ready to hurry over there when a column of the people's militia, followed by artillery and several other battalions of the people's militia, came marching into Furtwangen. It was Becker with his corps. His men had grown rebellious, it was said. I made enquiries of a staff officer who was a friend of mine, "Major" Nerlinger, and learned the following: He, Nerlinger, had the position at Triberg under his command and was having the trenches dug when the officer staff delivered him a written declaration, signed by them all. It said that the troops were rebellious and that unless the order to march off were given at once, they would leave with all the troops. I took a look at the signatures. It was the valiant Dreher-Obermüller Battalion again! Nerlinger had no choice but to inform Becker and march to Furtwangen. Becker set out at once to catch them up and so arrived with all his troops at Furtwangen, where the faint-hearted officers and soldiers were received with immense laughter by our volunteers. They were ashamed of themselves and in the evening Becker was able to lead them back to their positions again.

In the meantime we went to Donaueschingen, followed by the Besançon company. There were already swarms of Prussians right up to the highway; Villingen was occupied by them. We nevertheless got through unchallenged and towards ten o'clock in the evening the Besançons arrived as well. In Donaueschingen I found d'Ester and learned from him that in the Constituent Assembly in Freiburg[178] Herr Struve had demanded an immediate move to Switzerland, saying everything was lost, and that hero Blenker had followed this advice and had already crossed over onto Swiss territory that

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[a] This and the following facts are mentioned by Joh. Ph. Becker and Chr. Essellen in their *Geschichte der süddeutschen Mai-Revolution des Jahres 1849*, Genf, 1849.—*Ed.*

morning at Basle. Both of these reports were quite correct. Hero Blenker had gone to Basle on July 6, though it was he that was farthest from the enemy. He had paused only to make a final number of requisitions so odd that they put him in bad odour with Herr Sigel and later with the Swiss authorities. And hero Struve, the same hero Struve who even on June 29 had declared that Herr Brentano and all those wanting to negotiate with the enemy were traitors to the fatherland,[a] was so shattered three days later, on July 2, that he was not ashamed to put the following motion to a session *in camera* of the Baden Constituent Assembly:

"In order that Upper Baden will not suffer the same horrors of war as Lower Baden and to prevent a great deal more precious blood being spilt, and since it is necessary to save what can be saved(!), therefore everyone participating in the revolution, together with the Provincial Assembly, should have his salary or wage paid up to July 10 with appropriate travelling expenses and all should withdraw to Swiss territory together with cash, provisions, arms, etc.!"

The valiant Struve proposed this fine motion on July 2, when we were in Wolfach up in the Black Forest, 10 hours away from Freiburg and 20 hours away from the Swiss frontier! Herr Struve is naive enough to relate this incident himself and even to boast of it in his *Geschichte*[b] (p. 237 ff). The only consequence that the acceptance of such a motion could have was that the Prussians would press us as hard as possible in order to "save what could be saved", that is, to do us out of our cash, artillery and provisions, since this resolution assured them that there was no danger in vigorous pursuit, and that our troops would then immediately disband *en masse*, and whole corps make off on their own to Switzerland, as actually happened. Our corps would have come off worst; it was on Baden territory up to the 12th and was paid up to the 17th.

Herr Sigel, instead of re-taking Villingen, at first resolved to take up position at Hüfingen the other side of Donaueschingen and await the enemy. The same evening, however, it was decided to march to Stühlingen, close by the Swiss frontier. We hastily sent dispatch-riders to Furtwangen, to inform our own corps and that of Becker. Both were likewise to make their way to Stühlingen via Neustadt and Bonndorf. Willich went to Neustadt to meet his corps and I stayed with the Besançon company. We spent the night in Riedböhringen and arrived at Stühlingen on the afternoon of the next day, July 7. On the 8th Herr Sigel held a review of his half-disbanded army, recommended it not to ride in future but to march (at the frontier!)

[a] The reference is to a statement (in the form of a motion) made by Struve in the Constituent Assembly on June 28, 1849.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Struve, *Geschichte der drei Volkserhebungen in Baden*, Bern, 1849.—*Ed.*

and departed. He left behind for us half a battery and an order for Willich.

In the meantime news of the general retreat had been sent from Furtwangen first to Becker and then to our own companies stationed to the fore. Our corps gathered first in Furtwangen and met Willich in Neustadt. Becker, who was closer to Furtwangen than were our outlying troops, still did not arrive till later and took the same road. He ran into entrenchments which held up his march and which were later said in the Swiss press to have been dug by our corps. That is incorrect; our corps only blocked the roads on the other side of the Black Forest ridge, and not on the way from Triberg to Furtwangen, which it never occupied. Besides, our volunteers did not march off from Furtwangen until Becker's advance guard had arrived there.

In Donaueschingen it was agreed that the remains of the entire army should gather on the other side of the Wutach, from Eggingen to Thiengen, and there await the approach of the enemy. Here, with our flanks abutting upon Swiss territory, we could attempt a last battle with our considerable artillery. We could even wait and see whether the Prussians would violate Swiss territory and thus bring the Swiss into the war. But how amazed we were when Willich arrived and we read in the valiant Sigel's order:

"The main body of the army is to proceed to Thiengen and Waldshut and take up a firm position there(!!). Endeavour to maintain the position (at Stühlingen and Eggingen) as long as possible."

A "firm position" at Thiengen and Waldshut, the Rhine to the rear and heights accessible to the enemy in front! The only possible interpretation of this was: We intend to cross the Säckingen bridge into Switzerland. And this was the same hero Sigel who had said on the occasion of Struve's motion that if it were passed then he, Sigel, would be the first to rebel.

We now occupied the position behind the Wutach itself and distributed our troops from Eggingen to Wutöschingen, where our headquarters were. Here we received the following even more priceless document from Herr Sigel:

"Order. Thiengen headquarters, July 8, 1849.—To Colonel Willich in Eggingen. Since the canton of Schaffhausen is already taking up a hostile stance towards me, it is impossible for me to take up the position we discussed. You will order your movements accordingly and move in the direction of Griessen, Lauchringen and Thiengen. I am marching off from here tomorrow, either to Waldshut or beyond the Alb" (i.e. to Säckingen). "General-in-Chief *Sigel*."

That capped it all. That evening Willich and I went to Thiengen, where the "General Quartermaster" Schlinke admitted that they really were going to Säckingen and thence over the Rhine. At first

Sigel tried to come the "general-in-chief", but Willich did not fall for that and eventually prevailed upon him to give the order to turn round and march on Griessen. The pretext for the march to Säckingen was a junction with Doll, who had marched thither, and an allegedly strong position. The position, evidently the same one from which Moreau gave battle in 1800,[179] had only one drawback: it faced in quite another direction from that where *our* enemy was coming from; and as for the noble Doll, he did not hesitate to prove that he could go to Switzerland even without Herr Sigel.

Between the cantons of Zurich and Schaffhausen lies a small strip of Baden territory, with the villages of Jestetten and Lottstetten, completely closed in by Switzerland apart from a narrow access at Baltersweil. Here the last stand was to be made. The heights on both sides of the road behind Baltersweil presented excellent positions for our artillery, and our infantry was still numerous enough to cover them if necessary until they had reached Swiss territory. It was agreed that we should wait here and see whether the Prussians would attack us or starve us out. The main body of the army, to which Becker had attached himself, went into camp here. Willich had selected the position for the artillery (we later found their park where their battle-position was to be). We ourselves formed the rearguard and slowly followed after the main body of the army. On the evening of the 9th we went to Erzingen, on the 10th to Riedern. On that day a general council of war was held in the camp. Willich alone spoke for continued defence, Sigel, Becker and others for a withdrawal onto Swiss territory. A Swiss commissioner, Colonel Kurz, I believe, was present and declared that Switzerland would not grant asylum if another battle were fought. When it came to the vote Willich was alone with two or three officers. Apart from him, no one from our corps was present.

While Willich was still in the camp the half-battery posted with us received orders to move off; it departed without so much as a mention being made to us. All the other troops apart from us also received orders to go into the camp. During the night I went once more with Willich to the headquarters in Lottstetten; when we were on our way back, at daybreak, we met on the road all those who had struck camp and were trundling towards the frontier in the most frantic confusion. The same day, early on the morning of the 11th, Herr Sigel crossed onto Swiss territory with his troops near Rafz and Herr Becker with his near Rheinau. We concentrated our corps, followed into the camp and from there to Jestetten. While we were there, at about midday, an orderly officer brought us a letter Sigel had written from Eglisau. In it he said that he was already safely in

Switzerland, that the officers had retained their sabres and that we should join them as soon as we could. They did not give us a thought until they were on neutral ground!

We marched through Lottstetten to the frontier, bivouacked that night still on German soil, discharged our rifles on the morning of the 12th and then set foot on Swiss territory, the last of the army of Baden and the Palatinate to do so. On the same day and at the same time, Constance was abandoned by the corps stationed there. A week later Rastatt fell through treachery and the counter-revolution had for the moment reconquered Germany down to the last corner.

* * *

The campaign for the Imperial Constitution foundered because of its own half-heartedness and its wretched internal state. Ever since the defeat of June 1848 the question for the civilised part of the European continent has stood thus: either the rule of the revolutionary proletariat or the rule of the classes who ruled before February. A middle road is no longer possible. In Germany in particular the bourgeoisie has shown itself incapable of ruling; it could only maintain its rule over the people by surrendering it once more to the aristocracy and the bureaucracy. In the Imperial Constitution the petty bourgeoisie, in alliance with the German ideology, attempted an impossible arrangement aimed at postponing the decisive struggle. The attempt was bound to fail: those who were serious about the movement were not serious about the Imperial Constitution, and those who were serious about the Imperial Constitution were not serious about the movement.

This does not mean to say, however, that the consequences of the campaign for the Imperial Constitution were any the less significant. Above all the campaign simplified the situation. It cut short an endless series of attempts at reconciliation; now that it has been lost, only the somewhat constitutionalised feudal-bureaucratic monarchy or the true revolution can be victorious. And the revolution can no longer be brought to a conclusion in Germany except with the complete rule of the proletariat.

The Imperial Constitution campaign in addition contributed considerably to the development of class antagonisms in those German provinces where they were not yet sharply developed. Especially in Baden. In Baden, as we have seen, there existed hardly any class antagonisms at all before the insurrection. Hence the acknowledged supremacy of the petty bourgeois over all other classes in the opposition, hence the apparent unanimity of the popula-

tion, hence the speed with which the Badeners, like the Viennese, pass from opposition to insurrection, attempt an uprising at every opportunity and do not even shy away from a battle in the field with a regular army. But as soon as the insurrection had broken out, the classes emerged in definite outline and the petty bourgeois separated themselves from the workers and peasants. Through their representative Brentano they disgraced themselves for all time. They themselves have been driven to such despair by the Prussian dictatorship of the sabre that they now prefer any regime, even that of the workers, to the present oppression; they will take a much more active part in the next movement than in any previous one; but fortunately they never again will be able to play the independent, dominant role they played under Brentano's dictatorship. The workers and peasants, who suffer just as much as the petty bourgeois under the present dictatorship of the sabre, did not go through the experience of the last uprising for nothing; they who besides having their fallen and murdered brothers to avenge will take care that when the next insurrection comes it is *they* and not the petty bourgeois who get the reins in their hands. And even though no experience of insurrection can substitute for the development of classes, which is only achieved by the operation of large-scale industry over a period of years, Baden has none the less through its latest uprising and its consequences joined the ranks of *those* German provinces which in the coming revolution will play one of the most important roles.

Looked at from the political point of view, the campaign for the Imperial Constitution was a failure from the very start. The same is true from the military point of view. Its only prospect of succeeding lay outside of Germany, in the victory of the republicans in Paris on June 13, and June 13 came to nothing. After this event the campaign could be nothing but a more or less bloody farce. And that is all it was. Stupidity and treachery ruined it completely. With the exception of a small handful, the military chiefs were either traitors or intrusive, ignorant and cowardly place-hunters, and the few exceptions were everywhere left in the lurch both by the others and by the Brentano government. In the coming convulsion anyone who can produce no other title than that of one of Hecker's generals or an officer of the Imperial Constitution deserves to be shown the door at once. As the chiefs, so the soldiers. The people of Baden possess the very finest fighting elements; during the insurrection these elements were from the start so demoralised and neglected that there arose the wretched situation which we have broadly described. The whole "revolution" was reduced to a veritable comedy and the sole

consolation was that the opponent, although six times as strong, had six times as little courage.

But this comedy came to a tragic end, thanks to the blood-thirstiness of the counter-revolution. The same warriors who on the march or on the battlefield were more than once seized by panic, died in the ditches of Rastatt like heroes. Not a single one of them pleaded, not a single one of them trembled. The German people will not forget the executions and the casemates of Rastatt, they will not forget the great gentlemen who ordered these infamies, but neither will they forget the traitors who through their cowardice were responsible for them: the Brentanos of Karlsruhe and of *Frankfurt.*

## Frederick Engels

# TO THE HUNGARIAN REFUGEE COMMITTEE IN LONDON

[*Draft*]

[London, late February 1850]

*To the Hungarian Refugee Committee in London*

Citizens Kilinski and Ryschka have applied for assistance to the German Refugee Committee.[180] Asked for their papers, they produced two certificates from Mr. Fr. Pulszky, copies of which are enclosed herewith.[181] According to these certificates they are not German, but Hungarian refugees since they were recruited by the competent authority here for Hungarian service and therefore come within the province not of the German, but of the Hungarian Committee. However, they maintain that they received 10 shillings from that Committee together with notification that it could give them no further assistance. Since, however, it will hardly do to leave these people destitute on the street, we hereby take the liberty of inquiring whether this is right, and whether the Hungarian Committee may, perhaps, have had some special reason for refusing assistance to the two citizens named above.

(Copy of the certificates.)

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [REVIEWS FROM THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG. POLITISCH-ÖKONOMISCHE REVUE* No. 2][182]

### I

G. FR. DAUMER, *DIE RELIGION DES NEUEN WELTALTERS. VERSUCH EINER COMBINATORISCH-APHORISTISCHEN GRUNDLEGUNG*, 2 BDE, HAMBURG, 1850

"An otherwise free-thinking man in *Nuremberg* who was not at all insensitive to the new had a monstrous hatred of democratic intrigues. He was a devotee of Ronge, whose portrait he had in his room. But when he heard that Ronge had sided with the democrats he removed the portrait to the lavatory. He once said: 'Oh, if only we lived under the Russian knout, how happy I would feel!' He died during the disturbances and I presume that although he was already old, it was despondency and grief at the course of events that led him to the grave." (Vol. II, pp. 321-22.)

If, instead of dying, this pitiable Nuremberg philistine had gleaned his scraps of thought from *Correspondent von und für Deutschland*, from Schiller and Goethe, from old schoolbooks, and modern lending-library books he would have spared himself the trouble of dying and Herr Daumer the hard work of writing his two volumes of "combinatory and aphoristic foundation". We, of course, should not then have had the edifying opportunity to become acquainted with the "religion of the new age" and at the same time with its first martyr.

Herr Daumer's work is divided into two parts, a "preliminary" and a "main" one. In the preliminary part the faithful Eckart of German philosophy expresses his profound concern that even thinking and educated Germans have let themselves be led astray for the past two years and have given up the inestimable achievements of thought for mere "external" revolutionary activity. He considers the present moment appropriate to appeal once more to the better feelings of the nation and points out what it means so light-mindedly to abandon all German culture, through which alone the German burgher was still anything at all. He summarises the whole content of

German culture in the pithiest sayings that the casket of his erudition contains and thus discredits German culture no less than German philosophy. His anthology of the loftiest products of the German mind surpasses in platitude and triviality even the most ordinary reading book for young ladies in the educated walks of life. From Goethe's and Schiller's philistine sallies against the first French Revolution, from the classic "Dangerous it is to rouse the lion"[a] down to the most modern literature, the high priest of the new religion zealously digs up every passage in which German pedantry stiffens with sleepy ill-humour against the historical movement it loathes. Authorities of the weight of a Friedrich Raumer, Berthold Auerbach, Lochner, Moriz Carrière, Alfred Meissner, Krug, Dingelstedt, Ronge, *Nürnberger Bote*,[b] Max Waldau, Sternberg, German Mäurer, Luise Aston, Eckermann, Noack, *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, A. Kunze, Ghillany, Th. Mundt, Saphir, Gutzkow, a certain "*née* Gatterer" and the like are the pillars on which the temple of the new religion rests. The revolutionary movement, which is here declared anathema in so many voices, is confined for Herr Daumer on the one hand to the tritest prattle about politics as carried on in Nuremberg under the auspices of *Correspondent von und für Deutschland*, and on the other hand to mob outrages of which he has the most fantastic idea. The sources on which he draws are worthy of being placed on a par with those already mentioned: side by side with the oft-named Nuremberg *Correspondent* figure the *Bamberger Zeitung*, the Munich *Landbötin*,[c] the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* and others. The same philistine meanness that sees nothing in the proletarian but a disgusting, corrupt ragamuffin and which rubs its hands with satisfaction at the Paris massacres in June 1848, when more than 3,000 of those "ragamuffins" were butchered—that same meanness is indignant at the raillery of which sentimental societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals are the object.

"The frightful tortures," Herr Daumer exclaims on page 293 of Volume I, "that unfortunate beasts suffer at the cruel, tyrannous hand of man are for these barbarians 'trifles' that nobody should bother about!"

The entire class struggle of our times seems to Herr Daumer only a struggle of "coarseness" against "culture". Instead of explaining it by the historical conditions of these classes, he finds its origin in the

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[a] Schiller, *Das Lied von der Glocke*, 26th stanza.— *Ed.*
[b] *Nürnberger Courier.—Ed.*
[c] *Bayerische Landbötin.—Ed.*

seditious doings of a few malevolent individuals who incite the base appetites of the populace against the educated estates.

"This democratic reformism ... excites the envy, the rage, the rapacity of the lower classes of society against the upper classes—a fine way of making man better and nobler and founding a higher stage of culture!" (Vol. I, p[p]. [288-] 289.)

Herr Daumer does not even know what struggles "of the lower classes of society against the upper classes" it took to bring forth even a Nuremberg "stage of culture" and to make possible a Moloch-fighter à la Daumer.[a]

The second, "main", part contains the positive aspect of the new religion. It voices all the annoyance of the German philosopher over the oblivion into which his struggles against Christianity have fallen, over the people's indifference towards religion, the only object worthy to be considered by the philosopher. To restore credit to his trade, which has been ousted by competition, all our world-wise man can do is to invent a new religion, after long barking against the old. But this new religion is confined, in accordance with the first part, to a continuation of the anthology of maxims, album verses and *versus memoriales*[b] of German philistine culture. The suras of the new Koran[183] are nothing but a series of phrases morally palliating and poetically embellishing the existing German conditions—phrases which, though divested of the immediately religious form, are none the less interwoven with the old religion.

"Completely new world conditions and world relations can arise only through new religions. Examples and proofs of what religions are capable of are Christianity and Islam; most clear and palpable evidence of the powerlessness and futility of abstract, exclusive politics are the movements started in the year 1848." (Vol. I, p. 313.)

This weighty proposition immediately brings out the shallowness and ignorance of the German "thinker" who takes the small German and specifically Bavarian "March achievements" for the European movement of 1848 and 1849 and who demands that the first, in themselves very superficial, eruptions of a gradually developing and concentrating major revolution should bring forth "completely new world conditions and world relations". The "world-wise" Daumer reduces the whole complicated social struggle, the first skirmishes of which were fought between Paris and Debrecen, Berlin and Palermo

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[a] An allusion to Daumer's books *Der Feuer- und Molochdienst der alten Hebräer...* Braunschweig, 1842, and *Die Geheimnisse des christlichen Alterthums*, Bd. 1-2, Hamburg, 1847.—*Ed.*

[b] Memorial verses.—*Ed.*

in the last two years, to the fact that "in January 1849 the hopes of the constitutional societies of Erlangen were postponed indefinitely" (Vol. I, p. 312) and to fear of a new struggle that could once more be unpleasantly shocking for Herr Daumer in his occupations with Hafiz, Mohammed[a] and Berthold Auerbach.

The same shameless superficiality allows Herr Daumer to ignore completely that Christianity was preceded by the total collapse of the ancient "world conditions" of which Christianity was the mere expression; that "completely new world conditions" arose not internally through Christianity but only when the Huns and the Germans fell "externally" on the corpse of the Roman Empire; that after the Germanic invasion the "new world conditions" did not adapt themselves to Christianity but that Christianity itself changed with every new phase of these world conditions. We should like Herr Daumer to give us an example of the old world conditions changing with a new religion without the mightiest "external" and abstract political convulsions setting in at the same time.

It is clear that with every great historical upheaval of social conditions the outlooks and ideas of men, and consequently their religious ideas, are revolutionised. The difference between the present upheaval and all earlier ones lies in the very fact that man has at last found out the secret of this process of historical upheaval and hence, instead of once again exalting this practical, "external", process in the rapturous form of a new religion, divests himself of all religion.

After the gentle moral doctrines of the new world wisdom, which are even superior to Knigge[b] inasmuch as they contain all that is necessary not only on intercourse with men, but also on intercourse with animals—after the Proverbs of Solomon comes the Song of the new Solomon.

"*Nature* and *woman* are the really divine, as distinct from the *human* and *man*.... The sacrifice of the human to the natural, of the male to the female, is the genuine, the only true meekness and self-externalisation, the highest, nay, the only virtue and piety." (Vol. II, p. 257.)

We see here that the superficiality and ignorance of the speculating founder of a religion is transformed into a very pronounced cowardice. Herr Daumer flees before the historical tragedy that is threatening him too closely to alleged nature, i.e. to a stupid rustic idyll, and preaches the cult of the female to cloak his own womanish resignation.

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[a] G. Fr. Daumer, *Hafis*, Hamburg, 1846; *Mahomed und sein Werk*, Hamburg, 1848.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Knigge, *Ueber den Umgang mit Menschen*, Hannover, 1804.—*Ed.*

Herr Daumer's cult of nature, by the way, is a peculiar one. He manages to be reactionary even in comparison with Christianity. He tries to restore the old pre-Christian natural religion in a modernised form. Thus he of course achieves nothing but Christian-Germanic-patriarchal drivel on nature expressed, for example, as follows:

> "Nature holy, Mother sweet,
> In Thy footsteps place my feet.
> My baby hand to Thy hand clings,
> Hold me as in leading strings!"[a]

"Such things have gone out of fashion, but not to the benefit of culture, progress or human felicity." (Vol. II, p. 157.)

We see that this cult of nature is limited to the Sunday walks of an inhabitant of a small provincial town who childishly wonders at the cuckoo laying its eggs in another bird's nest (Vol. II, p. 40), at tears being designed to keep the surface of the eyes moist (Vol. II, p. 73), and so on, and finally trembles with reverence as he recites Klopstock's Ode to Spring[b] to his children. (Vol. II, p. 23 et seqq.) There is no mention, of course, of modern natural science, which, with modern industry, has revolutionised the whole of nature and put an end to man's childish attitude towards nature as well as to other forms of childishness. But instead we get mysterious hints and astonished philistine notions about Nostradamus' prophecies, second sight in Scotsmen and animal magnetism.[184] For the rest, it would be desirable that Bavaria's sluggish peasant economy, the ground on which grow priests and Daumers alike, should at last be ploughed up by modern cultivation and modern machines.

It is the same with the cult of the female as with the cult of nature. Herr Daumer naturally does not say a word about the present social position of women; on the contrary it is a question only of the female as such. He tries to console women for their civic destitution by making them the object of a rhetorical cult which is as empty as it would fain be mysterious. Thus he seeks to comfort them by telling them that marriage puts an end to their talents through their having to take care of the children (Vol. II, p. 237), that they retain the ability to suckle babes even until the age of sixty (Vol. II, p. 251), and so on. Herr Daumer calls this the "devotion of the male to the female". In order to find the necessary ideal women characters for his male devotion in his native country, he is forced to resort to various aristocratic ladies of the last century. Thus his cult of the

[a] From F. Stolberg's poem "An die Natur", which Daumer quotes in his book.—*Ed.*

[b] Daumer quotes Klopstock's ode "Dem Allgegenwärtigen".—*Ed.*

woman is reduced to the depressed attitude of a man of letters to respected patronesses—Wilhelm Meister.[a]

The "culture" whose decay Herr Daumer laments is that of the time in which Nuremberg flourished as a free *Reichsstadt*, in which Nuremberg's industry—that cross between art and craftsmanship—played a role of importance, the German petty-bourgeois [*Kleinbürgertum*] culture which is perishing with the petty bourgeoisie. If the decline of former classes such as the knighthood could offer material for great tragic works of art, philistinism can achieve nothing but impotent expressions of fanatic malignity and a collection of Sancho Panza maxims and rules of wisdom. Herr Daumer is the dry, absolutely humourless continuation of Hans Sachs. German philosophy, wringing its hands and lamenting at the deathbed of its foster father, German philistinism—such is the touching picture opened up to us by the religion of the new age.

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[a] Cf. Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*.—*Ed.*

## II

## LUDWIG SIMON OF TRIER, *EIN WORT DES RECHTS FÜR ALLE REICHSVERFASSUNGSKÄMPFER AN DIE DEUTSCHEN GESCHWORNEN*, FRANKFURT AM MAIN, 1849

"We had voted against the inheritability of the office of Supreme Head of the Empire; on the next day we abstained from voting. When the whole result lay before us, however, as it had emerged from the will of the majority of an assembly elected on the basis of universal franchise, we declared that we should submit. Had we not done so we should have proved that we *did not fit into civil society in general*."[a] (p. 43.)

According to Herr L. Simon "of Trier", therefore, the most extreme members of the Frankfurt Assembly no longer "fitted into civil society in general". Herr L. Simon "of Trier" thus appears to conceive the bounds of civil society in general as being even narrower than the bounds of St. Paul's Church.[185]

Incidentally, in his confession of April 11, 1849, Herr Simon had the tact to reveal the secret of both his former opposition and his later conversion.

"Cold mists have arisen from the gloomy waters of pre-March diplomacy. These mists will gather into clouds and we shall have a thunderstorm pregnant with ruin, threatening to strike first of all the tower of the church in which we are sitting. Take heed and arrange for a lightning-conductor to *conduct* the lightning *away from yourselves*!"[b]

That is, gentlemen, it is now our skins that are at stake!

The beggarly proposals, the wretched compromises offered to the majority by the Frankfurt Left on the question of the Emperor and after the humiliated return of the deputation to the Emperor,[186] merely in order to retain them in the Assembly, the dirty attempts at

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[a] Here and below the italics in quotations are mostly by the reviewers.—*Ed.*

[b] From Ludwig Simon's speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly on April 11, 1849. Quoted from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 271 (second edition), April 13, 1849.—*Ed.*

agreement which they were at that time making in all directions, all receive their higher consecration in the following words of Herr Simon:

"The events of the past year have made the word agreement the butt of a very disquieting scorn. It is hardly possible to speak of it any longer without being derided. Yet of two possibilities only one can be realised: either people agree with one another, or they fall upon one another like wild animals." (p. 43.)

That is, either the parties concerned fight their battle to the finish, or they postpone it by means of any compromise they choose. The latter is at all events "more educated" and "more humane". With his theory set forth above, incidentally, Herr Simon opens up an endless series of agreements by means of which he will remain acceptable in any and every "civil society".

The late Imperial Constitution is justified in the following philosophical deduction:

"The Imperial Constitution was thus in fact properly the expression of what was possible without new exertions of violence.... It was the living (!) expression of democratic monarchy, and hence of a contradiction in principle. But much has already existed in actual fact which was self-contradictory in principle, and it is precisely from the actual existence of contradictions in principle that further life develops." (p. 44.)

It can be seen that to apply Hegelian dialectics is still rather more difficult than to quote snippets of verse by Schiller. The Imperial Constitution, if it was "actually" to endure in spite of its "contradiction in principle", ought at least to have expressed in a "principled" fashion that contradiction which "actually" existed. "Actually", there stood on the one hand Prussia and Austria, military absolutism, and on the other the German people, cheated of the fruits of their March rising, cheated to a great extent by their foolish belief in the wretched Frankfurt Assembly, and on the point of daring at last to embark on a new fight against military absolutism. This actual contradiction could only be resolved by an actual conflict. Did the Imperial Constitution express this contradiction? Not in the least. It expressed the contradiction as it existed in March 1848, before Prussia and Austria had recovered their strength, before the opposition had been split, weakened and disarmed by partial defeats. It expressed nothing more than the childish self-deception of the gentlemen of St. Paul's Church, who, in March 1849, still imagined themselves able to prescribe laws to the Prussian and Austrian governments, and to ensure for themselves for all posterity the position of imperial German Barrots, a position as profitable as it would be secure.

Then Herr Simon congratulates himself and his colleagues for being totally unshakable in their self-interested infatuation with the Imperial Constitution:

"Admit in shame, ye renegades of Gotha,[187] that in the midst of pressing passions we have resisted every temptation, have faithfully kept our word and have not altered our common achievement by even one iota!" (p. 67.)

He then refers to their heroic deeds in connection with Württemberg and the Palatinate, and to their Stuttgart decision of June 8, in which they placed Baden under the protection of the Empire, although by that time the Empire was already essentially under the protection of Baden,[188] and their decisions only proved that they were determined not to shift "by even one iota" from their cowardice, and to maintain by force an illusion in which they themselves no longer believed.

The accusation that "the Imperial Constitution was only a mask for the republic" is ingeniously rejected by Herr Simon as follows:

"Only if the struggle against *all* governments *without exception* had to be pursued *to the end*, ... and who tells you then that the struggle against all governments without exception ought to have been pursued to the end? Who can calculate them all, the possible permutations of battle and of the fortunes of war, and if the hostile brothers" (governments and people) "had stood face to face after a bloody struggle, *exhausted* and *undecided as to the outcome*, and if the spirit of peace and reconciliation had come upon them, would we then have harmed even in the slightest the banner of the Imperial Constitution, under which the brothers could have stretched out their hands to each other in conciliation? Look about you! Place your hands on your hearts! Delve sincerely into your innermost conscience, and you will, you must answer: no, no, and again no!" (p. 70.)

This is the true quiver of oratory from which Herr Simon drew those arrows which he fired to such astonishing effect in St. Paul's Church!—In spite of its flatness, however, this touching pathos has its interest. It shows how the gentlemen of Frankfurt sat calmly in Stuttgart and waited for the hostile parties to fight to a standstill so that they could step between the exhausted combatants at the right moment and offer them the panacea of conciliation, the Imperial Constitution. And the extent to which Herr Simon is expressing the innermost thoughts of his colleagues can be seen from the way in which these gentlemen are even now in session in Berne at innkeeper Benz's in Kesslergasse,[a] waiting only for a new conflict to break out so that they may step in when the sides "are standing face to face, exhausted and undecided as to the outcome", and offer them as a basis for agreement the Imperial Constitution, this perfect expression of exhaustion and indecision.

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[a] See this volume, p. 8.—*Ed.*

"But I say to you in spite of all that and however painful it may be to roam far from one's fatherland, far from one's home and far from aged parents, on the lonely path of exile, I will not exchange my pure conscience for the remorse of the renegades and the sleepless nights of the rulers, not even if I should be offered a surfeit of all worldly goods!" (p. 71.)

If it were only possible to send these gentlemen into exile! But do they not drag the fatherland along behind them in their suitcases in the form of the stenographic reports from Frankfurt?[a] And do these not waft towards them currents of the purest air of the homeland and the fullness of the fairest self-complacency?

Incidentally, when Herr Simon maintains that he is putting in a good word for those who *fought* for the Imperial Constitution he is indulging in a pious deceit. Those who *fought* for the Imperial Constitution had no need of his "Word of Justice". They defended themselves better and more energetically. But Herr Simon has to push them forward in order to conceal the fact that, in the interest of the Frankfurters who have compromised themselves in every respect, in the interest of those who *framed* the Imperial Constitution, in his own interest, he considers it indispensable to deliver an *oratio pro domo*.[b]

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[a] *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen konstituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt am Main, 1848-49.—*Ed.*

[b] Speech on one's own behalf.—*Ed.*

III

## GUIZOT, *POURQUOI LA RÉVOLUTION D'ANGLETERRE A-T-ELLE RÉUSSI? DISCOURS SUR L'HISTOIRE DE LA RÉVOLUTION D'ANGLETERRE*, PARIS, 1850

The purpose of M. Guizot's pamphlet is to show why Louis Philippe and Guizot's policy should really not have been overthrown on February 24, 1848, and how the abominable character of the French was to blame for the ignominious downfall of the July monarchy of 1830 after an arduous existence of eighteen years and for its failure to attain the permanency enjoyed by the English monarchy ever since 1688.

From this pamphlet one may see how even the most capable people of the *ancien régime*, people whose own kind of talent in the realm of history can by no means be disputed, have been brought to such a state of perplexity by the fatal events of February that they have lost all understanding of history, that they now even fail to comprehend their own former actions. Instead of being impelled by the February Revolution to realise the totally different historical conditions, the totally different class alignment of society, in the French monarchy of 1830 and the English of 1688, M. Guizot dissolves the whole difference in a few moralising phrases, averring in conclusion that the policy that was overthrown on February 24 "preserves the states and alone quells revolutions".

Exactly formulated, the question M. Guizot wants to answer is as follows: Why has bourgeois society developed longer in England in the form of a constitutional monarchy than in France?

The following passage will serve to characterise M. Guizot's acquaintance with the course of bourgeois development in England:

"In the reigns of George I and George II public opinion veered. Foreign policy ceased to be their main concern; home administration, maintenance of peace, problems of finance, colonies and trade, the development and the struggles of the parliamentary regime now mainly engaged the attention of both the government and the public." (P [p]. 168[-169].)

M. Guizot finds only two things worthy of mention in the reign of William III: maintenance of the balance between Parliament and Crown, and maintenance of the balance in Europe by fighting Louis XIV. Then, under the Hanoverian dynasty, "public opinion" suddenly "veered", no one knows how or why. We see here that M. Guizot applies the expressions most commonly used in French parliamentary debate to English history and believes he has thereby explained it. Similarly, M. Guizot imagined, when he was minister, that he held the balance between Parliament and Crown as well as the balance in Europe, whereas in reality all he did was to barter away piecemeal the whole French state and the whole of French society to the financial Shylocks of the Paris Bourse.

M. Guizot does not consider it worth while mentioning that the wars against Louis XIV were exclusively trade wars waged to destroy French commerce and French sea power, that under William III the domination of the financial bourgeoisie received its first sanction by the establishment of the Bank and the institution of the national debt,[189] and that the manufacturing bourgeoisie was given a new impetus by the consistent application of the system of protective tariffs. Only political phrases mean anything to him. He does not even mention that in Queen Anne's reign the ruling parties could maintain themselves and the constitutional monarchy only by an arbitrary measure, the lengthening of the term of Parliament to seven years, thus almost completely destroying the influence of the people upon the government.

Under the Hanoverian dynasty England was already so far advanced that it could wage trade war against France in its modern form. England itself fought France only in America and East India; on the Continent it confined itself to hiring foreign princes like Frederick II to fight France. And when foreign war assumes a different form, M. Guizot says: "foreign policy ceases to be the main concern" and is replaced by the "maintenance of peace". The extent to which "the development and the struggles of the parliamentary regime now mainly engaged the attention of both the government and the public" may be gauged from the accounts of the bribery practised under Walpole's ministry, which, of course, do not differ a hair's breadth from the scandals that became the order of the day under M. Guizot.

M. Guizot sees two particular reasons why the English Revolution took a more favourable course than the French: first, because the English Revolution was thoroughly religious in character and therefore by no means broke with all the traditions of the past; secondly, because from its very inception it did not act destructively

but conservatively, and Parliament defended the old laws in force against the usurpations of the Crown.

Concerning the first point, M. Guizot forgets that free-thinking, which so horrifies him in the French Revolution, was brought to France from no other country than England. Locke was its father, and with Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke it assumed that keen-spirited form which was subsequently developed so brilliantly in France. We thus arrive at the odd conclusion that free-thinking on which, according to M. Guizot, the French Revolution foundered, was one of the most essential products of the religious English Revolution.

As far as the second point is concerned, M. Guizot forgets entirely that the French Revolution began just as conservatively as the English, indeed much more so. Absolutism, particularly as it manifested itself finally in France, was here, too, an innovation, and it was against this innovation that the parliaments[190] rose and defended the old laws, the *us et coutumes*[a] of the old monarchy based on estates. Whereas the first step of the French Revolution was the resurrection of the States General,[191] which had been dormant since Henry IV and Louis XIII, no fact of equal classical conservatism can be found in the English Revolution.

According to M. Guizot the main result of the English Revolution was that the King was put in a position where he could not possibly rule against the will of Parliament, particularly the House of Commons. The whole revolution consisted in both sides, Crown and Parliament, overstepping the mark in the beginning and going too far until at last, under William III, they found the correct balance and neutralised each other. M. Guizot deems it superfluous to mention that the subordination of the monarchy to Parliament was its subordination to the rule of a class. He need not therefore go into the details of how this class acquired the power necessary to make the Crown finally its servant. In his opinion the only issues involved in the whole struggle between Charles I and Parliament were purely political prerogatives. Not a word about the reason why Parliament and the class represented in it needed these prerogatives. He has just as little to say about Charles I's direct interference in free competition, which jeopardised England's trade and industry more and more; or about his dependence upon Parliament, which because of his constant financial straits became all the greater the more he sought to defy Parliament. Hence the only explanation he can find for the whole revolution is the malevolence and religious fanaticism of individual troublemakers who would not be satisfied with a

[a] Usages and customs.—*Ed.*

moderate freedom. Nor can M. Guizot enlighten us on the connection between the religious movement and the development of bourgeois society. The republic, too, is naturally only the handiwork of a few ambitious, fanatic and evil-minded people. That about the same time attempts to set up a republic were likewise made in Lisbon, Naples and Messina,[192] patterned likewise, as in England, after Holland, is a fact that he entirely fails to mention. Although M. Guizot never loses sight of the French Revolution, he does not even draw the simple conclusion that everywhere the transition from absolute to constitutional monarchy is effected only after fierce struggles and after passage through a republican form of government and that even then the old dynasty, having become useless, has to make room for a usurpatory collateral line. The only information he can give us about the overthrow of the restored English monarchy consists of the most trivial commonplaces. He does not even mention its immediate causes: the fear of the new big landed proprietors created by the Reformation that Catholicism might be re-established, in which event they would naturally have had to give back all the lands of which they had robbed the Church—a proceeding in which seven-tenths of the entire area of England would have changed hands; the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie's dread of Catholicism, which in no way suited their book; the nonchalance with which the Stuarts, to their own advantage and that of the court aristocracy, sold all English industry, as well as trade, to the government of France, that is, to the only country which at that time dangerously, and in many respects successfully, competed with the English, etc. As M. Guizot omits everywhere the most important points, all he has left is a most inadequate and banal narration of mere political events.

The big riddle for M. Guizot, the one for which he sees an explanation only in the superior intelligence of the English, the riddle of the conservatism of the English Revolution, is the persisting alliance of the bourgeoisie with the majority of the big landowners, an alliance that distinguishes the English Revolution essentially from the French, which eliminated big landed property by parcellation. This class of big landowners allied with the bourgeoisie—which, incidentally, arose as early as under Henry VIII—found itself not in contradiction with the conditions of existence of the bourgeoisie as did French landed property in 1789, but, on the contrary, in perfect harmony with them. In actual fact their landed estates were not feudal but bourgeois property. On the one hand, the landed proprietors provided the industrial bourgeoisie with the labour force necessary to operate its manufactories and, on the other, were in a

position to develop agriculture in accordance with the level of industry and trade. Hence their common interests with the bourgeoisie; hence their alliance with it.

For M. Guizot, English history ends with the consolidation of the constitutional monarchy in England. For him everything that followed was merely a pleasant game of seesaw between Tories and Whigs, something in the nature of the great debate between M. Guizot and M. Thiers. In reality, however, it was only with the consolidation of the constitutional monarchy that the large-scale development and transformation of bourgeois society in England began. Where M. Guizot sees only placid tranquillity and idyllic peace, the most violent conflicts, the most thoroughgoing revolutions, were actually developing. It was under the constitutional monarchy that manufacture first developed to a hitherto unknown extent, to make room, subsequently, for big industry, the steam-engine and the gigantic factories. Entire classes of the population disappear, and new ones with new conditions of existence and new requirements take their place. A new, more colossal bourgeoisie arises. While the old bourgeoisie fights the French Revolution, the new one conquers the world market. It becomes so omnipotent that even before the Reform Bill [193] puts direct political power into its hands it forces its opponents to pass laws almost exclusively in *its* interests and according to *its* needs. It wins for itself direct representation in Parliament and uses it to destroy the last remnants of real power that landed property retains. Lastly, it is engaged at present in utterly demolishing the handsome edifice of the English constitution which M. Guizot so admires.

While M. Guizot compliments the English on the fact that in their country the detestable excrescences of French social life—republicanism and socialism—have not shaken the foundations of the monarchy, the only source of salvation, the class antagonisms in English society have become more acute than in any other country. Here a bourgeoisie possessed of unequalled wealth and productive forces is opposed by a proletariat whose strength and concentration are likewise unequalled. Thus what M. Guizot acknowledges in England finally comes to this, that here, under the protection of constitutional monarchy, far more numerous and far more radical elements of social revolution have developed than in all other countries of the world taken together.

When the threads of development in England become entangled in a knot which he can no longer cut, even in appearance, with mere political phrases, M. Guizot has recourse to religious phrases, to the armed intervention of God. Thus, for instance, the spirit of the Lord

suddenly descends upon the army and prevents Cromwell from proclaiming himself king, etc., etc. From his conscience Guizot seeks safety in God; from the profane public, in his style.

Indeed, not only *les rois s'en vont*, but also *les capacités de la bourgeoisie s'en vont.*[a]

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[a] Not only "kings pass away", but also "the talent of the bourgeoisie".— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## REVIEW

[January-February 1850][194]

*A tout seigneur, tout honneur.*[a] Let us start with *Prussia.*

The King of Prussia is doing his best to push the present situation of tepid agreement, of inadequate compromise, towards a crisis.[195] He bestows a constitution and, after various unpleasantnesses, creates two Chambers which revise this constitution. Just so that the constitution may appear as acceptable as possible to the Crown, the Chambers delete every article which might in any way be objectionable to it, and believe that now the King will confirm the constitution with his oath straight away. But on the contrary. In order to give the Chambers a proof of his "royal conscientiousness" Frederick William issues an announcement[b] in which he makes new proposals for the improvement of the constitution, proposals whose acceptance would deprive the said document of even the least trace of the most insignificant so-called constitutional civil guarantees. The King hopes that the Chambers will reject these proposals—on the contrary. If the Chambers had been disappointed with the Crown, then they now made sure that the Crown would be disappointed with them. They accept everything: peerage and extraordinary courts, *Landsturm* and entailment,[196] merely in order not to be sent home, merely to force the King at last to swear a solemn "corporeal" oath. Thus does a Prussian constitutional bourgeois take his revenge.

The King will find it difficult to invent a humiliation which might appear too harsh for these Chambers. He will finally feel himself

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[a] To every lord his honour.—*Ed.*

[b] "Allerhöchste Botschaft", January 7, 1850. Published in the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* No. 10, January 10, 1850. A somewhat paraphrased passage from that announcement is quoted further in the text.—*Ed.*

obliged to declare that "the more sacred he holds the sworn vow he is to give, the more do the duties laid upon him by God for the beloved fatherland appear before his soul", and the less does his "royal conscientiousness" permit him to confirm by oath a constitution which offers him everything, but the country nothing.

The gentlemen of the defunct "United Diet",[197] who are now together again in the Chambers, are so afraid of being driven back to their old situation, as it was prior to March 18, because they would then again have before them the revolution, which will bring them no roses this time. What is more, in 1847 they were still able to refuse the loan for the alleged Eastern railway, whereas in 1849 they first actually granted the government the loan in question, and afterwards most humbly raised with the government the matter of the theoretical right of granting the money.

In the meantime the bourgeoisie outside the Chambers is taking its pleasure in jury decisions acquitting those accused of political offences, thus demonstrating its opposition to the government. In these trials, on the one hand the government and on the other the democracy represented by the accused and the public, discredit themselves at regular intervals. We remind our readers of the trial of the "ever constitutional" Waldeck, the trial in Trier.[198] etc.

When old Arndt asks: "What is the fatherland of a German?"[a] Frederick William IV replies: *Erfurt.*[199] It was not very difficult to travesty the *Iliad* in the *Battle of the Frogs and the Mice,* but nobody has hitherto dared contemplate a travesty of the *Battle of the Frogs and the Mice.* The Erfurt Plan succeeds in travestying even the battle of the frogs and the mice of St. Paul's Church itself.[200] It is of course completely irrelevant whether the unbelievable assembly in Erfurt in fact assembles or whether the Orthodox Tsar[b] forbids it, just as irrelevant as the protest against its competency, in issuing which Herr Vogt will undoubtedly enter into an agreement with Herr Venedey. The whole invention is of interest only to those profound politicians for whose leading articles the question of a "Great Germany" or a "Little Germany" was a mine as rich as it was indispensable, and to those Prussian bourgeois who live in the comforting belief that the King of Prussia will grant everything in Erfurt precisely because he has refused everything in Berlin.

If the Frankfurt "National Assembly" is to be more or less faithfully reflected in Erfurt, then the old Federal Diet will be reborn

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[a] From Ernst Moritz Arndt's poem "Des Teutschen Vaterland".—*Ed.*
[b] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

in the "Interim"[201] and simultaneously reduced to its simplest expression, to an Austro-Prussian federal commission. The Interim has already materialised in Württemberg and will shortly materialise in Mecklenburg and Schleswig-Holstein.

While Prussia has been able for a long time to scrape its budget together by means of emissions of paper money, stealthy loans from the *Seehandlung*,[202] and the remains of the state treasury, and has only now rushed forward down the road of public loans, in *Austria* state bankruptcy is in full bloom. A deficit of 155 million guilders in the first nine months of the year 1849, which is bound to have increased to 210-220 million by the end of December; the complete ruin of state credit at home and abroad after the resounding failure of the attempt at raising a new loan; total exhaustion of the internal financial resources: ordinary taxes, contributions, emissions of paper money; the necessity of imposing new and desperate taxes on the country which had already been sucked dry, taxes which, one can see in advance, will not be paid in—these are the main features in which naked financial need reveals itself in Austria. Simultaneously the decay of the Austrian state organism is proceeding ever more rapidly. In vain does the government counter it by means of convulsive centralisation; the disorganisation has already reached the furthest extremities of the state organism, and Austria is becoming intolerable even to the most barbaric nationalities, to the principal pillars of the old Austria, to the Southern Slavs in Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Banat, the "trusty" borderers.[203] Only an act of desperation remains, offering a slight chance of rescue—an external war; this external war to which Austria is irresistibly being driven must rapidly complete its total dissolution.

Nor has *Russia* proved rich enough to pay for its fame, which it had to purchase for cash into the bargain. In spite of the widely vaunted gold-mines of the Urals and the Altai, in spite of the inexhaustible treasures in the vaults of the Peter and Paul fortress, in spite of the annuity purchases in London and Paris, allegedly made out of a surplus of money, the Orthodox Tsar feels himself constrained not only to remove 5,000,000 silver rubles, using all kinds of false pretexts, from the bullion stores lying in the Peter and Paul fortress as security for his paper currency, and to order the sale of his annuities on the Paris Bourse, but also to beg the unbelieving City of London for an advance of 30 million silver rubles.

Russia has become so deeply involved in European politics on account of the movements of the years 1848 and 1849 that it will have to execute its old plans against Turkey, against Constantinople,

"the key to its house",[a] as speedily as it can if they are not to become for ever impossible to execute. The progress of the counter-revolution and the daily growing power of the revolutionary party in Western Europe, the internal situation in Russia itself and the bad state of its finances are forcing it towards rapid action. We recently saw the diplomatic prelude to this new oriental drama of state[204]; in a few months we shall witness the drama itself.

War against Turkey is necessarily a European war. So much the better for Holy Russia, which is thus given an opportunity of obtaining a firm foothold in Germany, leading the counter-revolution there energetically to its conclusion, helping Prussia to conquer Neuchâtel, and, in the last instance, marching on the centre of the revolution, on Paris.

In such a European war England cannot remain neutral. It must take a stand against Russia. And for Russia England is by far the most dangerous antagonist. If the land armies of the Continent cannot help weakening themselves more and more as a result of their having to spread out more the further they press forward into Russia, if their advance, upon the penalty of a repetition of 1812, must come to an almost complete halt on the eastern frontier of the former Poland, England has the means of tackling Russia on its most vulnerable flanks. Apart from the fact that it can force Sweden to reconquer Finland, St. Petersburg and Odessa stand open to its navy. The Russian navy is known to be the worst in the world, and Kronstadt and Schlüsselburg are as vulnerable to capture as Saint-Jean d'Acre and San Juan de Ulua.[205] And Russia without St. Petersburg and Odessa is a giant with its hands chopped off. Moreover Russia cannot dispense with England either for the sale of its raw materials or the purchase of industrial products for even as little as six months, which emerged clearly at the time of Napoleon's continental blockade,[206] but is now the case to a far greater degree. Cutting off from the English market would in a few months induce the most violent convulsions in Russia. England, on the other hand, can not only do without the Russian market for a time, but it can also procure all Russian raw materials from other markets. One can see that the dreaded Russia is by no means so very dangerous. It must assume such a terror-inspiring shape for the German burgher, however, since it directly controls his princes and since he quite rightly suspects that Russia's barbarian hordes will before long inundate Germany and to some extent play a messianic role there.

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[a] The phrase was used by Alexander I in a conversation with the French Ambassador Caulaincourt in 1808.—*Ed.*

*Switzerland*'s attitude to the Holy Alliance in general resembles that of the Prussian Chambers to their King in particular. Except that Switzerland has behind it an additional scapegoat to which it can pass on all the blows it receives from the Holy Alliance two- or threefold, a scapegoat which is defenceless into the bargain and quite abandoned to its favour or disfavour—the German refugees. It is true that a section of the "radical" Swiss in Geneva, in Vaud and in Berne has protested against the cowardly policy of the Federal Council[207]—cowardly both in respect of the Holy Alliance and of the refugees; it is, however, just as true that the Federal Council was correct when it maintained that its policy was "that of the huge majority of the Swiss people". In the midst of all this the Central Authority quite tranquilly continues to carry out small bourgeois reforms internally: centralisation of customs, of coinage, of the post, of weights and measures—reforms which assure it the applause of the petty bourgeoisie. To be sure it dares not carry out its decision concerning the repeal of the military enlistment agreements, and the men of the *Ur*-cantons still go in droves daily to Como to get themselves enlisted in the service of Naples.[208] But in spite of all its humility and complaisance towards the Holy Alliance, a fatal storm threatens Switzerland. In the first flush of high spirits after the war against the Sonderbund and in complete euphoria after the February Revolution, the otherwise so timid Swiss allowed themselves to be tempted to imprudent actions. They ventured the enormity of wanting at last to be independent; they gave themselves a new constitution instead of the one guaranteed by the powers in 1814, they recognised the independence of Neuchâtel[209] contrary to the treaties. For this they will be punished, in spite of all their bowing and scraping, their readiness to oblige and their police services. And once it is involved in the European war Switzerland will not find itself in the most pleasant of situations; if Switzerland has insulted the holy allies, it has on the other hand betrayed the revolution.

In *France*, where the bourgeoisie itself is leading the reaction in its own interests, and where the republican form of government permits reaction its freest and most consistent development, the suppression of the revolution is being executed in the most shameless and violent fashion. In the short space of one month the following measures were taken one after another: the restoration of the drink tax, which directly completes the ruin of half the rural population, the d'Hautpoul circular, which appoints the gendarmes as spies even upon the civil servants, the law on schoolteachers, which declares that all elementary schoolteachers are to be subject to arbitrary dismissal by the prefects, the education law, which hands

the schools over to the priests, the deportation law, in which the bourgeoisie unleashes the whole of its pent-up lust for vengeance on the June insurgents and, in the absence of any other executioner, delivers them up to the most deadly climate in the whole of Algeria. We will not even mention the innumerable deportations of even the most innocent foreigners, which have never ceased since June 13.[a]

The purpose of this violent bourgeois reaction is, of course, to restore the monarchy. However, the monarchist restoration is considerably hindered by the various pretenders themselves, and by the parties they have in the country. The Legitimists and the Orleanists, the two strongest monarchist parties, more or less counterbalance each other; the third party, the Bonapartists, is by far the weakest. Louis Napoleon does not, in spite of his seven million votes, even possess a real party, he merely has a coterie. Although he is given constant support by the majority of the Chamber in the general handling of the reaction, he finds himself abandoned as soon as his particular interests as pretender emerge, abandoned not only by the majority but also by his ministers, who each time give him the lie and force him to declare in writing the next day in spite of everything that they have his confidence. The quarrels in which he thus gets embroiled with the majority, however serious the consequences to which they might lead, have for this reason so far only been comical episodes in which the President of the Republic has each time played the part of the dupe. It goes without saying that in these conditions each monarchist faction is conspiring with the Holy Alliance on its own initiative. The *Assemblée nationale* is brazen enough to threaten the people publicly with the Russians[b]; there is already ample evidence that Louis Napoleon is plotting with Nicholas.

At the same rate as the reaction advances, the forces of the revolutionary party naturally grow too. The great mass of the rural population, ruined by the consequences of land parcelling, by the tax burden and the purely fiscal nature of most of the taxes, damaging even from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, disappointed with the promises of Louis Napoleon and the reactionary deputies, the mass of the rural population has thrown itself into the arms of the revolutionary party and professes a socialism which is, admittedly, still very crude and bourgeois for the most part. The revolutionary mood of even the most legitimist *départements* is proved by the latest

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[a] See this volume, pp. 105-07.—*Ed.*

[b] Presumably a reference to the leading article in *L'Assemblée nationale* No. 23, January 25, 1850.—*Ed.*

election in the Gard *département*,[210] the centre of royalism and of the "white terror" of 1815, where a red was elected.[a] The petty bourgeoisie, oppressed by big capital, which has once more adopted exactly the same position in commerce and politics as under Louis Philippe, has followed the rural population. The turnabout is so marked that even the traitor Marrast and the grocers' journal, the *Siècle*, have had to declare themselves socialists. The position of the various classes in relation to one another, for which the mutual relationships of the political parties are only another expression, is again almost exactly the same as on February 22, 1848. Except that other matters are now at stake, that the workers are much more conscious, and that in particular a class hitherto dead politically, the peasantry, has been dragged into the movement and won for the revolution.

In this lies the necessity for the ruling bourgeoisie of trying to abolish universal franchise as rapidly as possible; and in this necessity lies in turn the certainty of impending victory for the revolution even disregarding external circumstances.

The tension of the situation in general is revealed by the comical bill proposed by people's representative Pradié,[b] who attempts in approximately 200 clauses to prevent coups d'état and revolutions by a decree of the National Assembly. And the vast lack of confidence felt by high finance for the "order" now apparently restored here and in other capitals can be seen in the fact that a few months ago the various branches of the house of Rothschild only prolonged their deeds of partnership for *one year*—a period of unprecedented brevity in the annals of large-scale commerce.

While the Continent has been occupying itself for the past two years with revolutions, counter-revolutions and the floods of rhetoric inseparable from these, industrial *England* has been dealing in a quite different article: prosperity. Here the commercial crisis which broke out in due course[c] in the autumn of 1845 was interrupted twice—at the beginning of 1846 by the Free Trade decisions of Parliament,[211] and at the beginning of 1848 by the February Revolution. A quantity of commodities depressing overseas markets had in the meantime gradually found outlets. The February Revolution eliminated competition from continental industry precisely in these markets, while English industry did not lose much more because of the disturbed continental market than it would have done

[a] Favand.—*Ed.*

[b] The bill was submitted to the Legislative Assembly on January 12 and 19, 1850.—*Ed.*

[c] The words "in due course" are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

anyway in the further development of the crisis. In this way the February Revolution, momentarily bringing continental industry to an almost complete standstill, helped the English to weather a year of crisis in a quite tolerable fashion, contributed substantially to clearing away the piled-up stocks of goods in the overseas markets, and made a new industrial upswing possible in the spring of 1849. This upswing, which incidentally extended to a great part of continental industry, has reached such a level in the last three months that the manufacturers are claiming that they have never experienced such good times before—a claim always made on the eve of a crisis. The factories are overloaded with orders and are working at an accelerated rate; every means is being sought to dodge the Ten Hours' Bill[a] and gain new hours of labour; new factories are being built in great numbers in all parts of the industrial regions, and the old ones are being extended. Cash is pouring into the market, idle capital wants to take advantage of the occasion of universal profit; speculation is brimming over with discount-dealing, which is throwing itself into production[b] or into the raw materials trade, and almost all articles show an absolute and all a relative rise in price. In short, England is blessed with "prosperity" in its most splendid bloom, and the only question is how long this intoxication will last. Not very long, at all events. Several of the largest markets, East India in particular, are already almost glutted; export is already less favourable to the really great markets than to the emporia of world trade, from which the commodities may be directed to the most favourable markets. Soon the markets still left, particularly those of North and South America and Australia, will be similarly glutted, given the colossal forces of production which English industry added to those it already had between 1843 and 1845, in 1846 and 1847, and especially in 1849, and which are still being daily added to. And with the first reports of this glut, panic[c] will break out simultaneously in speculation and production—perhaps as soon as towards the end of spring, in July or August at the latest. This crisis, however, since it is bound to coincide with great collisions on the Continent, will bring forth results quite different from those of all previous crises. Whereas every crisis hitherto has been the signal for a new advance,

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[a] See this volume, pp. 273-74 and 296-98.—*Ed.*

[b] In the copy of the journal with Engels' corrections the passage "speculation is brimming over with discount-dealing, which is throwing itself into production" is changed and reads thus: "discount is falling, speculation is throwing itself into production".—*Ed.*

[c] This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

a new victory of the industrial bourgeoisie over landed property and the finance bourgeoisie, this crisis will mark the beginning of the modern English revolution, a revolution in which Cobden will assume the role of a Necker.

And now we come to *America.* The most important thing to have occurred here, more important even than the February Revolution, is the discovery of the Californian gold-mines. Already now, after barely eighteen months, one may predict that this discovery will have much more impressive consequences than the discovery of America itself. For three hundred and thirty years the whole of Europe's trade with the Pacific Ocean has been carried with the most moving patience around the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn. All proposals for cutting through the Isthmus of Panama have come to grief because of the petty jealousies of the trading nations. It is a mere eighteen months since the Californian gold-mines were discovered, and the Yankees have already started work on a railway, a large highway and a canal from the Gulf of Mexico, steamships are already making regular trips from New York to Chagres and from Panama to San Francisco, the Pacific trade is already becoming concentrated on Panama and the route around Cape Horn is obsolete. A coast thirty degrees of latitude in length, one of the most beautiful and fertile in the world, hitherto as good as uninhabited, is visibly being transformed into a rich and civilised country, densely populated by people of all races, from Yankee to Chinaman, from Negro to Indian and Malay, from Creole and Mestizo to European. Rivers of Californian gold are pouring over America and the Asiatic coast of the Pacific Ocean, and dragging the most reluctant barbarian nations into world trade, into civilisation. For the second time world trade is taking a new direction. The role played by Tyre, Carthage and Alexandria in antiquity, and Genoa and Venice in the Middle Ages, the role of London and Liverpool until now—that of the emporia of world trade—is now being assumed by New York and San Francisco, San Juan de Nicaragua[a] and Leon, Chagres and Panama. The centre of gravity of world commerce, Italy in the Middle Ages, England in modern times, is now the southern half of the North American peninsula. The industry and trade of old Europe will have to make huge exertions if they are not to fall into the same decay as the industry and trade of Italy since the sixteenth century, if England and France are not to become what Venice, Genoa and Holland are today. In a few years we shall have a regular steam-packet service from England to Chagres and from Chagres and San Francisco to

[a] San Juan del Norte (Greytown).—*Ed.*

Sydney, Canton and Singapore. Thanks to Californian gold and the tireless energy of the Yankees, both coasts of the Pacific Ocean will soon be as populous, as open to trade and as industrialised as the coast from Boston to New Orleans is now. And then the Pacific Ocean will have the same role as the Atlantic has now and the Mediterranean had in antiquity and in the Middle Ages—that of the great water highway of world commerce; and the Atlantic will decline to the status of an inland sea, like the Mediterranean nowadays. The only chance the civilised nations of Europe have, not to fall into the same industrial, commercial and political dependence to which Italy, Spain and Portugal are now reduced, lies in a social revolution which, so long as there is still time, will revolutionise the mode of production and commerce in accordance with the needs of production themselves as they emerge from the modern forces of production, thus making possible the creation of new forces of production, which can ensure the superiority of European industry and so compensate for the disadvantages of its geographical position.

And finally, another characteristic curiosity from China, which the well-known German missionary Gützlaff has brought back with him.[212] The slowly but steadily growing over-population in this country had long made social conditions there particularly oppressive for the great majority of the nation. Then came the English and extorted free trade for themselves in five ports.[213] Thousands of English and American ships sailed to China and before long the country was glutted with inexpensive British and American industrial manufactures. Chinese industry, dependent on manual labour, succumbed to competition from the machine. The imperturbable Middle Kingdom was aroused by a social crisis. The taxes no longer came in, the state reached the brink of bankruptcy, the population sank *en masse* into pauperism, erupted in revolts, refused to acknowledge the mandarins of the Emperor or the priests of Fó, mishandled and killed them. The country reached the brink of ruin and is already threatened with a mighty revolution. But worse was to come. Among the rebellious plebs individuals appeared who pointed to the poverty of some and to the wealth of others, and who demanded, and are still demanding a different distribution of property, and even the complete abolition of private property.[214] When Herr Gützlaff came among civilised people and Europeans again after an absence of twenty years, he heard talk of socialism and asked what this might be. When it had been explained to him he cried out in horror:

"Shall I then nowhere escape this pernicious doctrine? For some time now many of the mob have been preaching exactly the same thing in China!"

Now Chinese socialism may admittedly be the same in relation to European socialism as Chinese philosophy in relation to Hegelian philosophy. Nevertheless, it is a gratifying fact that in eight years the calico bales of the English bourgeoisie have brought the oldest and least perturbable kingdom on earth to the eve of a social upheaval, which, in any event, is bound to have the most significant results for civilisation. When our European reactionaries, on their presently impending flight through Asia, finally come to the Great Wall of China, to the gates leading to the stronghold of arch-reaction and arch-conservatism, who knows if they may not read the following inscription upon them:

RÉPUBLIQUE CHINOISE
LIBERTÉ, EGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ

London, January 31, 1850

* * *

The wishes of the Prussian bourgeoisie have been fulfilled: the "man of honour" has confirmed the constitution with his oath on condition that "it be made possible" for him "to govern with this constitution".[a] And in the few days which have passed since February 6 the bourgeois gentlemen in the Chambers have already granted this wish in full. Before February 6 they said: "We must make concessions, only to get the constitution sworn to; once the oath is taken we can behave quite differently." After February 6 they say: "The constitution has been confirmed by oath, we have every conceivable guarantee; we can therefore make concessions in all tranquillity." They grant eighteen million for armaments, for the mobilisation of 500,000 men against an as yet unknown enemy, without any discussion, without any opposition, almost unanimously; the budget is voted through in four days, all the government's proposals pass through the Chambers in the twinkling of an eye. It is evident that the German bourgeoisie still lacks neither cowardice nor excuses for this cowardice.

Thanks to this benevolent Chamber the King of Prussia has had enough opportunities to realise the advantages the constitutional system offers over the absolutist one and indeed for the rulers as well as for those they rule. If we think back to the financial straits of 1842-48, to the vain attempts at getting credit from the *See-*

[a] Frederick William IV swore to the constitution on February 6, 1850.—*Ed.*

*handlung* and the Bank, to Rothschild's refusals, to the loan refused by the United Diet, to the depletion of the state treasury and the public coffers, and if we compare with all this the financial abundance of 1850—three budgets with a deficit of seventy million covered by a grant of the Chambers, loan certificates, treasury bonds placed in mass circulation, the state on better terms with the Bank than it ever was with the *Seehandlung*, and on top of all this another thirty-four million of granted loans in reserve—what a contrast!

According to the statements of the Minister of War the Prussian Government thus considers eventualities likely which could force it to mobilise its whole army, in the interests of European "order and tranquillity".[a] With this declaration Prussia has proclaimed its renewed entry into the Holy Alliance loudly and clearly enough. The identity of the enemy who is to be the target of the new crusade is clear. The centre of anarchy and insurrection, the Gallic Babylon, is to be wiped out. Whether France will be attacked directly, or whether this will be preceded by diversions against Switzerland and Turkey, will often depend solely[b] on developments in Paris. In any case the Prussian Government now has the means to raise its 180,000 soldiers to 500,000 within two months; 400,000 Russians are deployed in Poland, Volhynia and Bessarabia; Austria has at least 650,000 men standing in readiness. Merely to feed these colossal armed forces Russia and Austria will have to begin a war of invasion before this year is out. And as regards the initial direction of this invasion a remarkable document has just been made public.

In one of its most recent issues the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung* communicates to its readers a memorandum alleged to have been written by the Austrian General Schönhals, which contains a complete plan for the invasion of Switzerland.[c] The main points of this plan are as follows:

Prussia brings around 60,000 men together on the Main, near the railways; a corps of men from Hesse, Bavaria and Württemberg is concentrated partly at Rottweil and Tuttlingen, partly at Kempten and Memmingen. Austria draws up 50,000 troops in Vorarlberg and in the direction of Innsbruck and forms a second corps in Italy between Sesto-Calende and Lecco. In the meantime Switzerland will be held off with diplomatic negotiations. Once the moment for attack arrives, the Prussians will rush to

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[a] From the Minister of War K. Adolf Strotha's speech in the Prussian National Assembly on February 12, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] In the copy of the journal with Engels' corrections the words *oft nur* (often solely) have been replaced with *fast nur* (almost solely).— *Ed.*

[c] "Ein Invasionsprojekt", *Schweizerische National-Zeitung* No. 44, February 21, 1850.— *Ed.*

Lörrach by rail, and the small contingents to Donaueschingen. The Austrians will concentrate more closely at Bregenz and Feldkirch, and the Italian army at Como and Lecco. One brigade remains at Varese threatening Bellinzona. The envoys deliver the ultimatum and leave. Operations commence. The principal pretext is that of restoring the Federal Constitution of 1814 and the freedom of the Sonderbund cantons. The attack itself is a concentric one against Lucerne. The Prussians press towards the Aare by way of Basle, and the Austrians towards the Limmat by way of St. Gallen and Zurich. The former deploy from Solothurn to Zurzach, and the latter from Zurzach through Zurich to Uznach. At the same time a detachment of 15,000 Austrians advances against the Splügen Pass by way of Chur and links up with the Italian corps, whereupon both press forward through the Vorderrhein valley to the St. Gotthard Pass where they will once again link up with the corps from Varese and Bellinzona, and raise an insurrection in the *Ur*-cantons. Meanwhile these will have been cut off from Western Switzerland and the sheep separated from the goats by the advance of the main armies, which will be joined by the smaller contingents via Schaffhausen, and by the conquest of Lucerne. At the same time France, which by the "secret treaty of January 30" is obliged to provide 60,000 men in Lyons and Colmar, occupies Geneva and the Jura under the same pretext as it occupied Rome. Berne will thus have become impossible to defend and the "revolutionary" government will be forced either to capitulate immediately or to starve to death with its troops in the Bernese High Alps.

One can see that the project is not at all bad. It takes the nature of the terrain into account, as it should; it suggests capturing first of all the flatter and more fertile Northern Switzerland, and forcing the only serious position in Northern Switzerland, that behind the Aare and the Limmat, with united main forces. It has the advantage of cutting off the Swiss army from its granary and leaving it, to begin with, only the more difficult mountain terrain. Thus the project can be put into action as early as the beginning of spring, and the earlier it is executed the more difficult will be the situation of the Swiss pressed back into the mountains.

On the basis of purely internal evidence it is difficult to decide whether the document has been published against the will of its authors or whether it has been deliberately composed to be manoeuvred into the hands of a Swiss paper for publication. In the latter case, it could only have the purpose of making the Swiss exhaust their finances with a rapid and large-scale call-up of their troops, and making them show themselves more and more submissive towards the Holy Alliance, as well as of misleading public opinion in general about the intentions of the Allies. The sabre-rattling now taking place, with the war preparations of Russia and Prussia and the war plans against Switzerland, seems to support this interpretation. As does also a sentence in the memorandum itself, in which the greatest speed is recommended in all operations so that the largest possible area may be conquered before the contingents have been withdrawn from it into concentrations and marched

off. On the other hand, just as much internal evidence speaks for the genuineness of the memorandum as being an invasion plan against Switzerland which has really been put forward.

This much is certain: the Holy Alliance will march before the year is out, be it against Switzerland or Turkey to begin with, or directly against France, and in both cases the Federal Council should put its house in order. Whether the Holy Alliance or the revolution arrives first in Berne, the Council will itself have brought about its fall because of its cowardly neutrality. The counter-revolution cannot be satisfied with its concessions, since its origin is more or less revolutionary; the revolution cannot for an instant tolerate such a treacherous and cowardly government in the heart of Europe in the midst of the three nations most intimately involved in the movement. The behaviour of the Swiss Federal Council provides the most striking and it is to be hoped the last example of what the alleged "independence" and "autonomy" of small nations sandwiched between the great nations of today really mean.

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# Frederick Engels

## THE TEN HOURS' QUESTION [215]

It has generally been the habit of the champions of the working classes to meet the argument of the free-trading middle classes, of what is called the "Manchester School",[216] by mere indignant comments upon the immoral and impudently-selfish character of their doctrines. The working man, ground down to the dust, trodden upon, physically ruined and mentally exhausted by a haughty class of money-loving mill-lords, the working man, certainly, would deserve his fate if he did not feel his blood mount into his cheeks upon being very coolly told that he is doomed for ever to serve as a piece of machinery, to be used and misused as it suits his lord, for the greater glory and the more rapid accumulation of capital; and that it is under this condition only that the "ascendancy of his country" and the existence of the working class itself can be made to continue. Were it not for this feeling of passionate, revolutionary indignation, there would be no hope for proletarian emancipation. But it is one thing to keep up the manly spirit of opposition among the working people, and another to meet their enemies in public debate. And here mere indignation, the mere outburst of a violent feeling, though ever so justified, will not do. It is argument which is required. And there is no doubt but that even in cool argumentative discussion, that even on their own favourite field of political economy, the free-trading school will easily be beaten by the supporters of the working men's interest.

As to the barefaced impudence with which the free-trading manufacturers declare the existence of modern society dependent upon their continuing to heap up wealth from the blood and sinews of the working people, we will say only one word. At all periods of history the vast majority of the people have been, in some shape or

another, mere instruments for enriching the privileged few. In all past times, however, this bloodsucking system was carried on under the cover of various moral, religious, and political pretexts; priests, philosophers, lawyers, and statesmen told the people that they were handed over to misery and starvation for their own good, and because it was God's ordinance. Now, on the contrary, the free-traders boldly declare—"You, working men, are slaves, and shall remain slaves, because only by your slavery can we increase our wealth and comforts; because we, the ruling class of this country, cannot continue to rule without you being slaves." Now, then, the mystery of oppression has, at last, come out; now, at last, thanks to the free-traders, the people can clearly perceive their position; now, at last, the question is fairly, unmistakeably put—*Either we, or you!* And therefore, just as before the false friend we prefer the open foe, so to the canting philanthropic aristocrat we prefer the brazenfaced free-trader, before Lord Ashley we prefer Quaker Bright.

The Ten Hours' Bill was carried after a long and violent struggle, which had gone on for forty years in parliament, on the platform, in the press, and in every factory and workshop in the manufacturing districts. On the one side the most heart-rending pictures were produced, of children stunted in their growth and murdered; of women torn from their homes and little ones; of entire generations infected with lingering disease; of human life sacrificed by wholesale, and human happiness destroyed upon a national scale; and all this to enrich a few already over-rich individuals. And there was no fiction about it; all of it was fact, stubborn fact. Yet no one dared to ask that this infamous system should be done away with; it was only asked to limit it in some degree. On the other side came forward the cool, heartless, political economist, the paid servant of those who fattened upon this system, and proved by a series of conclusions, as undeniable and as stringent as the rule of three, that, under penalty of "ruining the country", there was no means of interfering in any way with this system.

It must be confessed, the advocates of the factory-workers never could confound, and even very seldom dared to grapple with the argument of the political economists. The reason is that under the present social system, as long as capital is in the hands of the few, to whom the many are obliged to sell their labour, these arguments are as many facts—facts as undeniable as those brought forth by their opponents. Yes, under the present social system, England, with all classes of her population, is entirely dependent upon the prosperity of her manufactures; and that prosperity, under the present system, is entirely dependent upon the most unlimited freedom of buying

and selling, and of turning to the greatest possible profit all the resources of the country.

Yes, the only means to keep up anything like this manufacturing prosperity, upon which now the very existence of the empire depends, is, under the present system, to produce more every year at less expense. And how produce more at less expense? First, by making the instrument of production—the machine and the working man—work more this year than last; secondly, by superseding the hitherto usual method of production by a new and more perfect one, that is to say, superseding men by improved machinery; thirdly, by reducing the cost of the working man, in reducing the cost of his sustenance (free trade in corn, etc.), or in merely reducing his wages to the lowest possible level. Thus, in all cases, the working man is the loser—thus, England can only be saved by the ruin of her working people! Such is the position—these are the necessities, to which the progress of machinery, the accumulation of capital, and consequent home and foreign competition, have reduced England.

Thus the Ten Hours' Bill, considered in itself, and as a final measure, was decidedly a false step, an impolitic, and even reactionary measure, and which bore within itself the germ of its own destruction. On the one hand it did not destroy the present social system, and on the other it did not favour its development. Instead of forcing the system onwards to its utmost limits, to a point where the ruling class would find all their resources exhausted, to that point where the dominion of another class—where a social revolution would become necessary—instead of that, the Ten Hours' Bill was intended to screw back society to a state superseded, long ago, by the present system. This becomes quite evident, if we only look at the parties who forced the bill through parliament against the opposing free-traders. Was it the working classes, whose agitated state, whose threatening demeanour, carried it? Certainly not. Had it been so, the working people might have carried the Charter[217] many a year ago. Besides, the men who, among the working classes, took the lead in the short-time movement, were anything but threatening and revolutionary characters. They were mostly moderate, respectable, church-and-king men. They kept aloof from Chartism, and inclined mostly towards some sort of sentimental Toryism. They never inspired dread to any government. The Ten Hours' Bill was carried by the *reactionary* opponents of free trade, by the allied landed, funded, colonial and shipping interest; by the combined aristocracy and those portions of the bourgeoisie who themselves dreaded the ascendancy of the free-trading manufacturers. Did they carry it from

any sympathy with the people? Not they. They lived, and live, upon the spoils of the people. They are quite as bad, though less barefaced and more sentimental, than the manufacturers. But they would not be superseded by them, and thus, from hatred towards them, they passed this law which should secure to themselves popular sympathy, and, at the same time, arrest the rapid growth of the manufacturers' social and political power. The passing of the Ten Hours' Bill proved not that the working classes were strong, it proved only that the manufacturers were not yet strong enough to do as they liked.

Since then, the manufacturers have virtually secured their ascendancy, by forcing free trade in corn, and in navigation, through parliament. The landed and the shipping interests have been sacrificed to their rising star. The stronger they grew, the more they felt the fetters imposed upon them by the Ten Hours' Bill. They openly set it at defiance; they re-introduced the relay system [218]; they forced the Home Secretary to issue circulars,[a] by which the factory inspectors were ordered not to notice this breach of the law; and when, at last, the growing demand for their produce made the remonstrances of some troublesome inspectors insupportable, they brought the question before the Court of Exchequer, which, by one single judgment, destroyed, to the last vestige, the Ten Hours' Bill.[219]

Thus the fruit of forty years' agitation has in one day been annihilated by the rising strength of the manufacturers, aided by one single flush of "prosperity" and "growing demand"; and the judges of England have proved that they, not less than parsons, attorneys, statesmen, and political economists, are but the paid servants of the ruling class, be it the class of landlords, of fund-lords, or of mill-lords.

Are we, then, opposed to the Ten Hours' Bill? Do we want that horrible system of making money out of the marrow and blood of women and children to continue? Certainly not. We are so little opposed to it, that we are of opinion that the working classes, the very first day they get political power, will have to pass far more stringent measures against over-working women and children than a Ten Hours', or even an Eight Hours' Bill. But we contend that the bill, as passed in 1847, was passed not by the working classes, but by their momentary allies, the reactionary classes of society, and followed, as it was, by not a single other measure to fundamentally alter the relations between Capital and Labour, was an ill-timed, untenable and even reactionary measure.

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[a] An allusion to the circular issued by the Home Secretary George Grey on August 5, 1848.— *Ed.*

But if the Ten Hours' Bill be lost, yet the working classes will be the gainers in this case. Let them allow the factory-lords a few moments of exultation, in the end it will be they who will exult, and the factory-lords who will lament. For—

Firstly. The time and exertions spent in agitating so many years for the Ten Hours' Bill is not lost, although its immediate end be defeated. The working classes, in this agitation, found a mighty means to get acquainted with each other, to come to a knowledge of their social position and interests, to organise themselves and to know their strength. The working man, who has passed through such an agitation, is no longer the same he was before; and the whole working class, after passing through it, is a hundred times stronger, more enlightened, and better organised than it was at the outset. It *was* an agglomeration of mere units, without any knowledge of each other, without any common tie; and now it is a powerful body, conscious of its strength, recognised as the "Fourth Estate", and which will soon be the *first.*

Secondly. The working classes will have learned by experience that *no lasting benefit whatever can be obtained for them by others, but that they must obtain it themselves by conquering, first of all, political power.* They must see now that *under no circumstances have they any guarantee for bettering their social position unless by Universal Suffrage,* which would enable them to seat a *Majority of Working Men* in the House of Commons. And thus the destruction of the Ten Hours' Bill will be an enormous benefit for the Democratic movement.

Thirdly. The virtual repeal of the act of 1847 will force the manufacturers into such a rush at overtrading that revulsions upon revulsions will follow, so that very soon all the expedients and resources of the present system will be exhausted, and a *revolution* made inevitable, which, uprooting society far deeper than 1793 and 1848 ever did, will speedily lead to the political and social ascendancy of the proletarians. We have already seen how the present social system is dependent upon the ascendancy of the manufacturing capitalists, and how this ascendancy is dependent upon the possibility of always extending production and, at the same time, reducing its cost. But this extended production has a certain limit: it cannot outdo the existing markets. If it does, a revulsion follows, with its consequent ruin, bankruptcy, and misery. We have had many of these revulsions, happily overcome hitherto by the opening of new markets (China in 1842), or the better exploring of old ones, by reducing the cost of production (as by free trade in corn). But there is a limit to this, too. There are no new markets to be opened now; and there is only one means left to reduce wages,

namely, radical financial reform and reduction of the taxes by *repudiation of the national debt.* And if the free-trading mill-lords have not the courage to go the length of that, or if this temporary expedient be once exploded, too, why, they will die of repletion. It is evident that, with no chance of further extending markets, under a system which is obliged to extend production every day, there is *an end to mill-lord ascendancy.* And *what next?* "Universal ruin and chaos," say the free-traders. *Social revolution and proletarian ascendancy, say we.*

Working men of England! If you, your wives, and children are again to be locked up in the "rattle-boxes" for thirteen hours a-day, do not despair. This is a cup which, though bitter, must be drunk. The sooner you get over it the better. Your proud masters, be assured, have dug their own graves in obtaining what they call a victory over you. The virtual repeal of the Ten Hours' Bill is an event which will materially hasten the approaching hour of your delivery. Your brethren, the French and German working men, never were satisfied with Ten Hours' Bills. They wanted to be *entirely freed from the tyranny of Capital.* And you—who have, in machinery, in skill, and in comparative numbers, far more materials at hand to work out your own salvation, and to produce enough for all of you—*surely you will not be satisfied to be paid off with a small instalment.* Ask, then, no longer for "Protection for Labour", but boldly and at once struggle for *that political and social ascendancy of the proletarian class which will enable you to protect your labour yourselves.*

Written between February 8 and 20, 1850

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Signed: *F. E.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## ADDRESS OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO THE LEAGUE[220]
March 1850

### THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO THE LEAGUE

Brothers!

In the two revolutionary years 1848-49 the League proved itself in double fashion: first, in that its members energetically took part in the movement in all places, that in the press, on the barricades and on the battlefields, they stood in the front ranks of the only resolutely revolutionary class, the proletariat. The League further proved itself in that its conception of the movement as laid down in the circulars of the congresses and of the Central Authority of 1847 as well as in the *Communist Manifesto*[a] turned out to be the only correct one, that the expectations expressed in those documents were completely fulfilled and the conception of present-day social conditions, previously propagated only in secret by the League, is now on everyone's lips and is openly preached in the market places. At the same time the former firm organisation of the League was considerably slackened. A large part of the members who directly participated in the revolutionary movement believed the time for secret societies to have gone by and open activities alone to be sufficient. The individual districts and communities allowed their connections with the Central Authority to become loose and gradually dormant. Consequently, while the democratic party, the party of the petty bourgeoisie, organised itself more and more in Germany, the workers' party lost its only firm foothold, remained organised at the most in separate localities for local purposes and in the general movement thus came completely under the domination and leadership of the petty-bourgeois democrats. An end must be put to this state of affairs, the independence of the workers must be

[a] See present edition, Vol. 6.—*Ed.*

restored. The Central Authority realised this necessity and therefore as early as the winter of 1848-49 it sent an emissary, Joseph Moll, to Germany to reorganise the League. Moll's mission, however, was without lasting effect, partly because the German workers at that time had not yet acquired sufficient experience and partly because it was interrupted by the insurrection in May last year. Moll himself took up the musket, joined the Baden-Palatinate army and fell on June 29[a] in the encounter on the Murg. The League lost in him one of its oldest, most active and most trustworthy members, one who had been active in all the congresses and Central Authorities and even prior to this had carried out a series of missions with great success. After the defeat of the revolutionary parties of Germany and France in July 1849, almost all the members of the Central Authority came together again in London, replenished their numbers with new revolutionary forces and set about the reorganisation of the League with renewed zeal.

The reorganisation can only be carried out by an emissary, and the Central Authority considers it extremely important that the emissary[b] should leave precisely at this moment when a new revolution is impending, when the workers' party, therefore, must act in the most organised, most unanimous and most independent fashion possible if it is not again to be exploited and taken in tow by the bourgeoisie as in 1848.

Brothers! We told you as early as 1848 that the German liberal bourgeois would soon come to power and would immediately turn their newly acquired power against the workers. You have seen how this has been fulfilled. In fact, it was the bourgeois who, immediately after the March movement of 1848, took possession of the state power and used this power in order at once to force the workers, their allies in the struggle, back into their former oppressed position. Though the bourgeoisie was not able to accomplish this without uniting with the feudal party, which had been ousted in March, without finally even relinquishing power once again to this feudal absolutist party, still it has secured conditions for itself which, in the long run, owing to the financial embarrassment of the government, would place power in its hands and would safeguard all its interests, if it were possible that the revolutionary movement would already now assume a so-called peaceful development. To safeguard its rule the bourgeoisie would not even need to make itself obnoxious by

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[a] The 1885 edition inaccurately gives July 19 as the date of Moll's death (see more about it on pp. 228-29 of this volume).— *Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Bauer.— *Ed.*

violent measures against the people, since all these violent steps have already been taken by the feudal counter-revolution. Developments, however, will not take this peaceful course. On the contrary, the revolution, which will accelerate these developments, is near at hand, whether it will be called forth by an independent uprising of the French proletariat or by an invasion of the Holy Alliance against the revolutionary Babylon.

And the role which the German liberal bourgeois played in 1848 against the people, this so treacherous role will be taken over in the impending revolution by the democratic petty bourgeois, who at present take the same attitude in the opposition as the liberal bourgeois before 1848. This party, the democratic party, which is far more dangerous to the workers than the previous liberal party, consists of three elements:

I. The most advanced sections of the big bourgeoisie, which pursue the aim of the immediate and complete overthrow of feudalism and absolutism. This faction is represented by the one-time Berlin agreers, the tax resisters.[221]

II. The democratic-constitutional petty bourgeois, whose main aim during the previous movement was the establishment of a more or less democratic federal state as striven for by their representatives, the Lefts in the Frankfurt Assembly, and later by the Stuttgart parliament,[222] and by themselves in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution.

III. The republican petty bourgeois, whose ideal is a German federative republic after the manner of Switzerland, and who now call themselves red and social-democratic because they cherish the pious wish of abolishing the pressure of big capital on small capital, of the big bourgeois on the petty bourgeois. The representatives of this faction were the members of the democratic congresses and committees, the leaders of the democratic associations, the editors of the democratic newspapers.

Now, after their defeat, all these factions call themselves republicans or reds, just as the republican petty bourgeois in France now call themselves socialists. Where, as in Württemberg, Bavaria, etc., they still find opportunity to pursue their aims constitutionally, they seize the occasion to retain their old phrases and to prove by deeds that they have not changed in the least. It is evident, incidentally, that the altered name of this party does not make the slightest difference to its attitude to the workers, but merely proves that it is now obliged to turn against the bourgeoisie, which is united with absolutism, and to seek the support of the proletariat.

The petty-bourgeois democratic party in Germany is very

powerful; it comprises not only the great majority of the burgher inhabitants of the towns, the small people in industry and trade and the master craftsmen; it numbers among its followers also the peasants and the rural proletariat, insofar as the latter has not yet found a support in the independent urban proletariat.

The relation of the revolutionary workers' party to the petty-bourgeois democrats is this: it marches together with them against the faction which it aims at overthrowing, it opposes them in everything by which they seek to consolidate their position in their own interests.

Far from desiring to transform the whole of society for the revolutionary proletarians, the democratic petty bourgeois strive for a change in social conditions by means of which the existing society will be made as tolerable and comfortable as possible for them. Hence they demand above all a diminution of state expenditure by curtailing the bureaucracy and shifting the bulk of the taxes on to the big landowners and bourgeois. Further, they demand the abolition of the pressure of big capital on small, through public credit institutions and laws against usury, by which means it will be possible for them and the peasants to obtain advances on favourable conditions from the state instead of from the capitalists; they also demand the establishment of bourgeois property relations in the countryside by the complete abolition of feudalism. To accomplish all this they need a democratic state structure, either constitutional or republican, that will give them and their allies, the peasants, a majority; also a democratic communal structure that will give them direct control over communal property, and a number of functions now performed by the bureaucrats.

The domination and speedy increase of capital is further to be counteracted partly by restricting the right of inheritance and partly by transferring as many jobs of work as possible to the state. As far as the workers are concerned, it is certain above all that they are to remain wage-workers as before; the democratic petty bourgeois only desire better wages and a more secure existence for the workers and hope to achieve this through partial employment by the state and through charity measures; in short, they hope to bribe the workers by more or less concealed alms and to sap their revolutionary vigour by making their position tolerable for the moment. The demands of the petty-bourgeois democrats here summarised are not put forward by all of their factions and only very few of their members consider these demands in their aggregate as a definite aim. The further individual people or factions among them go, the more of these demands will they make their own, and those few who see their own

programme in what has been outlined above would believe that thereby they have put forward the utmost that can be demanded from the revolution. But these demands can in no wise suffice for the party of the proletariat. While the democratic petty bourgeois wish to bring the revolution to a conclusion as quickly as possible, and with the achievement, at most, of the above demands, it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, the proletariat has conquered state power, and the association of proletarians, not only in one country but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians in these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians. For us the issue cannot be the alteration of private property but only its annihilation, not the smoothing over of class antagonisms but the abolition of classes, not the improvement of the existing society but the foundation of a new one. That, during the further development of the revolution, petty-bourgeois democracy will for a moment obtain predominating influence in Germany is not open to doubt. The question, therefore, is what the attitude of the proletariat and in particular of the League will be in relation to it:

1. during the continuance of the present relations, under which the petty-bourgeois democrats are likewise oppressed;
2. in the next revolutionary struggle, which will give them the upper hand;
3. after this struggle, during the period of preponderance over the overthrown classes and the proletariat.

1. At the present moment, when the democratic petty bourgeois are everywhere oppressed, they preach in general unity and reconciliation to the proletariat, they offer it their hand and strive for the establishment of a large opposition party which will embrace all shades of opinion in the democratic party, that is, they strive to entangle the workers in a party organisation in which general social-democratic phrases predominate, and serve to conceal their special interests, and in which the definite demands of the proletariat must not be brought forward for the sake of beloved peace. Such a union would turn out solely to their advantage and altogether to the disadvantage of the proletariat. The proletariat would lose its whole independent, laboriously achieved position and once more be reduced to an appendage of official bourgeois democracy. This union must, therefore, be most decisively rejected. Instead of once again stooping to serve as the applauding chorus of the bourgeois

democrats, the workers, and above all the League, must exert themselves to establish an independent secret and public organisation of the workers' party alongside the official democrats and make each community the central point and nucleus of workers' associations in which the attitude and interests of the proletariat will be discussed independently of bourgeois influences. How far the bourgeois democrats are from seriously considering an alliance in which the proletarians would stand side by side with them with equal power and equal rights is shown, for example, by the Breslau democrats who, in their organ, the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, most furiously attack the independently organised workers, whom they style socialists. In the case of a struggle against a common adversary no special union is required. As soon as such an adversary has to be fought directly, the interests of both parties, for the moment, coincide, and, as previously so also in the future, this alliance, calculated to last only for the moment, will come about of itself. It is self-evident that in the impending bloody conflicts, as in all earlier ones, it is the workers who, in the main, will have to win the victory by their courage, determination and self-sacrifice. As previously so also in this struggle, the mass of the petty bourgeois will as long as possible remain hesitant, undecided and inactive, and then, as soon as the issue has been decided, will seize the victory for themselves, will call upon the workers to maintain tranquillity and return to their work, will guard against so-called excesses and bar the proletariat from the fruits of victory. It is not in the power of the workers to prevent the petty-bourgeois democrats from doing this, but it is in their power to make it difficult for them to gain the upper hand as against the armed proletariat, and to dictate such conditions to them that the rule of the bourgeois democrats will from the outset bear within it the seeds of its downfall, and that its subsequent extrusion by the rule of the proletariat will be considerably facilitated. Above all things, the workers must counteract, as much as is at all possible, during the conflict and immediately after the struggle, the bourgeois endeavours to allay the storm, and must compel the democrats to carry out their present terrorist phrases. They must work to prevent the direct revolutionary excitement from being suppressed again immediately after the victory. On the contrary, they must keep it alive as long as possible. Far from opposing so-called excesses, instances of popular revenge against hated individuals or public buildings that are associated only with hateful recollections, such instances must not only be tolerated but the lead in them must be taken. During the struggle and after the struggle, the workers must, at every opportunity, put forward their own demands alongside the

demands of the bourgeois democrats. They must demand guarantees for the workers as soon as the democratic bourgeois set about taking the government into their hands. If necessary they must wring these guarantees by force and in general they must see to it that the new rulers pledge themselves to all possible concessions and promises—the surest way to compromise them. In general, they must in every way restrain as far as possible the intoxication of victory and the enthusiasm for the new state of things which follows every victorious street battle by a calm and dispassionate assessment of the situation and by unconcealed mistrust in the new government. Alongside the new official governments they must immediately establish their own revolutionary workers' governments, whether in the form of municipal committees and municipal councils or in the form of workers' clubs or workers' committees, so that the bourgeois-democratic governments not only immediately lose the support of the workers but from the outset see themselves supervised and threatened by authorities backed by the whole mass of the workers. In a word, from the first moment of victory, mistrust must be directed no longer against the defeated reactionary party, but against the workers' previous allies, against the party that wishes to exploit the common victory for itself alone.

2. But in order to be able energetically and threateningly to oppose this party, whose treachery to the workers will begin from the first hour of victory, the workers must be armed and organised. The arming of the whole proletariat with rifles, muskets, cannon and ammunition must be carried out at once, the revival of the old civic militia directed against the workers must be resisted. However, where the latter is not feasible the workers must try to organise themselves independently as a proletarian guard with commanders elected by themselves and with a general staff of their own choosing, and to put themselves under the command not of the state authority but of the revolutionary municipal councils set up by the workers. Where workers are employed at the expense of the state they must see that they are armed and organised in a separate corps with commanders of their own choosing or as part of the proletarian guard. Arms and ammunition must not be surrendered on any pretext; any attempt at disarming must be frustrated, if necessary, by force. Destruction of the influence of the bourgeois democrats upon the workers, immediate independent and armed organisation of the workers and the enforcement of conditions as difficult and compromising as possible for the inevitable momentary rule of bourgeois democracy—these are the main points which the prole-

tariat and hence the League must keep in view during and after the impending insurrection.

3. As soon as the new governments have consolidated their positions to some extent, their struggle against the workers will begin. Here in order to be able to offer energetic opposition to the democratic petty bourgeois, it is above all necessary for the workers to be independently organised and centralised in clubs. After the overthrow of the existing governments, the Central Authority will, as soon as at all possible, betake itself to Germany, immediately convene a congress and put before it the necessary proposals for the centralisation of the workers' clubs under a leadership established in the chief seat of the movement. The speedy organisation of at least a provincial association of the workers' clubs is one of the most important points for strengthening and developing the workers' party; the immediate consequence of the overthrow of the existing governments will be the election of a national representative assembly. Here the proletariat must see to it:

I. that no groups of workers are barred on any pretext by any kind of trickery on the part of local authorities or government commissaries;

II. that everywhere workers' candidates are put up alongside the bourgeois-democratic candidates, that they are as far as possible members of the League, and that their election is promoted by all possible means. Even where there is no prospect whatever of their being elected, the workers must put up their own candidates in order to preserve their independence, to count their forces and to lay before the public their revolutionary attitude and party standpoint. In this connection they must not allow themselves to be bribed by such arguments of the democrats as, for example, that by so doing they are splitting the democratic party and giving the reactionaries the possibility of victory. The ultimate purpose of all such phrases is to dupe the proletariat. The advance which the proletarian party is bound to make by such independent action is infinitely more important than the disadvantage that might be incurred by the presence of a few reactionaries in the representative body. If from the outset the democrats come out resolutely and terroristically against the reactionaries, the influence of the latter in the elections will be destroyed in advance.

The first point on which the bourgeois democrats will come into conflict with the workers will be the abolition of feudalism. As in the first French Revolution, the petty bourgeois will give the feudal lands to the peasants as free property, that is to say, try to leave the rural proletariat in existence and form a petty-bourgeois peasant class,

which will go through the same cycle of impoverishment and indebtedness which the French peasant is now still caught in.

The workers must oppose this plan in the interest of the rural proletariat and in their own interest. They must demand that the confiscated feudal property remain state property and be converted into workers' colonies cultivated by the associated rural proletariat with all the advantages of large-scale agriculture, through which the principle of common property immediately obtains a firm basis in the midst of the tottering bourgeois property relations. Just as the democrats combine with the peasants so must the workers combine with the rural proletariat.[223] Further, the democrats will work either directly for a federative republic or, if they cannot avoid a single and indivisible republic, they will at least attempt to cripple the central government by the utinost possible autonomy and independence for the communities and provinces. The workers, in opposition to this plan, must not only strive for a single and indivisible German republic, but also within this republic for the most determined centralisation of power in the hands of the state authority. They must not allow themselves to be misguided by the democratic talk of freedom for the communities, of self-government, etc. In a country like Germany, where there are still so many remnants of the Middle Ages to be abolished, where there is so much local and provincial obstinacy to be broken, it must under no circumstances be permitted that every village, every town and every province should put a new obstacle in the path of revolutionary activity, which can proceed with full force only from the centre.—It is not to be tolerated that the present state of affairs should be renewed, that Germans must fight separately in every town and in every province for one and the same advance. Least of all is it to be tolerated that a form of property which still lags behind modern private property and everywhere is necessarily disintegrating into it—that communal property with the quarrels between poor and rich communities resulting from it, as well as communal civil law, with its trickery against the workers, which exists alongside state civil law, should be perpetuated by a so-called free communal constitution. As in France in 1793 so today in Germany, it is the task of the really revolutionary party to carry through the strictest centralisation.*

* It must be recalled today that this passage is based on a misunderstanding. At that time—thanks to the Bonapartist and liberal falsifiers of history—it was considered as established that the French centralised machine of administration had been introduced by the Great Revolution and in particular that it had been used by the Convention as an indispensable and decisive weapon for defeating the royalist and

We have seen how the democrats will come to power with the next movement, how they will be compelled to propose more or less socialist measures. It will be asked what measures the workers ought to propose in reply. At the beginning of the movement, of course, the workers cannot yet propose any directly communist measures. But they can:

1. Compel the democrats to interfere in as many spheres as possible of the hitherto existing social order, to disturb its regular course and to compromise themselves as well as to concentrate the utmost possible productive forces, means of transport, factories, railways, etc., in the hands of the state.

2. They must carry to the extreme the proposals of the democrats, who in any case will not act in a revolutionary but in a merely reformist manner, and transform them into direct attacks upon private property; thus, for example, if the petty bourgeois propose purchase of the railways and factories, the workers must demand that these railways and factories should be simply confiscated by the state without compensation as being the property of reactionaries. If the democrats propose proportional taxation, the workers must demand progressive taxation; if the democrats themselves put forward a moderately progressive taxation, the workers must insist on a taxation with rates that rise so steeply that big capital will be ruined by it; if the democrats demand the regulation of state debts, the workers must demand state bankruptcy. Thus, the demands of the workers must everywhere be governed by the concessions and measures of the democrats.

If the German workers are not able to attain power and achieve their own class interests without completely going through a lengthy revolutionary development, they at least know for a certainty this time that the first act of this approaching revolutionary drama will

federalist reaction and the external enemy. It is now, however, a well-known fact that throughout the revolution up to the eighteenth Brumaire the whole administration of the *départements, arrondissements* and *communes* consisted of authorities elected by the respective constituents themselves, and that these authorities acted with complete freedom within the general state laws; that precisely this provincial and local self-government, similar to the American, became the most powerful lever of the revolution and indeed to such an extent that Napoleon, immediately after his coup d'état of the eighteenth Brumaire, hastened to replace it by the still existing administration by prefects, which, therefore, was a pure instrument of reaction from the beginning. But no more than local and provincial self-government is in contradiction to political, national centralisation, is it necessarily bound up with that narrow-minded cantonal or communal self-seeking which strikes us as so repulsive in Switzerland, and which all the South German federal republicans wanted to make the rule in Germany in 1849.—*Note by Engels to the 1885 edition.*

coincide with the direct victory of their own class in France and will be very much accelerated by it.

But they themselves must do the utmost for their final victory by making it clear to themselves what their class interests are, by taking up their position as an independent party as soon as possible and by not allowing themselves to be misled for a single moment by the hypocritical phrases of the democratic petty bourgeois into refraining from the independent organisation of the party of the proletariat. Their battle cry must be: The Revolution in Permanence.

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## Frederick Engels

# THE ENGLISH TEN HOURS' BILL[224]

The workers of England have suffered a significant defeat, and from a direction from which they had least expected it. A few weeks ago the Court of Exchequer, one of the four highest courts of law in England, pronounced a judgment by which the main provisions of the Ten Hours' Bill enacted in 1847 are as good as abolished.[225]

The history of the Ten Hours' Bill provides a striking example of the peculiar mode of development of class antagonisms in England and therefore deserves closer investigation.

We know how, with the rise of large-scale industry, there arose a quite new and infinitely callous exploitation of the working class by the factory owners. The new machines rendered the labour of grown men superfluous; their supervision demanded women and children, who were much more suited to this occupation than the men and simultaneously cheaper to employ. Thus industrial exploitation at once took possession of the whole of the worker's family and locked it up in the factory; women and children had to work day and night without a break until they were overcome by utter physical exhaustion. The pauper children of the workhouses[a] became a regular article of trade with the growing demand for children; four-year-olds and even three-year-olds were auctioned off by the score in the form of apprenticeship contracts to the highest bidding manufacturers. The callously brutal exploitation of children and women at that time—an exploitation which did not let up so long as there was a muscle, a sinew or a drop of blood left to extract profit from—still remains a vivid memory for the older generation of English workers, and not a few of them bear this memory in the form

[a] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

Unſer Freund Louis Ménard, Verfaſſer des Buches „Prologue d'une révolution“ hat uns das folgende, gleich nach den Juni-Metzeleien von 1848 geſchriebene Gedicht zur Aufnahme mitgetheilt:

## *Jambes.*

**Quand le jour esperé, le jour inévitable**
**des justes expiations**
**Viendra pour balayer une race coupable**
**au vent des révolutions;**

**Alors, tous les pleureurs qui parlent de clémence,**
**Ceux à qui le bourreau fait peur,**
**Ceux pour qui la justice est colère et vengeance,**
**le crime faiblesse et malheur,**

**Reviendront nous crier que la peine est impie,**
**qu'il faut pardonner, non punir,**
**Et, quand le sang versé veut du sang qui l'expie,**
**on parlera de repentir.**

**Déesse qu'invoquaient les siècles forts et rudes,**
**par qui tout meurtre était vengé,**
**O Sainte Némésis, vois nos décrépitudes,**
**ton glaive en férule est changé**



A page from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* with verses by Louis Ménard. The introduction by Marx and Engels says: "Our friend Louis Ménard, author of the book *Prologue d'une révolution*, has sent us the following verses, which he wrote in the wake of the June 1848 events."

of a crooked spine or a mutilated limb, and they all bear their thoroughly ruined health with them wherever they go. The fate of the slaves in the worst of the American plantations was golden in comparison with that of the English workers in that period.

Very soon measures had to be taken by the state to curb the manufacturers' utterly ruthless frenzy for exploitation, which was trampling all the requirements of civilised society underfoot. These first legal restrictions were, however, extremely inadequate and were soon circumvented. Only half a century after the introduction of large-scale industry, when the stream of industrial development had found a regular course for itself, only in 1833 was it possible to bring in an effective law that to some extent curbed at least the most blatant excesses.

As early as the beginning of this century a party had been formed under the leadership of a number of philanthropists which demanded the legal limitation of labour time in the factories to ten hours. This party, which, under Sadler in the twenties and after his death under the leadership of Lord Ashley and R. Oastler, continued its agitation up to the actual passing of the Ten Hours' Bill, gradually united under its banner, besides the workers themselves, the aristocracy and all the factions of the bourgeoisie hostile to the manufacturers. This association of the workers with the most heterogeneous and reactionary elements of English society made it necessary for the Ten Hours agitation to be pursued quite separately from the revolutionary agitation of the workers. It is true that the Chartists were for the Ten Hours' Bill to the last man; they were the mass, the chorus, in all the Ten Hours meetings; they made their press available to the Ten Hours Committee. But not a single Chartist agitated officially in conjunction with the aristocratic or bourgeois Ten Hours men, or sat on the Short Time Committee[a] in Manchester. This Committee was exclusively composed of workers and factory overseers. But these workers were completely broken, exhausted by work, placid, god-fearing, respectable folk who felt a pious abhorrence towards Chartism and socialism, who held throne and altar in due respect and who, too crushed to hate the industrial bourgeoisie, only retained the capacity for humble veneration of the aristocracy, which at least deigned to interest itself in their misery. The working-class Toryism of these Ten Hours people was the echo of that first opposition of the workers to industrial progress which attempted to restore the old patriarchal situation and whose most

[a] In the original the name of the Committee is given in German (*Zehnstundenkomitee*), and the English term is given in parenthesis.—*Ed.*

energetic manifestations of life did not go beyond the smashing of machines. Just as reactionary as these workers were the bourgeois and aristocratic chiefs of the Ten Hours party. They were without exception sentimental Tories, for the most part romantic ideologues revelling in the memory of vanished, patriarchal forms of hole-and-corner exploitation with their train of religiosity, domesticity, virtue and narrow-mindedness, and with their stable, traditionally inherited ways. One look at the revolutionary maelstrom of industry and their narrow skulls were seized with dizziness. Their petty-bourgeois frame of mind was horrified in the presence of these new forces of production shooting up with magical suddenness, flushing away in a few years the hitherto most venerable, most inviolable, most essential classes of society and replacing them with new, hitherto unknown classes whose interests, whose sympathies and whose whole way of living and thinking stood in contradiction to the institutions of the old English society. These soft-hearted ideologues did not fail to take the field from the standpoint of morality, humanity and compassion against the pitiless harshness and ruthlessness with which this process of upheaval asserted itself, and to oppose to it as their social ideal the stability, the stagnant comfort and moral complacency of dying patriarchalism.

Whenever the Ten Hours question attracted public attention these elements were joined by all sections of society whose interests were suffering and whose existence was being threatened by the industrial upheaval. The bankers, stockjobbers,[a] shipowners and merchants, the landed aristocracy, the big West Indian landowners and the petty bourgeoisie joined forces more and more at such times under the leadership of the Ten Hours agitators.

The Ten Hours' Bill provided splendid terrain for these reactionary classes and factions to combine with the proletariat against the industrial bourgeoisie. While significantly restricting the rapid development of the wealth, the influence, and the social and political power of the manufacturers, it gave the workers merely material, indeed exclusively physical advantages. It protected their health from being too rapidly ruined. But it gave them nothing which could make them dangerous to their reactionary allies; it neither gave them political power nor altered their social position as wage-labourers. On the contrary, the Ten Hours agitation kept the workers still under the influence and partly under the leadership of these propertied allies of theirs, which they had been more and more striving to draw away from since the Reform Bill[226] and the rise of

[a] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

the Chartist agitation. It was quite natural, especially at the start of the industrial upheaval, that the workers, who were in direct conflict only with the industrial bourgeoisie, should ally themselves with the aristocracy and the other factions of the bourgeoisie by whom they were not directly exploited and who were also struggling against the industrial bourgeoisie. But this alliance adulterated the labour movement with a strong reactionary admixture which is only gradually disappearing; it reinforced significantly the reactionary element within the labour movement—those workers whose trade still belongs to manufacture and is thus itself threatened by industrial progress, like for instance the handweavers.

It was thus a piece of good fortune for the workers that in the confused period of 1847, when all the old parliamentary parties were dissolved and the new ones had not yet taken shape, the Ten Hours' Bill was finally passed. It was passed in a series of most confused votes, directed apparently only by chance, in which no party voted compactly and consistently except the decidedly Free Trade manufacturers on the one hand and the fanatically protectionist landowners on the other. It got through as a piece of chicanery that the aristocrats and a faction of the Peelites and the Whigs put over on the manufacturers to avenge themselves for the great victory which these had wrested from them in the repeal of the Corn Laws.[227]

The Ten Hours' Bill not only gave the workers the satisfaction of an indispensable physical need, by protecting their health to some extent from the manufacturers' frenzy for exploitation, it also liberated the workers from their alliance with the sentimental dreamers, from their solidarity with all the reactionary classes of England. The patriarchal drivel of an Oastler, or the moving assurances of sympathy from a Lord Ashley could find no more listeners once the Ten Hours' Bill ceased to provide point to these tirades. Only now did the labour movement concentrate wholly on achieving the political rule of the proletariat as the prime means of transforming the whole of existing society. And here it was faced by the aristocracy and the reactionary factions of the bourgeoisie, only shortly before still the allies of the workers, as so many raging enemies, as so many allies of the industrial bourgeoisie.

Thanks to the industrial revolution, industry, by which England conquered the world market and held it in subjugation, had become the decisive branch of production for England. England stood and fell with industry, rose and declined with its fluctuations. With the decisive influence of industry, the industrial bourgeoisie, the manufacturers, became the decisive class in English society, and the

political rule of the industrialists, the removal of all social and political institutions standing in the way of the development of large-scale industry became a necessity. The industrial bourgeoisie got down to the task. The history of England from 1830 until now is the history of the victories which it has one after the other achieved over its united reactionary opponents.

Whereas the July Revolution in France brought the finance aristocracy to power, the Reform Bill in England, which was carried immediately afterwards in 1832, marked the fall of the finance aristocracy. The Bank, the creditors of the national debt and the stock-exchange speculators, in a word the money-dealers to whom the aristocracy was deeply in debt, had hitherto held almost exclusive sway in England under the brightly chequered mantle of the electoral monopoly. The further large-scale industry and world trade developed, the more intolerable their rule became, despite individual concessions. The alliance of all other factions of the bourgeoisie with the English proletariat and the Irish peasantry toppled them. The people threatened a revolution, the bourgeoisie gave the Bank its notes back *en masse* and brought it to the brink of bankruptcy. The finance aristocracy yielded at the right moment; its flexibility saved England from a February Revolution.

The Reform Bill gave all the propertied classes of the country, right down to the smallest shopkeeper, a share in political power. All the factions of the bourgeoisie were thus given a legal ground on which they could establish their claims and assert their power. The same struggles of the individual factions of the bourgeoisie among themselves which have been fought out under the Republic in France since the June victory of 1848,[a] have in England been fought out in Parliament since the Reform Bill. It goes without saying that the conditions being quite different the consequences in the two countries are also different.

The industrial bourgeoisie, once it had conquered the terrain for parliamentary struggle with the Reform Bill, could not help gaining victory upon victory. The aristocratic appendages of the financiers were sacrificed to it in the limitation of sinecures, the paupers in the Poor Law of 1833,[228] and the tax exemption of the financiers and landowners in the tariff reductions and the introduction of income tax. With the victories of the industrialists the number of their vassals increased. Wholesale and retail trade became their tributaries. London and Liverpool fell to their knees before Free Trade, the

[a] The reference is to the suppression of the June insurrection of the Paris proletariat.—*Ed.*

Messiah of the industrialists. But with their victories their requirements and their demands also grew.

Modern large-scale industry can only exist provided it expands incessantly, continually conquers new markets. The boundless facility of production on the most massive scale, the unceasing development and improvement of machinery, and the consequent uninterrupted displacement of capital and labour power, force it to do so. Any stoppage here can only mean the beginning of ruin. But the expansion of industry is conditioned by the expansion of markets. And since industry at its present level of development increases its forces of production at a rate disproportionately faster than that at which it can increase its markets, there arise periodical crises in which, due to the excess of means of production and products, circulation in the commercial body suddenly comes to a standstill and industry and trade are almost totally immobilised until the glut of products has found an outlet in new channels. England is the focus of these crises, whose crippling effects unfailingly reach into the most distant, most obscure corners of the world market, and everywhere drag a significant part of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie down into ruin. From such crises, which moreover bring home most tangibly to every section of English society its dependence on the manufacturers, there is only one means of escape: expanding markets, either by conquering new ones or by exploiting the old ones more thoroughly. Apart from the few exceptional cases, like China in 1842, in which a hitherto stubbornly closed market is burst open by force of arms,[229] there is only one means of opening up new markets and exploiting old ones more thoroughly by industrial methods—by cheaper prices, that is, by reducing production costs. Production costs are reduced by new and more highly perfected modes of production, by cutting profit or by cutting wages. But the introduction of more highly perfected modes of production cannot provide a way out of the crisis since it increases production and thus itself makes new markets necessary. There can be no question of reducing profit in a crisis when everyone is glad to sell even at a loss. The same goes for wages, which are furthermore, like profit, determined by laws that are independent of the will or the intentions of the manufacturers. And yet wages form the principal component of the production costs, and their permanent reduction is the only means of expanding markets and escaping from the crisis. Wages will fall, however, if the workers' necessities of life are produced more cheaply. But in England the cost of the workers' necessities of life was raised by the protective tariffs on corn, English colonial products, etc., and by indirect taxes.

Hence the stubborn, vigorous and universal agitation by the industrialists for Free Trade and particularly for the abolition of the corn tariffs. Hence the characteristic fact that since 1842 every crisis in trade and industry has brought them a fresh victory. With the abolition of the corn tariffs the English landowners were sacrificed to the industrialists, with the abolition of the differential tariffs on sugar, etc., the landowners in the colonies, with the abolition of the Navigation Acts[230] the shipowners. At the present moment they are agitating for limitation of state expenditure and a reduction of taxes, as well as for the admission to the franchise of that section of the workers which offers the surest guarantees. They wish to draw new allies into Parliament in order to conquer so much the more quickly direct political power for themselves, by means of which alone they can get rid of the traditional appendages of the English state machine, now emptied of meaning but very expensive, the aristocracy, the Church, the sinecures and the semi-feudal system of jurisprudence. Undoubtedly the new trade crisis, which is now imminent, and which to all appearances will coincide with new and great collisions on the Continent, will bring with it at least this step forward in England's development.

In the midst of these uninterrupted victories of the industrial bourgeoisie, the reactionary factions succeeded in forging the chains of the Ten Hours' Bill for it. The Ten Hours' Bill was passed at a moment of neither prosperity nor crisis, in one of those in-between periods in which industry is still labouring sufficiently under the consequences of over-production to be able to set only a part of its resources in motion, in which the manufacturers themselves therefore do not allow full-time working. At such a juncture, when the Ten Hours' Bill limited competition among the manufacturers themselves, and only at such a juncture could it be tolerated. But this juncture soon gave way to renewed prosperity. The empty markets demanded new supplies; speculation rose again and doubled demand; the manufacturers were unable to work their factories hard enough. The Ten Hours' Bill now became an intolerable fetter upon industry, which now more than ever needed the most complete independence and the most unrestricted disposal of all its resources. What would become of the industrialists during the next crisis if they were not permitted to exploit the brief period of prosperity with all their might? The Ten Hours' Bill had to succumb. If the strength to revoke it in Parliament was lacking, then ways had to be found for getting round it.

The Ten Hours' Bill limited the labour time of young people under the age of eighteen and of all female workers to ten hours

daily. Since these and children are the decisive categories of workers in the factories, the necessary consequence was that the factories were able to work only ten hours daily. The manufacturers, however, when the boom made an increase in the labour time a necessity for them, found a way out. As hitherto with children under fourteen, whose labour time is even more restricted, they engaged a few more women and young people than before for assistance and replacement. In this way they could make their factories and their adult workers work thirteen, fourteen or fifteen hours at a stretch, without a single individual covered by the Ten Hours' Bill working more than ten hours daily. This conflicted partially with the letter of the law, but it conflicted still more with the spirit of the law and the intention of the legislators; the factory inspectors complained, the justices of the peace were divided and gave contradictory judgments. The higher the level of prosperity the more loudly the industrialists protested against the Ten Hours' Bill and against the interventions of the factory inspectors. The Home Secretary, Sir George Grey, ordered the inspectors to tolerate the relay or shift system.[a] But many of them, with the support of the law, did not allow themselves to be deterred by this. Finally a sensational case was taken right up to the Court of Exchequer, and this court pronounced for the manufacturers. With this decision the Ten Hours' Bill has been abolished in practice, and the manufacturers have once again become the complete masters of their factories; in time of crisis they are able to work two, three or six hours, and in time of prosperity thirteen to fifteen hours, and the factory inspector no longer has any right to interfere.

If the Ten Hours' Bill was advocated mainly by reactionaries and carried exclusively by reactionary classes, we can see here that in the mode in which it was carried it was a thoroughly reactionary measure. England's whole social development is bound up with the development, the progress of industry. All institutions which inhibit this progress, which limit it or wish to regulate and rule it according to extraneous standards, are reactionary, untenable, and must succumb to it. The revolutionary force which has made child's play of dealing with the whole patriarchal society of old England, with the aristocracy and the finance bourgeoisie, will indeed not permit itself to be dammed up within the moderate course of the Ten Hours' Bill. All the attempts of Lord Ashley and his comrades to restore the fallen Bill by means of an authentic interpretation will be

[a] Here Engels uses the German word *Ablösungssystem* and, in parenthesis, the corresponding English words: "relay" and "shift system".—*Ed.*

unproductive or, in the most favourable case, will only achieve an ephemeral and delusive result.

And nevertheless the Ten Hours' Bill is indispensable for the workers. It is a physical necessity for them. Without the Ten Hours' Bill this whole generation of English workers will be physically ruined. But there is a vast difference between the Ten Hours' Bill demanded by the workers today and the Ten Hours' Bill which was propagated by Sadler, Oastler and Ashley and passed by the reactionary coalition in 1847. The workers have learnt the value of an alliance with reaction from the brief existence of the Bill, from its easy annihilation—a simple court decision, not even an Act of Parliament, was all that was needed to annul it—and from the subsequent behaviour of their reactionary former allies. They have learnt the use of passing separate partial measures against the industrial bourgeoisie. They have learnt that the bourgeois industrialists are still in the first instance the class which alone is capable of marching at the head of the movement at the present moment, and that it would be a vain task to work against them in this progressive mission. For this reason, in spite of their direct and not in the least dormant hostility towards the industrialists, the workers are now much more inclined to support them in their agitation for the complete implementation of Free Trade, financial reform and extension of the franchise, than to allow themselves to be decoyed once again by philanthropic allurements to the banner of the united reactionaries. They feel that their day can only come when the industrialists have worn themselves out, and hence their instinct is correct in hastening the process of development which will give the industrialists power and thus prepare their fall. But because of this they do not forget that in the industrialists they are bringing to power their own direct enemies, and that they can achieve their own liberation only through toppling the industrialists and conquering political power for themselves. The annulment of the Ten Hours' Bill has once more proved this to them in the most striking fashion. The restoration of this Bill can only have any significance now under the rule of universal franchise, and universal franchise in an England two-thirds of whose inhabitants are industrial proletarians means the exclusive political rule of the working class with all the revolutionary changes in social conditions which are inseparable from it. The Ten Hours' Bill demanded by the workers today is thus quite different from the one which has just been overruled by the Court of Exchequer. It is no longer an isolated attempt to cripple industrial development, it is a link in a long chain of measures which will revolutionise the whole of the present form of society and

gradually destroy the class antagonisms which have hitherto existed; it is not a reactionary measure, but a revolutionary one.

The *de facto* suspension of the Ten Hours' Bill, in the first instance by the manufacturers on their own initiative and then by the Court of Exchequer, has above all contributed to shortening the period of prosperity and hastening the crisis. Whatever hastens crises, however, simultaneously hastens the pace of development in England and its next goal, the overthrow of the industrial bourgeoisie by the industrial proletariat. The means available to the industrialists for expanding their markets and averting crises are very limited. Cobden's reduction of state expenditure is either mere Whiggish jargon[a] or equals, even if it should only help for a moment, a complete revolution. And if it is executed in the most extensive and most revolutionary fashion—as far as the English industrialists can be revolutionary—then how will the next crisis be met? It is evident that the English industrialists, whose means of production have a power of expansion incomparably superior to that of their outlets, are rapidly approaching the point where their expedients will be exhausted and where the period of prosperity which now still divides every crisis from its successor will disappear completely under the weight of the excessively increased forces of production; where the only thing still separating the crises will be brief periods of a dull, half-comatose industrial activity and where industry, trade and the whole of modern society must necessarily perish from a superfluity of unusable life force on the one hand and total emaciation on the other, if this abnormal situation did not bear within itself its own remedy and the development of industry had not simultaneously engendered the class which alone can assume the leadership of society—the proletariat. The proletarian revolution will then be inevitable, and its victory certain.

This is the regular, normal course of events, produced, with a necessity which cannot be averted, by the totality of the present conditions of society in England. It will soon be seen to what extent this normal process may be shortened by collisions on the Continent and revolutionary upsurges in England.

And the Ten Hours' Bill?

From the moment the limits of the world market itself become too narrow for the full unfolding of all the resources of modern industry, when the latter requires a social revolution to regain free scope for its energies—from this moment on the limitation of labour

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[a] In the copy of the journal with Engels' corrections the word *Whigsphrase* (Whig phrase) is substituted for the word *Whigsprache* (Whiggish jargon).—*Ed.*

time is no longer reactionary, it is no longer a brake on industry. On the contrary, it will be introduced quite of its own accord. The first consequence of the proletarian revolution in England will be the centralisation of large-scale industry in the hands of the state, that is, the ruling proletariat, and with the centralisation of industry all the conditions of competition, which nowadays bring the regulation of labour time into conflict with the progress of industry, fall away. And thus the only solution to the Ten Hours question, as to every question depending on the antagonism between capital and wage labour, lies in the *proletarian revolution.*

Written in March 1850 — Printed according to the journal

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Signed: *Frederick Engels*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [REVIEWS FROM THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG. POLITISCH-ÖKONOMISCHE REVUE* No. 4, April 1850][231]

### I

### *LATTER-DAY PAMPHLETS*, EDITED BY THOMAS CARLYLE— No. 1, *THE PRESENT TIME*, No. 11, *MODEL PRISONS*— LONDON, 1850[232]

Thomas Carlyle is the only English writer on whom German literature has exercised a direct and particularly significant influence. Courtesy at the very least demands that a German should not let his writings pass without notice.

The latest publication by Guizot (No. 2 of the *N. Rh. Z.*[a]) has shown us that the intellectual powers of the bourgeoisie are in a process of decline. In the present two pamphlets by Carlyle we witness the decline of literary genius in historical struggles which have reached a point of crisis and against which it attempts to assert its unrecognised, direct, prophetic inspirations.

To Thomas Carlyle belongs the credit of having taken the literary field against the bourgeoisie at a time when its views, tastes and ideas held the whole of official English literature totally in thrall, and in a manner which is at times even revolutionary. For example, in his history of the French Revolution, in his apology for Cromwell, in the pamphlet on Chartism and in *Past and Present*.[b] But in all these writings the critique of the present is closely bound up with a strangely unhistorical apotheosis of the Middle Ages, which is a frequent characteristic of other English revolutionaries too, for instance Cobbett and a section of the Chartists. Whilst he at least admires in the past the classical periods of a specific stage of society, the present drives him to despair and he shudders at the thought of

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[a] See this volume, pp. 251-56.— *Ed.*

[b] Th. Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History*, Vols. 1-3, London, 1837; *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Vols. 1-2, London, 1845; *Chartism*, London, 1840; *Past and Present*, London, 1843.— *Ed.*

the future. Where he recognises the revolution, or indeed apotheosises it, in his eyes it becomes concentrated in a single individual, a Cromwell or a Danton. He pays them the same hero-worship that he preached in his *Lectures on Heroes and Hero-Worship*[a] as the only refuge from a present pregnant with despair, as a new religion.

Carlyle's style is at one with his ideas. It is a direct violent reaction against the modern bourgeois English Pecksniffery, whose enervated affectedness, circumspect verbosity and vague, sentimentally moral tediousness has spread from the original inventors, the educated Cockneys, to the whole of English literature. In comparison, Carlyle treated the English language as though it were completely raw material which he had to cast utterly afresh. Obsolete expressions and words were sought out again and new ones invented, in the German manner and especially in the manner of Jean Paul. The new style was often in bad taste and hugely pretentious, but frequently brilliant and always original. In this respect too the *Latter-Day Pamphlets* represent a remarkable step backwards.

It is, incidentally, characteristic that out of the whole of German literature the mind that had the greatest influence on Carlyle was not Hegel but the literary apothecary Jean Paul.

In the cult of genius, which Carlyle shares with Strauss, the genius has got lost in the present pamphlets. The cult remains.

*The Present Time* begins with the statement that the present is the child of the past and the parent of the future, but quite apart from that is a *new era.*

The first manifestation of this new era is a *reforming* Pope. Gospel in hand, Pius IX set out to promulgate from the Vatican *"the Law of Veracity"* to Christendom.

"More than three hundred years ago, the throne of St. Peter received peremptory judicial notice [...] authentic order, registered in Heaven's chancery and since legible in the hearts of all brave men, to take itself away,—to begone, and let us have no more to do with it and its delusions and impious deliriums;—and it has been sitting every day since [...] at its own peril [...], and will have to pay exact damages yet for every day it has so sat. Law of veracity? What this Popedom had to do by the law of veracity, was to give up its own foul galvanic life, an offence to gods and men; honestly to die; and get itself buried! Far from this was the thing the poor Pope undertook [...];—and yet on the whole it was essentially this too. Reforming Pope? [...] Turgot and Necker were nothing to this. God is great; and when a scandal is to end, brings some devoted man to take charge of it in hope, not in despair!" (P. 3.)

With his manifestos of reform the Pope had aroused questions,

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[a] Th. Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, London, 1841.— *Ed.*

"mothers of the whirlwinds, conflagrations, earthquakes.... Questions which all official men wished, and mostly hoped, to postpone till Doomsday. Doomsday itself had come; that was the terrible truth". (P. 4.)

The law of veracity was proclaimed. The Sicilians

"were the first people that set about applying this new [...] rule sanctioned by the holy Father; [...] We do not by the law of veracity belong to Naples and these Neapolitan Officials; we will, by favour of Heaven and the Pope, be free of these".

Hence the Sicilian Revolution.

The French people, which considers itself as a kind of "Messiah people", as "the chosen soldiers of liberty", feared that the poor, despised Sicilians might take this trade[a] out of their hands—February Revolution. [Pp. 4-5.]

"As if by sympathetic subterranean electricities, all Europe exploded, boundless, uncontrollable; and we had the year 1848, one of the most singular, disastrous, amazing, and on the whole humiliating years the European world ever saw.... Kings everywhere, and reigning persons, stared in sudden horror, the voice of the whole world bellowing in their ear, 'Begone, ye imbecile hypocrites, histrios not heroes! Off with you, off!'—and, what was peculiar and heard of in this year for the first time, the Kings all made haste to go, as if exclaiming, 'We *are* poor histrios, we sure enough;—do you need heroes? Don't kill us; we couldn't help it!'—Not one of them turned round, and stood upon his Kingship, as upon a right he could afford to die for, or to risk his skin upon.... That, I repeat, is the alarming peculiarity at present. Democracy, on this new occasion, finds all Kings *conscious* that they are but Playactors. [...] They fled precipitately, some of them with what we may call an exquisite ignominy,—in terror of the treadmill or worse. And everywhere the people, or the populace, take their own government upon themselves; and open 'kinglessness',[b] what we call *anarchy*,—how happy if it be anarchy plus a street-constable!—is everywhere the order of the day. Such was the history, from Baltic to Mediterranean, in Italy, France, Prussia, Austria, from end to end of Europe, in those March days of 1848. [...] And so, then, there remained no King in Europe; no King except the Public Haranguer, haranguing on barrelhead, in leading article; or assembling with his like in the National Parliament. And for about four months all France, and to a great degree all Europe, rough-ridden by every species of delirium [...] was a weltering mob, presided over by M. de Lamartine at the Hôtel-de-Ville [....] A sorrowful spectacle to men of reflection, during the time he lasted, that poor M. de Lamartine; with nothing in him but melodious wind and soft sowder [....] Sad enough: the most eloquent latest impersonation of Chaos-come-again; able to talk for itself, and declare persuasively that it is Cosmos! However, you have but to wait a little, in such cases; all balloons [...] must give up their gas in the pressure of things, and are collapsed in a repulsively flabby manner before long." (Pp. 6-8.)

Who was it that kindled this universal revolution, the fuel for which was of course at hand?

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[a] The German word *Industriezweig* is used in the original and the corresponding English word "trade" is given in parenthesis.—*Ed.*

[b] The authors of the review use the word *Königslosigkeit* and give the English equivalent in parenthesis.—*Ed.*

"Students, young men of letters, advocates, newspaper writers, hot inexperienced enthusiasts, or fierce and justly bankrupt desperadoes [...]. Never till now did young men, and almost children, take such a command in human affairs. A changed time since the word Senior (Seigneur, or Elder) was first devised to signify lord or superior;—as in all languages of men we find it.... Looking more closely [...] you will find that the old has ceased to be venerable, and has begun to be contemptible; a foolish boy still, a boy without the graces, generosities and opulent strength of young boys [...]. This mad state of matters will of course before long allay itself, as it has everywhere begun to do; the ordinary necessities of men's daily existence cannot comport with it, and these, whatever else is cast aside, will go their way. Some remounting [...] of the old machine, under new colours and altered forms, will probably ensue soon in most countries: the old histrionic Kings will be admitted back under conditions, under Constitutions, with national Parliaments, or the like fashionable adjuncts; and everywhere the old daily life will try to begin again. But there is now no hope that such arrangements can be permanent [...]. In such baleful oscillation, afloat as amid raging bottomless eddies and conflicting sea-currents, not steadfast as on fixed foundations, must European Society continue swaying; now disastrously tumbling, then painfully readjusting itself, at ever shorter intervals,—till once the new *rock-basis* does come to light, and the weltering deluges of mutiny, and of need to mutiny, abate again!" (Pp. 8-10.)

So much for history, which even in this form offers the old world little comfort. Now for the moral.

"For *universal Democracy*, whatever we may think of it, is the inevitable fact of the days in which we live." (P. 10.)

What is democracy? It must have a meaning, or it would not exist. It is all a matter, then, of finding the true meaning of democracy. If we succeed in this, we can deal with it; if not, we are lost. The February Revolution was "a universal Bankruptcy of Imposture; that may be the brief definition of it". (P. 14.) *Counterfeit* and falsities, "shams", "delusions", "phantasms",[a] instead of real relationships and things, names that have lost all meaning, in a word, lying instead of truth has held sway in modern times. Individual and social divorce from these falsities and phantoms, that is the task of reform, and the necessity of putting an end to all sham and deceit is not to be gainsaid.

"Yet strange to many a man it may seem; and to many a solid Englishman, wholesomely digesting his pudding among what are called the cultivated classes, it seems strange exceedingly; a mad ignorant notion, quite heterodox, and big with mere ruin. He has been used to decent forms long since fallen empty of meaning, to plausible modes, solemnities grown ceremonial,—what you in your iconoclast humour call shams,—all his life long; never heard that there was any harm in them, that there was any getting-on without them. Did not cotton spin itself, beef grow, and groceries

[a] Here and below the words "shams", "delusions", and "phantasms" are given in English in the original.—*Ed.*

and spiceries come in from the East and the West, quite comfortably by the side of shams?" (P. 15.)

Now will democracy accomplish this necessary reform, this liberation from shams?

"Democracy, when it is organised by means of universal suffrage will itself accomplish the salutary universal change from Delusive to Real, from false to true, and make a new blessed world by and by?" (P. 17.)

Carlyle denies this. Indeed, he sees in general in democracy and in universal suffrage only a contagion of all nations by the superstitious English belief in the infallibility of parliamentary government. The crew of the ship that had lost its course round Cape Horn and, instead of keeping watch on wind and weather and using the sextant, voted on the course to be set, declaring the decision of the majority to be infallible—that is the universal suffrage that lays claim to steering the state. As for every individual, so for society it is just a matter of discovering the true regulations of the Universe, the everlasting laws of nature relative to the task in hand at each moment, and acting accordingly. Whoever reveals these eternal laws to us, him shall we follow, "were it the Russian Autocrat or Chartist Parliament, the Archbishop of Canterbury or Grand Lama". But how do we discover these eternal, divine precepts? At all events universal suffrage, which gives each man a ballot paper and counts heads, is the worst method of doing so. The Universe is of a very exclusive nature and has ever disclosed its secrets but to a few elect, a small minority of wise and noble-minded alone. That is why no nation was ever able to exist on the basis of democracy. The Greeks and Romans? We all know today that theirs were no democracies, that slavery was the basis of their states. It is quite superfluous to speak of the various French Republics. And the Model Republic of North America? It cannot yet even be said of the Americans that they form a nation or a state. The American population lives *without* a government; what is there constituted is anarchy plus a street-constable. What makes this condition possible is the great area of yet unbroken land and the respect brought over from England for the constable's baton. As the population grows, that too comes to an end.

"What great human soul, what great thought, what great noble thing that one could worship, or loyally admire, has America yet produced?" (P. 25.)

It has doubled its population every twenty years—*voilà tout.*

On this side of the Atlantic and on that, democracy is thus for ever impossible. The Universe itself is a monarchy and hierarchy. No nation in which the divine everlasting duty of directing and

controlling the ignorant is not entrusted to the *Noblest*, with his select series of *Nobler Ones*, has the Kingdom of God, or corresponds to the eternal laws of nature.

Now we are also apprised of the secret, the origin and the necessity of modern democracy. It consists simply in the fact that the sham-noble[a] has been raised up and consecrated by tradition or newly invented delusions.

And who is to discover the true precious stone with all its setting of smaller human jewels and pearls? Certainly not universal suffrage, for only the noble can discern the noble. And so Carlyle affirms that England still possesses many such nobles and "kings", and on p. 38 he summons them to him.

We see the "noble" Carlyle proceed from a thoroughly pantheistic mode of thinking. The whole process of history is determined not by the development of the living masses themselves, naturally dependent on specific but in turn historically created changing conditions, it is determined by an eternal law of nature, unalterable for all time, from which it departs today and to which it returns tomorrow, and on the correct apprehension of which everything depends. This correct apprehension of the eternal law of nature is the eternal truth, everything else is false. With this mode of thinking, the real class conflicts, for all their variety at various periods, are completely resolved into the one great and eternal conflict, between those who have fathomed the eternal law of nature and act in keeping with it, the wise and the noble, and those who misunderstand it, distort it and work against it, the fools and the rogues. The historically produced distinction between classes thus becomes a natural distinction which itself must be acknowledged and revered as a part of the eternal law of nature, by bowing to nature's noble and wise: the cult of genius. The whole conception of the process of historical development is reduced to the shallow triviality of the lore of the Illuminati and the Freemasons of the previous century, to the simple morality we find in the *Magic Flute*[233] and to an infinitely depraved and trivialised form of Saint-Simonism. And there of course we have the old question of who then should in fact rule, which is discussed at great length and with self-important shallowness and is finally answered to the effect that the noble, wise and knowledgeable should rule, which leads quite naturally to the conclusion that there would have to be a large amount, a very large amount of governing, and

[a] The authors use the expression *falsche Edle* and give the English equivalent in parenthesis.— *Ed.*

there could never be too much governing, for after all governing is the constant revelation and assertion of the law of nature vis-à-vis the masses. But how are the noble and the wise to be discovered? They are not revealed by any celestial miracle; they have to be looked for. And here the historical class distinctions which have been made into purely natural distinctions once more rear their heads. The noble man is noble because he is wise and knowledgeable. He will therefore have to be sought among the classes which have the monopoly of education—among the privileged classes, and it will be the same classes who will have to seek him out in their midst and to judge his claims to the rank of a noble and wise man. In so doing the privileged classes automatically become, if not precisely the noble and wise class, at least the "articulate" class; the oppressed classes are of course the "silent, inarticulate" and class rule is thereby sanctioned anew. All this highly indignant bluster turns out to be a thinly disguised acceptance of existing class rule whose sole grumble and complaint is that the bourgeoisie does not assign a position at the top of society to its unrecognised geniuses, and for highly practical reasons does not accede to the starry-eyed drivellings of these gentlemen. Carlyle incidentally provides us with striking examples of the way in which here too pompous cant becomes its opposite and the noble, knowledgeable and wise man is transformed in practice into a base, ignorant and foolish man.

Since for him everything depends on strong government, he turns upon the cry for liberation and emancipation with extreme indignation:

"Let us all be free of one another [...]. Free without bond or connexion except that of cash payment; fair day's wages for the fair day's work; determined by voluntary contract, and law of supply and demand: this is thought to be the true solution of all difficulties and injustices that have occurred between man and man. To rectify the relation that exists between two men, is there no method, then, but that of ending it?" (P. 29.)

This complete dissolution of all bonds, all relationships between men naturally reaches its climax in *anarchy*, the law of lawlessness, the condition in which the bond of bonds, the government, is completely cut to pieces. And this is what people in England and on the Continent alike are striving towards, yes, even in "staid Germany".

Carlyle blusters on like this for several pages, lumping together Red Republic, *fraternité*, Louis Blanc, etc., in a most disconcerting way with free trade,[a] the abolition of the duty on corn, etc. (Cf. pp. 29-42.) The destruction of the remnants of feudalism which are still preserved by tradition, the reduction of the state to what is

[a] The words "free trade" are in English in the original.—*Ed.*

unavoidably necessary and absolutely cheapest, the complete realisation of free competition by the bourgeoisie, are thus mixed up together and identified by Carlyle with the elimination of these same bourgeois relations, with the abolition of the conflict between capital and wage labour, with the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat. Brilliant return to the "Night of the Absolute" in which all cats are grey! Deep knowledge of the "knowledgeable man" who does not know the first thing about what is happening around him! Strange perspicacity which believes that with the abolition of feudalism or free competition, all relations between men are abolished! Unfathomable fathoming of the "eternal law of nature", seriously believing that no more children will be born from the moment that the parents cease to go to the *Mairie*[a] first to "bind" themselves in matrimony!

After this edifying example of a wisdom amounting to unmitigated ignorance, Carlyle goes on to demonstrate to us how high-principled nobility of character at once turns into undisguised baseness as soon as it descends from its heaven of sententious verbiage to the world of real relations.

"In all European countries, especially in England, one class of Captains and commanders of men, recognisable as the beginning of a new, real and not imaginary Aristocracy, has already in some measure developed itself: the Captains of Industry;—happily the class who above all [...] are wanted in this time. [...] And surely, on the other hand, there is no lack of men needing to be commanded: the sad class of brother-men whom we have described as 'Hodge's emancipated horses', reduced to roving famine, this too has in all countries developed itself and, in fatal geometrical progression, is ever more developing itself, with a rapidity which alarms everyone. On this ground [...] it may be truly said, the Organisation of Labour [...] is the universal vital Problem of the world." (Pp. 42, 43.)

Carlyle having thus vented all his virtuous fury time and time again in the first forty pages against selfishness, free competition, the abolition of the feudal bonds between man and man, supply and demand, laissez-faire,[234] cotton-spinning, cash payment, etc., etc., we now suddenly find that the main exponents of all these shams, the industrial bourgeoisie, are not merely counted among the celebrated heroes and geniuses but even comprise the most indispensable part of these heroes, that the trump card in all his attacks on bourgeois relations and ideas is the apotheosis of bourgeois individuals. It appears yet odder that Carlyle, having discovered the commanders and the commanded of labour, in other words, a certain organisation of labour, nevertheless declares this organisation to be a great problem requiring solution. But one should not be deceived. It is not

[a] Town hall.—*Ed.*

a question of the organisation of those workers who have been regimented, but of the organisation of those who are unregimented and captainless, and this Carlyle has reserved for himself. At the end of his pamphlet we suddenly see him in the role of the British Prime Minister *in partibus*,[a] summoning together the three million Irish and other beggars, the able-bodied lackalls, nomadic or stationary, and the general assembly of British paupers, outside the workhouse[b] and inside the workhouse,[b] and "haranguing" them in a speech in which he first repeats to the lackalls everything that he has previously confided to the reader and then addresses the select company as follows:

"Vagrant Lackalls and Good-for-nothings, foolish most of you, criminal many of you, miserable all; the sight of you fills me with astonishment and despair. [...] Here are some three millions of you [...]: so many of you fallen sheer over into the abysses of open Beggary; and, fearful to think, every new unit that falls is loading so much more the chain that drags the others over. On the edge of the precipice hang uncounted millions; increasing, I am told, at the rate of 1,200 a-day [...] falling, falling one after the other; and the chain is getting ever heavier [...] and who at last will stand? What to do with you?... The others that still stand have their own difficulties, I can tell you!—But you, by imperfect energy and redundant appetite, by doing too little work and drinking too much beer, you [...] have proved that you cannot do it! [...] Know that, whoever may be 'sons of freedom', you for your part are not and cannot be such. Not 'free' you, ... you palpably are fallen captive ... you are of the nature of slaves, or if you prefer the word, of nomadic [...] and vagabond servants that can find no master.... Not as glorious unfortunate sons of freedom, but as recognised captives, as unfortunate fallen brothers requiring that I should command them, and if need were, control and compel them, can there henceforth be a relation between us.... Before Heaven and Earth, and God the Maker of us all, I declare it is a scandal to see *such* a life kept in you, by the sweat and heart's blood of your brothers; and that, if we cannot mend it, death were preferable!... Enlist in my Irish, my Scotch and English 'Regiments of the *New Era*'... ye poor wandering banditti; obey, work, suffer, abstain, as all of us have had to do.... Industrial Colonels, Workmasters, Taskmasters, Life-commanders, equitable as Rhadamanthus and inflexible as he: such [...] you do need; and such, you being once put under law as soldiers are, will be discoverable for you.... To each of you I will then say: Here is work for you; strike into it with manlike, soldierlike obedience and heartiness, according to the methods I here dictate,—wages follow for you without difficulty.... Refuse, shirk the heavy labour, disobey the rules,—I will admonish and endeavour to incite you; if in vain, I will flog you; if still in vain, I will at last shoot you." (Pp. 46-55.)

The "*New Era*", in which genius rules, is thus distinguished from the old era principally by the fact that the whip imagines it possesses genius. The genius Carlyle is distinguished from just any prison.

[a] Outside the sphere of reality. The words are part of the expression *in partibus infidelium*, meaning literally "in the realm of infidels". It was added to the titles of Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries.—*Ed.*

[b] The original has the English word.—*Ed.*

Cerberus or poor-law beadle by his virtuous indignation and the moral consciousness of flaying the paupers[a] only in order to raise them to *his* level. We here observe the high-principled genius in his world-redeeming anger fantastically justifying and exaggerating the infamies of the bourgeoisie. If the English bourgeoisie equated paupers[a] with criminals in order to create a deterrent to pauperism and brought into being the Poor Law of 1834,[235] Carlyle accuses the paupers[a] of *high treason* because pauperism generates pauperism. Just as previously the ruling class that had arisen in the course of history, the industrial bourgeoisie, was privy to genius simply by virtue of ruling, so now any oppressed class, the more deeply it is oppressed, the more is it excluded from genius and the more is it exposed to the raging fury of our unrecognised reformer. So it is here with the paupers.[a] But his morally noble wrath reaches its highest peak with regard to those who are absolutely vile and ignoble, the "scoundrels", i. e. *criminals.* He treats of these in the pamphlet on Model Prisons.

This pamphlet is distinguished from the first only by a fury much greater, yet all the cheaper for being directed against those officially expelled from established society, against people behind bars; a fury which sheds even that little shame which the ordinary bourgeois still for decency's sake display. Just as in the first pamphlet Carlyle erects a complete hierarchy of Nobles and seeks out the Noblest of the Noble, so here he arranges an equally complete hierarchy of scoundrels and villains and exerts himself in hunting down the *worst of the bad,* the *supreme scoundrel* in England, for the exquisite pleasure of hanging him. Assuming he were to catch him and hang him; then another will be our Worst and must be hanged in turn, and then another again, until the turn of the Noble and then the More Noble is reached and finally no one is left but Carlyle, the Noblest, who as persecutor of scoundrels is at once the murderer of the Noble and has murdered what is noble even in the scoundrels; the Noblest of the Noble, who is suddenly transformed into the Vilest of Scoundrels and as such must *hang himself.* With that, all questions concerning government, state, the organisation of labour, and the hierarchy of the Noble would be resolved and the eternal law of nature realised at last.

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[a] The original has the English word.—*Ed.*

## II

*LES CONSPIRATEURS*, PAR A. CHENU,
EX-CAPITAINE DES GARDES DU CITOYEN CAUSSIDIÈRE.
LES SOCIÉTÉS SECRÈTES;
LA PRÉFECTURE DE POLICE SOUS CAUSSIDIÈRE;
LES CORPS-FRANCS,
PARIS, 1850
*LA NAISSANCE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE EN FÉVRIER 1848*,
PAR LUCIEN DE LA HODDE,
PARIS, 1850[236]

Nothing is more to be desired than that the people who were at the head of the active party, whether before the revolution in the secret societies or the press, or afterwards in official positions, should at long last be portrayed in the stark colours of a Rembrandt, in the full flush of life. Hitherto these personalities have never been depicted as they really were, but only in their official guise, with buskins on their feet and halos around their heads. All verisimilitude is lost in these idealised, Raphaelesque pictures.

It is true that the two present publications dispense with the buskins and halos in which the "great men" of the February Revolution hitherto appeared. They penetrate the private lives of these people, they show them to us in informal attire, surrounded by all their multifarious subordinates. But they are for all that no less far removed from being a real, faithful representation of persons and events. Of their authors, the one is a self-confessed long-time *mouchard*[a] of Louis Philippe, and the other a veteran conspirator by profession whose relations with the police are similarly very ambiguous and of whose powers of comprehension we have an early indication in the fact that he claims to have seen "that splendid chain of the Alps whose silver peaks dazzle the eye" between Rheinfelden and Basle, and "the Rhenish Alps whose distant peaks are lost on the horizon" between Kehl and Karlsruhe. From such people, especially when in addition they are writing to justify themselves, we can of course only expect a more or less exaggerated *chronique scandaleuse* of the February Revolution.

[a] Police spy.— *Ed.*

M. de la Hodde, in his pamphlet, attempts to portray himself after the manner of the spy in Cooper's novel.[a] He has, he claims, earned society's gratitude by paralysing the secret societies for eight years. But Cooper's spy is a very far cry from M. de la Hodde. M. de la Hodde, who worked on *Le Charivari*, was a member of the Central Committee of the *Société des nouvelles saisons* from 1839,[237] was co-editor of *La Réforme* from its foundation and at the same time a paid spy of the Prefect of Police, Delessert, is compromised by no one more than by Chenu. His publication is a direct response to Chenu's revelations, but it takes very good care not to say even a syllable in reply to Chenu's allegations concerning de la Hodde himself. That part of Chenu's memoirs at least is therefore authentic.

"On one of my nocturnal excursions," recounts Chenu, "I noticed de la Hodde walking up and down the quai Voltaire.... It was raining in torrents, a circumstance which set me thinking. Was this dear fellow de la Hodde also helping himself from the cash-box of the secret funds, by any chance? But I remembered his songs, his magnificent stanzas about Ireland and Poland, and particularly the violent articles he wrote for the journal *La Réforme*" (whereas M. de la Hodde tries to make out he tamed *La Réforme*). "'Good evening, de la Hodde, what on earth are you up to here at this hour and in this fearful weather?'—'I am waiting for a rascal who owes me some money, and as he passes this way every evening at this time, he is going to pay me, or else'—and he struck the parapet of the embankment violently with his stick."

De la Hodde attempts to get rid of him and walks towards the Pont du Carrousel. Chenu departs in the opposite direction, but only to conceal himself under the arcades of the *Institut*. De la Hodde soon comes back, looks round carefully in all directions and once more walks back and forth.

"A quarter of an hour later I noticed the carriage with two little green lamps which my ex-agent had described to me" (a former spy who had revealed a large number of police secrets and identification signs to Chenu in prison). "It stopped at the corner of the rue des Vieux Augustins. A man got out; de la Hodde went straight up to him; they talked for a moment, and I saw de la Hodde make a movement as though putting money into his pocket.—After this incident I made every effort to have de la Hodde excluded from our meetings and above all to prevent Albert falling into some trap, for he was the cornerstone of our edifice [...]. Some days later *La Réforme* rejected an article by de la Hodde. This wounded his vanity as a writer. I advised him to avenge himself by founding another journal. He followed this advice and with Pilhes and Dupoty he even published the prospectus of a paper, *Le Peuple*, and during that time we were almost completely rid of him." (Chenu, pp. 46-48 [p. 55].)

As we see, this spy à la Cooper turns out to be a political prostitute of the vilest kind who hangs about in the street in the rain for the

[a] Harvey Birch, the hero of Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Spy*.—*Ed.*

payment of his *cadeau*[a] by the first *officier de paix*[b] who happens to come along. We see furthermore that it was not de la Hodde, as he would have us believe, but Albert who was at the head of the secret societies. This follows from Chenu's whole account. The *mouchard* "in the interests of order" is here suddenly transformed into the offended writer who is angry that the articles of the *Charivari* correspondent are not accepted without question by *La Réforme*, and who therefore breaks with *La Réforme*, a real party organ in which he was able to be of some use to the police, to found a new paper in which at best he was able to satisfy his vanity as a writer. Just as prostitutes make use of sentiment of a kind, so this *mouchard* sought to make use of his literary pretensions in order to escape from his dirty role. Hatred for *La Réforme*, which pervades his whole pamphlet, is resolved into the most trivial writer's vindictiveness. In the end we see that during the most important period of the secret societies, shortly before the February Revolution, de la Hodde was being increasingly forced out of them; and this explains why they, according to his account, quite contrary to Chenu, declined more and more in this period.

We now come to the scene in which Chenu describes the exposure of de la Hodde's treacheries after the February Revolution. The *Réforme* party had assembled with Albert in the Luxembourg at Caussidière's invitation. Monnier, Sobrier, Grandménil, de la Hodde, Chenu, etc., were present. Caussidière opened the meeting and then said:

"'There is a traitor among us. We shall form a secret tribunal to try him.'—Grandménil, as the oldest of those present, was appointed chairman, and Tiphaine secretary. 'Citizens,' continued Caussidière as public prosecutor, 'for a long time we have been accusing honest patriots. We were far from suspecting what a serpent had slipped in among us. Today I have discovered the real traitor: it is Lucien de la Hodde!'—The latter, who hitherto had sat quite unperturbed, leapt up at so direct an accusation. He made a move towards the door. Caussidière closed it quickly, drew a pistol and shouted: 'One move and I'll blow your brains out!'—De la Hodde passionately protested his innocence. 'Very well,' said Caussidière. 'Here is a file containing eighteen hundred reports to the Prefect of Police'... and he gave each of us the reports specially concerning him. De la Hodde obstinately denied that these reports, signed Pierre, originated with him until Caussidière read out the letter published in his memoirs, in which de la Hodde offered his services to the Prefect of Police and which he had signed with his real name. From then on the wretched man stopped denying and tried to excuse himself on the grounds of poverty which had given him the fatal idea of throwing himself into the arms of the police. Caussidière held out to him the pistol, the last means of escape left to him. De la Hodde then pleaded with his judges and whimperingly begged for mercy, but they remained

[a] Gift.—*Ed.*
[b] Officer of the peace.—*Ed.*

inflexible. Bocquet, one of those present, whose patience was exhausted, seized the pistol and offered it to him three times with the words: '*Allons,*[a] blow your brains out, you coward, or I'll kill you myself!'—Albert snatched it out of his hand, saying, 'But just think, a pistol-shot here in the Luxembourg would bring everybody running here!'—'That's true,' cried Bocquet, 'we need poison.' 'Poison?' said Caussidière. 'I brought poison with me—of every kind.' He took a glass, filled it with water, which he sugared, then poured in a white powder and offered it to de la Hodde, who recoiled in horror: 'You want to kill me then?'—'Yes we do,' said Bocquet, 'drink.'—De la Hodde was fearful to look at. His features were ashen, and his very curly, well-kempt hair stood on end on his head. His face was bathed in sweat. He implored, he wept: 'I don't want to die!' But Bocquet, inflexible, still held out the glass to him. '*Allons,* drink,' said Caussidière, 'it will be all over before you know what has happened.'—'No, no, I will not drink.' And in his deranged state of mind he added with a terrible gesture: 'Oh, I shall have my revenge for all these torments!'

"When it was seen that no appeal to his *point d'honneur*[b] had any effect, de la Hodde was finally pardoned on Albert's intercession, and was taken to the Conciergerie prison." (Chenu, pp. 134-36 [pp. 147-50].)

The self-styled spy à la Cooper becomes increasingly pathetic. We see him here in all his ignominy, only able to stand up to his opponents by cowardice. What we reproach him for is not that he did not shoot himself but that he did not shoot the first comer amongst his opponents. He seeks to justify himself after the event by means of a pamphlet in which he attempts to represent the whole revolution as a mere *escroquerie.*[c] The title of this pamphlet ought to be: *The Disillusioned Policeman.* It demonstrates that a true revolution is the exact opposite of the ideas of a *mouchard,* who like the "men of action" sees in every revolution the work of a small coterie. Whilst all movements which were to a greater or lesser extent arbitrarily provoked by coteries did not go beyond mere insurgency, it is clear from de la Hodde's account itself that on the one hand the *official republicans* at the beginning of the February days still despaired of achieving the republic, and that on the other hand the *bourgeoisie* was obliged to help achieve the republic without wanting it, and thus that the February Republic was brought about by the force of circumstances driving the proletarian masses, who were outside any coterie, out into the streets and keeping the majority of the bourgeoisie at home or forcing them into common action with the proletarians.—What de la Hodde reveals apart from that is scanty indeed and amounts to no more than the most banal gossip. Only one scene is of interest: the meeting of the official democrats on the evening of February 21 on the premises of *La Réforme,* at which the leaders declared themselves firmly opposed to an attack by force.

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[a] Go on.—*Ed.*
[b] Sense of honour.—*Ed.*
[c] Act of fraud.—*Ed.*

The content of their speeches testifies by and large to what was for that date still a correct understanding of the situation. They are ridiculous only because of their pompous style and the later claims of the same people to have consciously and deliberately worked towards the revolution from the start. And the worst thing, incidentally, that de la Hodde can say of them is that they tolerated him for so long in their midst.

Let us turn to Chenu. Who is M. Chenu? He is a veteran conspirator, took part in every insurgency since 1832 and is well known to the police. Conscripted for military service, he soon deserted and remained undiscovered in Paris, despite his repeated participation in conspiracies and the 1839 revolt.[238] In 1844 he reported to his regiment, and strangely enough, despite his well-known record, he was spared a court-martial by the divisional general. And that was not all: he did not serve his full time with the regiment but was allowed to return to Paris. In 1847 he was implicated in the incendiary bomb conspiracy[239]; he escaped an attempted arrest, but for all that remained in Paris, although he had been sentenced to four years *in contumaciam.*[a] Only when his fellow-conspirators accused him of being in league with the police did he go to Holland, whence he returned on February 21, 1848. After the February Revolution he became a captain in Caussidière's guards. Caussidière soon suspected him (a suspicion having a high degree of probability) of being in league with Marrast's special police and dispatched him without much resistance to Belgium and later to Germany. M. Chenu submitted willingly enough to successive enrolments in the Belgian, German and Polish volunteer corps. And all this at a time when Caussidière's power was already beginning to totter and although Chenu claims to have had complete control over him; thus he maintains he forced Caussidière by means of a threatening letter to free him immediately when he had once been arrested. So much for our author's character and credibility.

The quantities of make-up and patchouli beneath which prostitutes attempt to smother the less attractive aspects of their physical being have their literary counterpart in the *bel esprit* with which de la Hodde perfumes his pamphlet. The literary qualities of Chenu's book on the other hand frequently remind one of Gil Blas[b] by their naivety and the vivacity of their presentation. Just as in the most varied adventures Gil Blas always remains a servant and judges everything by a servant's standards, so Chenu always remains, from

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[a] For contempt of the court (in refusing to appear).—*Ed.*

[b] *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*, a novel by Alain René Le Sage.—*Ed.*

the 1832 revolt up to his dismissal from the prefecture, the same low-ranking conspirator, whose own particular form of narrow-mindedness can incidentally be very clearly distinguished from the dull ruminations of the literary *"faiseur"* apportioned to him by the Elysée. It is clear that there can be no question of any understanding of the revolutionary movement in Chenu's case either. For this reason the only chapters in his book which are of any interest are those in which he describes things more or less uninhibitedly from his own observation: *the Conspirators* and *Caussidière the Hero.*

The propensity of the Latin peoples to conspiracy and the part which conspiracies have played in modern Spanish, Italian and French history are well known. After the defeat of the Spanish and Italian conspirators at the beginning of the twenties, Lyons and especially Paris became the centres of revolutionary clubs. It is a well-known fact that the liberal bourgeoisie headed the conspiracies against the Restoration up to 1830. After the July Revolution the republican bourgeoisie took their place; the proletariat, trained in conspiracy even under the Restoration, began to dominate to the extent that the republican bourgeoisie were deterred from conspiring by the unsuccessful street battles. The *Société des saisons*, through which Barbès and Blanqui organised the 1839 revolt, was already exclusively proletarian, and so were the *Nouvelles saisons*, formed after the defeat, whose leader was Albert and in which Chenu, de la Hodde, Caussidière, etc., participated. Through its leaders the conspiracy was constantly in contact with the petty-bourgeois elements represented by *La Réforme*, but always kept itself strictly independent. These conspiracies never of course embraced the broad mass of the Paris proletariat. They were restricted to a comparatively small, continually fluctuating number of members which consisted partly of unchanging, veteran conspirators, regularly bequeathed by each secret society to its successor, and partly of newly recruited workers.

Of these veteran conspirators, Chenu describes virtually none but the class to which he himself belongs: the *professional conspirators.* With the development of proletarian conspiracies the need arose for a division of labour; the members were divided into occasional conspirators, *conspirateurs d'occasion*, i. e. workers who engaged in conspiracy alongside their other employment, merely attending meetings and holding themselves in readiness to appear at the place of assembly at the leaders' command, and professional conspirators who devoted their whole energy to the conspiracy and had their living from it. They formed the intermediate stratum between the workers and the leaders, and frequently even infiltrated the latter.

The social situation of this class determines its whole character from the very outset. Proletarian conspiracy naturally affords them only very limited and uncertain means of subsistence. They are therefore constantly obliged to dip into the cash-boxes of the conspiracy. A number of them also come into direct conflict with civil society as such and appear before the police courts with a greater or lesser degree of dignity. Their precarious livelihood, dependent in individual cases more on chance than on their activity, their irregular lives whose only fixed ports-of-call are the taverns of the *marchands de vin*[a]—the places of rendezvous of the conspirators—their inevitable acquaintance with all kinds of dubious people, place them in that social category which in Paris is known as *la bohême.* These democratic bohemians of proletarian origin—there are also democratic bohemians of bourgeois origin, democratic loafers and *piliers d'estaminet*[b]—are therefore either workers who have given up their work and have as a consequence become dissolute, or characters who have emerged from the lumpenproletariat and bring all the dissolute habits of that class with them into their new way of life. One can understand how in these circumstances a few *repris de justice*[c] are to be found implicated in practically every conspiracy trial.

The whole way of life of these professional conspirators has a most decidedly bohemian character. Recruiting sergeants for the conspiracy, they go from *marchand de vin* to *marchand de vin,* feeling the pulse of the workers, seeking out their men, cajoling them into the conspiracy and getting either the society's treasury or their new friends to foot the bill for the litres inevitably consumed in the process. Indeed it is really the *marchand de vin* who provides a roof over their heads. It is with him that the conspirator spends most of his time; it is here he has his rendezvous with his colleagues, with the members of his section and with prospective recruits; it is here, finally, that the secret meetings of sections (groups) and section leaders take place. The conspirator, highly sanguine in character anyway like all Parisian proletarians, soon develops into an absolute *bambocheur*[d] in this continual tavern atmosphere. The sinister conspirator, who in secret session exhibits a Spartan self-discipline, suddenly thaws and is transformed into a tavern regular whom everybody knows and who really understands how to enjoy his wine

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[a] Publicans.—*Ed.*
[b] Public house regulars.—*Ed.*
[c] Persons with a criminal record.—*Ed.*
[d] Boozer.—*Ed.*

and women. This conviviality is further intensified by the constant dangers the conspirator is exposed to; at any moment he may be called to the barricades, where he may be killed; at every turn the police set snares for him which may deliver him to prison or even to the galleys. Such dangers constitute the real spice of the trade; the greater the insecurity, the more the conspirator hastens to seize the pleasures of the moment. At the same time familiarity with danger makes him utterly indifferent to life and liberty. He is as at home in prison as in the wine-shop. He is ready for the call to action any day. The desperate recklessness which is exhibited in every insurrection in Paris is introduced precisely by these veteran professional conspirators, the *hommes de coups de main.*[a] They are the ones who throw up and command the first barricades, who organise resistance, lead the looting of arms-shops and the seizure of arms and ammunition from houses, and in the midst of the uprising carry out those daring raids which so often throw the government party into confusion. In a word, they are the officers of the insurrection.

It need scarcely be added that these conspirators do not confine themselves to the general organising of the revolutionary proletariat. It is precisely their business to anticipate the process of revolutionary development, to bring it artificially to crisis-point, to launch a revolution on the spur of the moment, without the conditions for a revolution. For them the only condition for revolution is the adequate preparation of their conspiracy. They are the alchemists of the revolution and are characterised by exactly the same chaotic thinking and blinkered obsessions as the alchemists of old. They leap at inventions which are supposed to work revolutionary miracles: incendiary bombs, destructive devices of magic effect, revolts which are expected to be all the more miraculous and astonishing in effect as their basis is less rational. Occupied with such scheming, they have no other purpose than the most immediate one of overthrowing the existing government and have the profoundest contempt for the more theoretical enlightenment of the proletariat about their class interests. Hence their plebeian rather than proletarian irritation at the *habits noirs,*[b] people of a greater or lesser degree of education who represent that aspect of the movement, from whom, however, they can never make themselves quite independent, since they are the official representatives of the party. The *habits noirs* also serve at times as their source of money. It goes without saying that the

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[a] Men of daring raids.—*Ed.*

[b] Frock-coats.—*Ed.*

conspirators are obliged to follow willy-nilly the development of the revolutionary party.

The chief characteristic of the conspirators' way of life is their battle with the police, to whom they have precisely the same relationship as thieves and prostitutes. The police tolerate the conspiracies, and not just as a necessary evil: they tolerate them as centres which they can keep under easy observation and where the most violent revolutionary elements in society meet, as the forges of revolt, which in France has become a tool of government quite as necessary as the police themselves, and finally as a recruiting place for their own political *mouchards*. Just as the most serviceable rogue-catchers, the Vidocqs and their cronies, are taken from the class of greater and lesser rascals, thieves, *escrocs*[a] and fraudulent bankrupts, and often revert to their old trade, in precisely the same way the humbler political policemen are recruited from among the professional conspirators. The conspirators are constantly in touch with the police, they come into conflict with them all the time; they hunt the *mouchards*, just as the *mouchards* hunt them. Spying is one of their main occupations. It is no wonder therefore that the short step from being a conspirator by trade to being a paid police spy is so frequently made, facilitated as it is by poverty and prison, by threats and promises. Hence the web of limitless suspicion within the conspiracies, which completely blinds their members and makes them see *mouchards* in their best people and their most trustworthy people in the real *mouchards*. That these spies recruited from among the conspirators mostly allow themselves to become involved with the police in the honest belief that they will be able to outwit them, that they succeed in playing a double role for a while, until they succumb more and more to the consequences of their first step, and that the police are often really outwitted by them, is self-evident. Whether, incidentally, such a conspirator succumbs to the snares of the police depends entirely on the coincidence of circumstances and rather on a quantitative than a qualitative difference in strength of character.

These are the conspirators whom Chenu parades before us, often in a most lively manner, and whose characters he sometimes eagerly and sometimes reluctantly describes. He himself, incidentally, is the epitome of the conspirator by trade, right down to his somewhat ambiguous connections with Delessert's and Marrast's police.

To the extent that the Paris proletariat came to the fore itself as a party, these conspirators lost some of their dominant influence, they

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[a] Swindlers.— *Ed.*

were dispersed and they encountered dangerous competition in proletarian secret societies, whose purpose was not immediate insurrection but the organisation and development of the proletariat. Even the 1839 revolt was decidedly proletarian and communist. But afterwards the divisions occurred which the veteran conspirators bemoan so much; divisions which had their origin in the workers' need to clarify their class interests and which found expression partly in the earlier conspiracies themselves and partly in new propagandist associations. The communist agitation which Cabet began so forcefully soon after 1839 and the controversies which arose within the Communist Party soon had the conspirators out of their depth. Both Chenu and de la Hodde admit that at the time of the February Revolution the Communists were by far the strongest party group among the revolutionary proletariat. The conspirators, if they were not to lose their influence on the workers and thus their importance as a counterbalance to the *habits noirs*, were obliged to go along with this trend and adopt socialist or communist ideas. Thus there arose even before the February Revolution that conflict between the workers' conspiracies, represented by Albert, and the *Réforme* people, the same conflict which was reproduced shortly afterwards in the Provisional Government. We would of course never dream of confusing Albert with these conspirators. It is clear from both works that Albert knew how to assert his own independent position above them, his tools, and he certainly does not belong to that category of people who practised conspiracy to earn their daily bread.

The 1847 bomb affair, a matter in which direct police action was greater than in any previous case, finally scattered the most obstinate and contrary-minded of the veteran conspirators and drove their former sections into the proletarian movement proper.

These professional conspirators, the most violent people in their sections and the *détenus politiques*[a] of proletarian origin, mostly veteran conspirators themselves, we find again as Montagnards in the Prefecture of Police after the February Revolution. The conspirators however form the core of the whole company. It is understandable that these people, suddenly armed and herded together here, mostly on quite familiar terms with their prefects and their officers, could not fail to form a somewhat turbulent corps. Just as the Montagne in the National Assembly was a parody of the original Montagne and by its impotence proved in the most striking manner that the old revolutionary traditions of 1793 no longer

[a] Political detainees.—*Ed.*

suffice today, so the Montagnards in the Prefecture of Police, the new version of the original sansculottes, proved that in the modern revolution this section of the proletariat is a so insufficient and that only the proletariat as a whole can carry the revolution through.

Chenu describes the sansculotte life-style of this honourable company in the Prefecture in a most lively manner. These comic scenes, in which M. Chenu was obviously an active participant, are sometimes rather wild, but very understandable in view of the character of the old conspiratorial *bambocheurs*, and form a necessary and even a healthy contrast to the orgies of the bourgeoisie in the last years of Louis Philippe.

We will quote just one example from the account of how they established themselves in the Prefecture.

"When the day broke, I saw the group leaders arrive one after the other with their men, but for the most part unarmed [...]. I drew Caussidière's attention to this. 'I'll get arms for them,' he said. 'Look for a suitable place to quarter them in the Prefecture.' I carried out this order at once and sent them to occupy that former police guardroom where I had once been so vilely treated myself. A moment later I saw them come running back. 'Where are you going?' I asked them. 'The guardroom is occupied by a crowd of policemen,' Devaisse replied to me; 'they are fast asleep and we're looking for something to waken them with and throw them out.'—They now armed themselves with whatever came to hand, ramrods, sabre-sheaths, straps folded double and broom-sticks. Then my lads, who had all had greater or lesser reason to complain of the insolence and brutality of the sleepers, fell on them with fists flying and for over half an hour taught them such a harsh lesson that some of them took a considerable time to recover. At their cries of terror I dashed up, and I only managed with difficulty to open the door which the Montagnards wisely kept locked on the inside. It was a sight for sore eyes to see the policemen dashing half-undressed into the courtyard. They jumped down the stairs in one bound, and it was lucky for them they knew every nook and cranny in the Prefecture and were able to escape from the sight of their enemies hard on their heels. Once masters of the place whose garrison they had just relieved with such courtesy, our Montagnards decked themselves out triumphantly in what the vanquished had left behind, and for a long time they were to be seen walking up and down the courtyard of the Prefecture, swords by their sides, coats over their shoulders and their heads resplendent in the three-cornered hats once so feared by the majority of them." (Pp. 83-85 [pp. 95-96].)

Now we have made the acquaintance of the Montagnards, let us turn to their leader, the hero of the Chenu saga, *Caussidière*. Chenu parades him all the more frequently before us as the whole book is actually directed against him.

The main accusations levelled against Caussidière relate to his moral life-style, his cavalier dealings in bills of exchange and other modest attempts to rustle up money such as any spirited Parisian *commis voyageur* in debt may and does resort to. Indeed, it is only the amount of capital which determines whether the cases of fraud, profiteering, swindling and stock-exchange speculation on which the

whole of commerce is based, impinge to any degree on the *Code pénal*. With regard to stock-exchange coups and the Chinese fraud which are especially typical of French commerce, it is worth referring for instance to Fourier's spicy descriptions in the *Quatre mouvements*, the *Fausse industrie*, the *Traité de l'unité universelle* and his posthumous works.[240] M. Chenu does not even try to prove that Caussidière exploited his position as Prefect of Police for his own ends. Indeed a party can congratulate itself if its victorious opponents can do nothing more than expose such pathetic instances of commercial immorality. What a contrast between the petty dabblings of the *commis voyageur* Caussidière and the grandiose scandals of the bourgeoisie in 1847! The only reason for the whole attack is that Caussidière belonged to the *Réforme* party, which sought to conceal its lack of revolutionary energy and understanding behind protestations of republican virtue and an attitude of sombre gravity.

Caussidière is the only entertaining figure amongst the leaders of the February Revolution. In his capacity as *loustic*[a] to the revolution, he was a most appropriate leader for the veteran professional conspirators. Sensual and endowed with a sense of humour, a regular of long standing in cafés and taverns of the most varied kind, happy to live and let live, but at the same time a brave soldier, concealing beneath broad-shouldered bonhomie and lack of inhibition great cunning, astute thought and acute observation, he possessed a certain revolutionary tact and revolutionary energy. At that time, Caussidière was a genuine plebeian who hated the bourgeoisie instinctively and shared all the plebeian passions to a high degree. Scarcely was he established in the Prefecture when he was already conspiring against the *National*, but without in so doing neglecting his predecessor's cuisine or cellar. He immediately organised a military force for himself, secured himself a newspaper, launched clubs, gave people parts to play and generally acted from the first moment with great self-confidence. In twenty-four hours the Prefecture was transformed into a fortress from which he could defy his enemies. But all his schemes either remained mere plans or amounted in practice to no more than plebeian pranks leading to nothing. When the conflicts became more acute, he shared the fate of his party, which remained indecisively in the middle between the *National* people and the proletarian revolutionaries such as Blanqui. His Montagnards split; the old *bambocheurs* grew too big for him and were no longer to be restrained, whilst the revolutionary section went over to Blanqui. Caussidière himself became increasingly

[a] Wag, joker.—*Ed.*

bourgeois in his official position as Prefect and representative; on May 15[241] he kept prudently in the background and excused himself in the Chamber in an irresponsible manner; on June 23 he deserted the insurrection at the crucial moment. As a reward he was naturally removed from the Prefecture and shortly afterwards sent into exile.

We now go on to some of the most significant passages from Chenu and de la Hodde concerning Caussidière.

Scarcely was de la Hodde established on the evening of February 24 as General Secretary to the Prefecture under Caussidière when the latter said to him:

"'I need reliable people here. The administrative side of things will always take care of itself more or less; for the time being I have kept on the old officials; as soon as the patriots have been trained, we shall *send them packing*. That is a secondary matter. What we must do is to make the Prefecture the stronghold of the revolution; give our men instructions to that effect; bring them all here. Once we have a thousand trusty comrades here, we shall have the whip hand. Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, Albert and I understand each other, and I hope everything will turn out all right. The *National* is for the high jump. And after that we shall republicanise the country all right, whether it likes it or not.'

"Thereupon Garnier-Pagès, the Mayor of Paris, under whose command the *National* had placed the police, arrived on a visit and suggested to Caussidière he might prefer to take over command of the castle at Compiègne instead of the unpleasant post at the Prefecture. Caussidière replied in that thin high-pitched voice of his which contrasted so strangely with his broad shoulders: 'Go to Compiègne? Out of the question. I am needed here. I have got several hundred merry lads down there doing a splendid job; I am expecting twice as many again. If you at the Hôtel de Ville haven't enough good will or courage, I'll be able to help you.... Ha, ha, *la révolution fera son petit bonhomme de chemin, il le faudra bien*!'[a]—'The revolution? But it's over!'—'Pshaw, it's not even started yet!'—The poor Mayor stood there looking like an utter ninny." (De la Hodde, p 72 [pp. 103-05].)

Amongst the most amusing scenes described by Chenu is the reception of the police officers and *officiers de paix* by the new Prefect, who was in the middle of a meal when they were announced.

"'Let them wait,' said Caussidière, 'the Prefect is *working*.' He went on working for a good half-hour more and then set the scene for the reception of the police officers who were meanwhile lined up on the great staircase. Caussidière sat down majestically in his armchair, his great sabre at his side; two wild, bloodthirsty-looking Montagnards were guarding the door, arms ordered and pipes in their mouths. Two captains with drawn sabres stood at each side of his desk. Then there were all the section leaders and the republicans who formed his general staff, grouped around the room, all of them armed with great sabres and cavalry pistols, muskets and shot-guns. Everyone was smoking and the cloud of smoke filling the room made their faces seem even more sombre and gave the scene a really frightening aspect. In the centre a space had remained clear for the police officers. Each man put on his hat and Caussidière gave the order for them to be brought in. The poor police officers wanted nothing

[a] The revolution will go its little way, it will have to!—*Ed.*

better, for they were exposed to the vulgarity and threats of the Montagnards, who would have liked to fricassee them in every sauce known to man. 'You gang of blackguards,' they bellowed, 'now it's our turn to have got you! You won't get out of here, you'll be flayed alive!...' As they entered the Prefect's office they felt they were exchanging Scylla for Charybdis. The first to set foot on the threshold seemed to hesitate a moment. He was uncertain whether to advance or retreat, so menacing were all the eyes fixed upon him. At last he ventured a step forward and bowed, another step and bowed more deeply, another step again and bowed even more deeply still. Each made his entry with deep bows in the direction of the awful Prefect, who received all these marks of respect coldly and in silence, his hand resting on the hilt of his sabre. The police officers took in this extraordinary scene with eyes like saucers. Some of them, beside themselves with fear and no doubt wanting to curry favour with us, found the tableau imposing and majestic.—'Silence!' commanded a Montagnard in sepulchral tones.—When they had all come in, Caussidière, who had neither spoken nor moved until that moment, broke the silence and said in his most fearful voice:

"'A week ago you scarcely expected to find me here in this position, surrounded by trusty friends. So they are your masters today, these cardboard republicans, as you once called them! You tremble before those whom you subjected to the most ignoble treatment. You, Vassal, were the vilest *séide*[a] of the fallen government, the most violent persecutor of the republicans, and now you have fallen into the hands of your most implacable enemies, for there is not one present here who escaped your persecutions. If I listened to the just demands that are put to me, I would take reprisals. I prefer to forget. Return to your posts again, all of you; but if I ever hear that you have lent a hand to any reactionary trickery, I shall crush you like vermin. Go!'

"The police officers had been through every gradation of terror, and happy to escape with a dressing-down from the Prefect, they went off in good spirits. The Montagnards who were waiting for them at the bottom of the stairs escorted them to the end of the rue de Jérusalem with a hubbub of catcalls and jeers. Scarcely had the last of them disappeared when we burst out into a tremendous fit of laughter. Caussidière was beaming and laughed more than anyone at the magnificent prank he had just played on his police officers." (Chenu, pp. 87-90 [pp. 99-102].)

After March 17, in which Caussidière played a big part, he said to Chenu:

"'I can raise up the masses and set them against the bourgeoisie whenever I like.'" (Chenu, p. 140 [p. 154].)

Caussidière never actually went further with his opponents than playing at giving them a fright.

Finally, concerning Caussidière's relations with the Montagnards, Chenu says:

"When I mentioned to Caussidière the excesses his men were indulging in, he sighed, but his hands were tied. The majority of them had lived his life with him, he had shared their joys and sorrows; several had done him good turns. If he was unable to restrain them, it was a consequence of his own past." (P. 97 [pp. 109-10].)

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[a] Fanatic.—*Ed.*

We would remind our readers that both these books were written at the time of the campaign for elections of March 10.[242] Their effect is clear from the election result—the brilliant victory of the reds.

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## III

### *LE SOCIALISME ET L'IMPÔT*, PAR ÉMILE DE GIRARDIN, PARIS, 1850[243]

There are two distinct kinds of socialism, "good" socialism and "bad" socialism.

*Bad* socialism is *"the war of labour against capital"*. At its door are laid all the horrors: equal distribution of the land, abolition of the family ties, organised plunder, etc.

*Good* socialism is *"harmony between labour and capital"*. In its train are found the abolition of ignorance, the elimination of the causes of pauperism, the establishment of credit, the multiplication of property, the reform of taxation, in a word,

"the system which most closely approximates to mankind's conception of the kingdom of God on earth" [p. 9].

This good socialism must be used to stifle the bad variety.

"Socialism is possessed of a lever; that lever was the *budget*. But it needed a fulcrum if it was to turn the world upside down. That fulcrum was supplied by the Revolution of February 24: *universal suffrage*" [p. 12].

The source of the budget is *taxation*. So the effect of universal suffrage on the budget must be its effect on taxation. And it is by its effect on taxation that "good" socialism is realised.

"France cannot pay more than 1,200 million francs in taxes annually. How would you set about reducing expenditure to this sum?"

"You have written into two charters and one constitution in the last thirty-five years that every Frenchman shall contribute to the upkeep of the state in proportion to his wealth. In the last thirty-five years, this equality of taxation has been a myth.... Let us examine the French system of taxation" [pp. 14-15, 17].

*1. Land-tax.* The land-tax does *not* fall *equally* on all landowners:

"If two adjacent plots are given the same assessment in the land-register, the two landowners pay the same tax, without any distinction between the apparent and the actual owners" [p. 22],

i.e. between the owner who is encumbered with mortgages and the one who is not.

Furthermore, the tax on land *bears no relation* to the taxes which are levied on other kinds of property. When the National Assembly introduced it in 1790, it was influenced by the physiocratic school, which regarded the soil as the only source of net income and therefore placed the full burden of taxation on the landowners. The tax on land is therefore based on an error in economics. If taxation were distributed equally, the owner of land would be liable for 20 per cent of his income, whereas he now pays 53 per cent.

Finally, according to its original purpose, the tax on land ought only to fall on the owner and never on the tenant of the farm-land. Instead, according to M. Girardin, it always falls on the tenant of the farm-land.

In this M. Girardin commits an error in economics. Either the tenant farmer really is a tenant farmer, in which case it is not he but the owner or the consumer on whom the tax falls; or else he is, despite the appearance of tenancy, basically merely in the owner's employ, as in Ireland and frequently in France, in which case the taxes imposed on the owner will always fall on him, whatever name they are given.

*II. Tax on persons and movable property.* This tax, which was also decreed by the National Assembly in 1790, was intended to fall directly on liquid assets. The amount of house-rent paid was taken to indicate the value of the assets. This tax falls in reality on the landowner, the peasant and the manufacturer, whilst it represents an insignificant burden or none at all for the rentier. It is therefore the complete opposite of what its authors intended. Besides, a millionaire may live in a garret with two rickety chairs—unjust, etc.

*III. Door and window tax.* An attack on the health of the people. A fiscal device directed against clean air and daylight.

"Almost one half of the dwellings in France have either only one door and no windows, or at most one door and one window" [p. 38].

This tax was adopted on 24th Vendémiaire of the year VII (October 14, 1799) because of an urgent need for money, as a temporary and extraordinary measure; but in principle it was rejected.

*IV. Licence-tax* (trades-tax). A tax not on profit but on the exercise of industry. A penalty for work. Designed to fall on the manufacturer, it falls largely on the consumer. In any case, when this tax was

imposed in 1791, it was also only a question of satisfying a momentary need for money.

*V. Registration and stamp duty.* The *droit d'enregistrement*[244] originated with Francis I and had initially no fiscal purpose (?). In 1790 the obligatory registration of contracts concerning property was extended and the fee raised. The tax operates in such a way that buying and selling cost more than donations and legacies. Stamp duty is a purely fiscal device which applies equally to unequal profits.

*VI. Beverage-tax.* The quintessence of injustice, an impediment to production, an irritant, the most costly to collect. (See moreover Issue III: 1848-1849, Consequences of June 13.[a])

*VII. Customs-duties.* A chaotic historical accumulation of pointless, mutually contradictory rates of duty injurious to industry. E. g. raw cotton is taxed at 22 frs. 50 cts. per 100 kilos in France. *Passons outre.*[b]

*VIII. Octroi.*[245] Lacks even the excuse of protecting a national industry. Internal customs. Originally a local poor-tax, but now chiefly a burden upon the poorer classes, resulting in the adulteration of their food. Puts as many obstacles in the way of national industry as there are towns.

So much for what Girardin has to say concerning the individual taxes. The reader will have noticed that his criticism is as shallow as it is correct. It is reducible to three arguments:

1. that no tax ever falls on the class intended by those who imposed the tax, but is shifted on to another class;

2. that every temporary tax takes root and becomes permanent;

3. that no tax is proportional to wealth, just, equal, or equitable.

These general economic objections to present taxation are repeated in every country. However, the French tax system has one characteristic peculiarity. Just as the British are the historic nation *par excellence* with regard to public and private law, so the French are with regard to the system of taxation, although in all other respects they have codified, simplified and broken with tradition in accordance with universal principles. Girardin says on this point[c]:

"In France we live under the rule of almost all the fiscal procedures of the *ancien régime.* Taille,[d] poll-tax, aide,[e] customs, salt-tax, registration fees, tax on legal

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[a] See this volume, pp. 117-21.— *Ed.*

[b] Let us proceed.— *Ed.*

[c] To support his arguments Girardin cites in the following passage the opinion of Eugène Daire, the publisher and commentator of the works of physiocrats and other economists.— *Ed.*

[d] A direct tax which mainly affected the peasants.— *Ed.*

[e] Indirect taxes.— *Ed.*

submissions, greffe, tobacco monopoly, excessive profits from the postal services and the sale of gunpowder, the lottery, parish or state corvée, billetting, octrois, river and road tolls, extraordinary levies—all these things may have changed their names, but they all persist in essence and have become no less a burden on the people nor any more productive for the treasury. The basis of our financial system is totally unscientific. It reflects nothing more than the traditions of the Middle Ages, which are in turn themselves the legacy of the ignorant and predatory fiscal practice of the Romans" [p. 102].

Nevertheless, as long ago as the National Assembly of the first revolution, our fathers cried out:

"We have made the revolution only in order to take taxation into our own hands."

But although this state of affairs was able to persist under the Empire, the Restoration and the July monarchy, its hour has now struck:

"The abolition of electoral privilege necessarily entails the abolition of all fiscal inequality. [...] There is therefore no time to be lost in coming to grips with the finance reform, if science is not to be ousted by violence.... *Taxation* is virtually *the sole foundation on which our society rests*... Social and political reforms are sought in the remotest and most elevated places; the most important are to be found in taxation. Seek here, and ye shall find" [pp. 103, 105, 108].

And what do we find?

"As *we* conceive taxation, taxation should be an *insurance premium* paid by those who have property, *to insure themselves against all risks which might disturb them in the possession and enjoyment of it*... This premium must be proportional and strict in its exactitude. Every tax which is not a guarantee against a risk, the price for a commodity or the equivalent for a service, must be abandoned—we allow but two exceptions: tax on foreign countries (*douane*) and tax on death (*enregistrement*).... The taxpayer is thus replaced by the insured person.... Everyone who has an interest in payment pays, and pays only to the extent of his interest.... We go further and say: every tax stands condemned by the mere fact that it bears the name of tax or imposition. *Every tax must be abolished* [...] for the peculiar characteristic of a tax is that it is obligatory, whereas it is in the nature of insurance to be voluntary" [pp. 120, 122, 127-28].

This insurance premium must not be confused with a tax on income; it is rather a tax on capital, in the same way that an insurance premium does not guarantee income but capital assets as a whole. The state acts in exactly the same way as the insurance companies, who do not want to know what revenue the thing insured yields but what it is worth.

"The national wealth of France is estimated at 134 thousand million, from which liabilities of 28 thousand million must be subtracted. If the budget expenditure is reduced to 1,200 million, only 1 per cent of the capital would need to be levied to raise the state to the level of a colossal mutual insurance company" [p. 130].

And from that moment onward—"*no more revolutions!*" [P. 131.]

"The word *solidarity* will replace the word *authority*; *communal interest* will become the bond linking the members of society" [p. 133].

M. Girardin does not rest content with this general suggestion but at the same time gives us a form for an insurance policy or registration such as will be issued to every citizen by the state.

Each year the former tax-collector gives the insured a policy consisting of "four pages of the size of a passport". On the first page is the name of the insured with his registration number, as well as the form for the receipts of the premium payments. On the second page are all the personal particulars of the insured and his family, along with a detailed estimate of the value he puts on his total assets, certified as correct; on the third page, the budget of the state along with a general balance for France, and on the fourth, all sorts of more or less useful statistical information. The policy serves as a passport, election card and travel record for workers, etc. The registers of these policies allow the state in turn to prepare the four Great Books: the Great Book of Population, the Great Book of Property, the Great Book of the Public Debt, and the Great Book of Mortgage Debts, which together contain full statistics of all the assets of France.

Taxation is merely the premium paid by the insured to permit him to enjoy the following benefits: 1. the right to public protection, a free legal service, free religious practice, free education, credit against security and a savings-bank pension; 2. exemption from military service in peace time; 3. protection from destitution; 4. compensation for loss through fire, floods, hail, cattle-disease and shipwreck.

We further observe that M. Girardin intends to raise the compensation sum which the state has to pay, in case of loss by insured persons, by means of various fines, etc., from the product of the nationally-owned estates and the fees from *enregistrement* and customs, which will have been maintained, as well as from the state monopolies.

Tax reform is the hobby-horse of every radical bourgeois, the specific element in all bourgeois economic reforms. From the earliest medieval philistines to the modern English free-traders, the main struggle has revolved around taxation.

Tax reform has as its aim either the abolition of traditional taxes which impede the progress of industry, or less extravagant state budgets, or more equal distribution. The further it slips from his grasp in practice, the more keenly does the bourgeois pursue the chimerical ideal of equal distribution of taxation.

The distribution relations, which rest directly upon bourgeois production, the relations between wages and profit, profit and interest, rent and profit, may at most be modified in inessentials by taxation, but the latter can never threaten their foundations. All investigations and discussions about taxation presuppose the everlasting continuance of these bourgeois relations. Even the abolition of taxes could only hasten the development of bourgeois property and its contradictions.

Taxation may benefit some classes and oppress others harshly, as we observe, for example, under the rule of the financial aristocracy. It is ruinous only for those intermediate sections of society between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, whose position does not allow them to shift the burden of taxation to another class.

Every new tax depresses the proletariat one step further; the abolition of an old tax increases not wages but profits. In a revolution, taxation, swollen to colossal proportions, can be used as a form of attack against private property; but even then it must be an incentive for new, revolutionary measures or eventually bring about a reversion to the old bourgeois relations.

The reduction of taxes, their more equitable distribution, etc., etc., is a banal *bourgeois reform*. The *abolition* of taxes is *bourgeois socialism*. This bourgeois socialism appeals especially to the industrial and commercial middle sections and to the peasants. The big bourgeoisie, who are already living in what is for them the best of possible worlds,[a] naturally despise the utopia of a best of worlds.

M. Girardin abolishes taxes by transforming them into an insurance premium. By paying a certain percentage, the members of society insure each other's assets against fire and flood, against hail and bankruptcy and against every possible risk which today disturbs the peace of bourgeois enjoyment. The annual contribution is not merely fixed by the insured persons collectively, but is determined by each individual himself. He estimates his assets himself. The crises of trade and agriculture, the torrent of losses and bankruptcies, all the fluctuations and vicissitudes of the bourgeois mode of life, which have been epidemic since the introduction of modern industry, all the poetry of bourgeois society will disappear. Universal security and insurance[b] will become a reality. The burgher has it in writing from the state that he cannot under any circumstances

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[a] An ironical paraphrase of Pangloss' famous dictum from Voltaire's *Candide*: "All is for the best in the best of possible worlds."—*Ed.*

[b] In the original a pun on the words *Sicherheit* (security) and *Versicherung* (insurance).—*Ed.*

be ruined. All the shady sides have gone from the present world, its bright sides live on, their brilliancy enhanced, in short, that system of government has become reality "which most closely approximates to the bourgeois conception of the kingdom of God on earth". In place of authority, solidarity; in place of compulsion, freedom; in place of the state, a committee of administrators—and the puzzle of Columbus and the egg is solved, the mathematically precise contribution of each "insured person", according to his assets. Each "insured person" carries a complete constitutional state, a fully formed bicameral system, within his breast. The fear of paying the state too much, the bourgeois opposition in the Chamber of Deputies, impels him to underestimate his assets. His interest in preserving his property, the conservative element of the Chamber of Peers, inclines him to overestimate them. The constitutional interaction of these opposing tendencies of necessity engenders the true balance of powers, the precisely correct valuation of assets, the exact proportion of the contribution.

A certain Roman wished his house might be made of glass so that his every action would be visible to all. The bourgeois wishes that not his own house but that of his neighbour should be of glass. This wish too is fulfilled. For example: a citizen asks me for an advance, or wishes to form an association with me. I ask him for his policy, and in it I have a confession, entire and in detail, of all his civil circumstances, guaranteed by his interest correctly understood and countersigned by the insurance board. A beggar knocks at my door and begs for alms. Let me see his policy. The burgher must be sure that his alms are going to the right man. I engage a servant, I take him into my house, I entrust myself to him for good or ill: let me see his policy!

"How many marriages are concluded without the two parties knowing exactly what to rely on concerning the reality of the dowry or their mutually exaggerated expectations" [p. 178].

Let us see their policies!

In future the exchange of loving hearts will be reduced to the exchange of policies by the two parties. Thus fraud will disappear, which today provides the sweetness and the bitterness of life, and the Kingdom of Truth in the strict sense of the word will become a reality. Nor is that all:

"Under the present system, the courts cost the state some $7^1/_2$ million, under our system offences will bring revenue instead of expense, for they will be transmuted into fines and compensation—what an idea!" [Pp. 190-91.]

Everything in this best of possible worlds brings in profit: crimes disappear and offences yield revenue.[a] Finally, as under this system property is protected against all risks and the state is no more than the universal insurance for all interests, the workers are always employed: "No more revolutions!"

> If that is not what the bourgeois wants,
> Then I don't know what else he wants!

The bourgeois state is nothing more than the mutual insurance of the bourgeois class against its individual members, as well as against the exploited class, insurance which will necessarily become increasingly expensive and to all appearances increasingly independent of bourgeois society, because the oppression of the exploited class is becoming ever more difficult. The change of name changes nothing in the nature of this insurance. M. Girardin himself is at once obliged to abandon the apparent independence from insurance which he for a moment allows individuals to enjoy. Anyone who estimates his assets too low is liable to punishment: the insurance fund buys his property from him at the price he has set and even encourages informers with rewards. Nor is that the worst: anyone who prefers not to insure his assets at all is declared outside society and simply outlawed. Society of course cannot tolerate the formation of a class in its midst which rebels against its very conditions of existence. Compulsion, authority, bureaucratic interference which are precisely what Girardin wants to eliminate, reappear in society. If for a moment he made abstraction of the conditions of bourgeois society, he did so only in order to return to them by another route.

Behind the abolition of taxation lurks the abolition of the state. The abolition of the state has meaning with the Communists, only as the necessary consequence of the abolition of classes, with which the need for the organised might of one class to keep the others down automatically disappears. In bourgeois countries the abolition of the state means that the power of the state is reduced to the level found in North America. There, the class contradictions are but incompletely developed; every clash between the classes is concealed by the outflow of the surplus proletarian population to the west; intervention by the power of the state, reduced to a minimum in the east, does not exist at all in the west. In feudal countries the abolition of the state means the abolition of feudalism and the creation of an

[a] In the original a pun on the words *vergehen* (disappear) and *Vergehen* (offences).—*Ed.*

ordinary bourgeois state. In Germany it conceals either a cowardly flight from the struggles that lie immediately ahead, a spurious inflating of *bourgeois* freedom into absolute independence and autonomy of the *individual*, or, finally, the indifference of the bourgeois towards all forms of state, provided the development of bourgeois interests is not obstructed. It is of course not the fault of the Berliners Stirner and Faucher that this abolition of the state "in the higher sense" is being preached in so fatuous a way. *La plus belle fille de la France ne peut donner que ce qu'elle a.*[a]

What remains of M. Girardin's insurance company is the *tax on capital*, as opposed to the tax on income, and in place of all other taxes. Capital for M. Girardin is not confined to capital employed in production, it embraces all movable and immovable assets. In respect of this tax on capital, he boasts:

"It is like the egg of Columbus, it is a pyramid which must stand on its base and not on its apex, [...] it is the stream cutting a course for itself, the revolution without revolutionaries, progress with never a backward step, movement with neither jar nor jolt, finally it is the Idea in all its simplicity and the true Law" [pp. 135-36].

There is no denying that of all the costermongering advertisements that M. Girardin has ever produced—and they, as we know, are legion—this prospectus for capital-tax represents the masterpiece.

Incidentally the tax on capital, as the sole form of taxation, has its merits. All the economists and Ricardo in particular have demonstrated the advantages of a single form of taxation. The tax on capital, as the sole form of taxation, eliminates at a stroke the expense of the numerous staff previously needed to administer taxation, interferes least with the regular process of production, circulation and consumption and is the only tax to fall on luxury capital.

But M. Girardin's tax on capital is not limited to this. Its effects include yet other and very special blessings.

Capital assets of equal size will be obliged to pay the same rates of tax to the state, regardless of whether they bring in 6 per cent, 3 per cent or no income at all. The consequence of this is that idle capital will be put to work and will increase the volume of productive capital, and that capital which is already productive will be put to yet further exertions, i. e. it will produce more in less time. The consequence of these two things will be a fall in profit and in the rate of interest.

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[a] The most beautiful girl in France can only give what she has.—*Ed.*

M. Girardin however asserts that profit and the rate of interest will then *rise*—a true economic miracle. The transformation of unproductive into productive capital and the increasing productivity of capital in general have intensified and aggravated the development of crises in industry and depressed profits and the rate of interest. The tax on capital can only hasten this process, exacerbate crises and thereby increase the growth of revolutionary elements.—"No more revolutions!"

A second miraculous effect of the tax on capital, according to M. Girardin, is that it would attract capital from the land, where its yield is low, to industry, where its yield is higher, bring down land prices and transplant to France the concentration of land, Britain's large-scale agriculture and therewith all of Britain's advanced industry. Quite apart from the fact that this would require a similar migration to France of the other conditions of British industry too, M. Girardin is here guilty of quite peculiar errors. Farming in France is suffering not from a surplus but from a lack of capital. Not by withdrawing capital from farming but on the contrary by pouring industrial capital into agriculture have British concentration and British farming come about. The price of land in Britain is far higher than in France; the total value of the land in Britain is almost as much as the whole national wealth of France, in Girardin's estimation. Concentration in France would therefore not merely not cause the price of land to fall, on the contrary it would cause it to rise. The concentration of landed property in Britain has furthermore totally swept away whole generations of the population. The same concentration, to which the tax on capital will of course necessarily contribute by hastening the ruin of the peasants, would in France drive the great mass of the peasants into the towns and make revolution all the more inevitable. And finally, if in France the tide has already begun to turn from fragmentation to concentration, in Britain the large landed estates are making giant strides towards renewed disintegration, conclusively proving that agriculture necessarily proceeds in an incessant cycle of concentration and fragmentation of the land, as long as bourgeois conditions as a whole continue to exist.

Enough of these miracles. Let us turn to the provision of credit for mortgage deposits.

Credit for mortgage deposits will initially only be available to landowners. The state will issue mortgage notes, resembling banknotes in all respects except that land is the guarantee instead of cash or bullion. These mortgage notes will be advanced by the state at 4 per cent to peasants in debt, and will be used to satisfy their

mortgage creditors; in place of the private creditor, the state now has the mortgage on the land and consolidates the debt so that repayment can never be demanded. The total of mortgage debts in France amounts to 14 thousand million. It is true that Girardin only envisages the issue of 5 thousand million mortgage notes, but the augmentation of paper money by such a sum would have the effect, not of making capital cheaper, but of devaluing paper money entirely. Moreover, Girardin lacks the courage to impose a fixed rate on this new paper. To obviate devaluation he proposes that the holders of these notes should exchange them *al pari*[a] for 3 per cent national debt certificates. The outcome of the transaction is thus as follows: the peasant who formerly paid 5 per cent interest and 1 per cent conveyancing, and renewal and other fees, now only pays 4 per cent and thus gains 2 per cent; the state borrows at 3 per cent and lends at 4 per cent, and thus gains 1 per cent; the former mortgage creditor, who previously received 5 per cent, is obliged by the threatening devaluation of mortgage notes gratefully to accept the 3 per cent he is offered by the state; he therefore loses 2 per cent. Furthermore the peasant does not need to pay his debt and the creditor can never realise what the state owes him. What these dealings therefore amount to is that behind the thin camouflage of the mortgage notes the mortgage creditors are directly robbed of 2 out of their 5 per cent. On the only occasion, apart from taxation, therefore that M. Girardin plans to change social relations themselves, he is forced to make a direct attack on private property, he has to become a revolutionary and to give up his whole utopia. And this attack is not even of his own invention. He borrowed it from the German Communists, who after the February Revolution were the first to demand that mortgage debts should be transformed into debts to the state;[b] admittedly in an entirely different fashion from M. Girardin, who even publicly opposed it. It is characteristic that on the sole occasion when M. Girardin proposes a somewhat revolutionary measure he has not the courage to suggest anything but a palliative which can only make the development of fragmentation in landownership in France the more chronic, and turn the clock back in that regard by a few decades, until the present state of affairs is finally reached again.

The only thing the reader will have missed throughout Girardin's exposé is the *workers*. But of course bourgeois socialism always

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[a] At their nominal value.—*Ed.*

[b] See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany* (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 3-7).—*Ed.*

presupposes that *society is exclusively composed of capitalists*, so as to be able then to resolve the issue between capital and wage labour according to this point of view.

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## REVIEW

[March-April 1850][246]

(Our monthly review had to be held over from the last issue due to lack of space. We print here only that part of the review which concerns England.)

Shortly before the anniversary of the February Revolution, when Carlier had the trees of liberty[a] cut down, *Punch* printed a drawing of a tree of liberty whose leaves are bayonets and whose fruits are bombs, and opposite this French tree of liberty, bristling with its bayonets, in a song of its own it sings the praises of the tree of English liberty, bearing the only sound fruit: pounds, shillings and pence.[b] But this feeble counting-house joke vanishes beside the immense outbursts of rage with which *The Times* has been foaming since March 10 at the triumphs of "anarchy".[c] The reactionary party in England, as in all countries, feels the blow struck in Paris as if it itself had been directly hit.

What threatens "order" in England most at present, however, is not the dangers emanating from Paris but a new and quite direct consequence of this order, a fruit of that English tree of liberty: a *trade crisis*.

In our January review (No. 2)[d] we already referred to the approach of the crisis. Several circumstances have hastened it. Before the last crisis in 1845, surplus capital found an outlet in railway speculation. The over-production and over-speculation in

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[a] See this volume, p. 24.—*Ed.*

[b] *Punch*, London, March 1850, Vol. 18, p. 92.—*Ed.*

[c] *The Times* No. 20436, March 14, 1850. On March 10, 1850, the Left-wing forces in France scored a success in a by-election to the Legislative Assembly.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, pp. 263-65.—*Ed.*

railways attained such a level however that the railway business did not recover, not even during the boom of 1848-49, and even the shares of the soundest enterprises of this kind are still exceptionally depressed in price. The low corn prices and the prospects for the harvest of 1850 equally provided no opportunity for the investment of capital, and the various state bonds were subject to too much of a risk to become the object of any large-scale speculation. Thus the surplus capital of the period of prosperity found its usual escape channels blocked. The only thing left for it to do was to throw itself completely into industrial production and into speculation in colonial products and in the decisive raw materials of industry, cotton and wool. With such a large part of the capital usually employed elsewhere flowing directly into industry, industrial production was naturally bound to increase with unusual rapidity and with it the glutting of the markets, and hence the outbreak of the crisis was significantly hastened. Already the first symptoms of the crisis are appearing in the most important branches of industry and financial speculation. For four weeks now that all-important branch of industry, cotton, has been completely depressed, and of its components the most important ones are those that are suffering most—the spinning and weaving of ordinary cloths. The fall in the prices of twist and of ordinary calicoes has already left the fall in the prices of raw cotton far behind. Production is being cut back; almost without exception the factories are now only working short time. A momentary reinvigoration of industrial activity was expected with the spring orders from the Continent; but while the orders given earlier for the internal market, for East India and China, and for the Levant are for the most part being cancelled, the continental orders, which always provided two months' work, have hardly come in at all as a result of the uncertain political conditions.—Here and there in the woollen industry symptoms can be seen which indicate the imminent end of the present, still fairly "healthy" state of business. The production of iron is similarly suffering. The producers consider it inevitable that prices will soon fall, and are trying to stop them from falling too rapidly by means of a coalition among themselves. So much for the state of industry. Now for financial speculation. The fall in cotton prices is due partly to new and increased supplies and partly to the depression in the industry. The same thing goes for colonial products. Supplies are increasing, consumption in the internal market is decreasing. In the last two months alone twenty-five shiploads of tea have arrived in Liverpool. The consumption of colonial products, held down even during the boom by the distress in the agricultural districts, is feeling all the

more heavily the pressure, which is now spreading to the industrial districts too. Already one of the most important colonial import houses in Liverpool has succumbed to this recession.

The effects of the trade crisis now breaking will be more significant than those of any crisis hitherto. It coincides with the agricultural crisis which already began with the repeal of the Corn Laws in England[247] and was intensified with the recent good harvests. For the first time England is *simultaneously* experiencing an *industrial crisis* and an *agricultural crisis*. This double crisis in England is being hastened and extended, and made more inflammable by the simultaneously impending convulsions on the Continent, and the continental revolutions will assume an incomparably more pronounced socialist character through the recoil of the English crisis on the world market. It is common knowledge that no European country reacts so directly, so extensively and so intensively to the effects of the English crisis as Germany. The reason is simple: Germany forms the largest continental market for England's exports, and the major German export articles, wool and corn, have by far their most significant outlet in England. History seems to have a weakness for that epigram to the Friends of Order, according to which the working classes revolt from insufficient consumption and the upper classes go bankrupt from superfluous production.

The Whigs will naturally be the first victims of the crisis. As of old they will abandon the helm of state as soon as the threatening storm breaks out. And this time they will say farewell to the Downing Street offices for good. A short-lived Tory ministry may follow them in the first instance, but the ground will be quaking under it, all the opposition parties will unite against it, with the industrialists in the van. These have no such popular panacea to oppose to the crisis as they had in the repeal of the Corn Laws. They will be forced to advance at least to a reform of Parliament. That is, they will assume the political power which cannot be denied them, in conditions which open the doors of Parliament to the proletariat, place the demands of the latter on the agenda of the House of Commons and hurl England into the European revolution.

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We have but little to add to these notes, written a month ago, concerning the impending trade crisis. The momentary improvement in business which regularly comes in spring has at last occurred this time also, although admittedly to a lesser degree than usual. French industry, which for the most part supplies light summer

fabrics, has especially profited from it; but increased orders have also come in to Manchester, Glasgow and the West Riding. This momentary revival of industry in spring occurs every year, incidentally, and only delays a little the development of the crisis.

Commerce in East India has experienced a momentary improvement as well. The more favourable rate of exchange in relation to England allowed the sellers to get rid of part of their stock below former prices, and the Bombay market was thus eased a little. This local and momentary improvement of business is also one of those border-line cases which occur from time to time, particularly at the start of every crisis, and which only have an insignificant influence on its general course of development.

On the other hand, reports have just come in from America which depict the market there as completely depressed. The American market, however, is the most decisive. With the glutting of the American market, with the standstill in business and the fall of prices in America the crisis proper will begin—the direct, rapid and irresistible reaction upon England will commence. We need only refer to the crisis of 1837. Only one article continues to rise in America: the United States national debt bonds, the only state bond which offers secure asylum to the capital of our European Friends of Order.

Following the entry of America into the recession brought about by over-production we may expect the crisis to develop rather more rapidly in the coming month than hitherto. Political developments on the Continent are likewise pressing daily more urgently towards a showdown, and the coincidence of trade crisis and revolution, which has already been mentioned several times in this *Revue*,[a] is becoming more and more certain. *Que les destins s'accomplissent!*[b]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 52-53.—*Ed.*
[b] Let fate take its course!—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## LOUIS NAPOLEON AND FOULD[248]

Our readers will recall that in our previous issue we showed how the finance aristocracy in France regained power. We took the opportunity to refer to the association of Louis Napoleon and Fould in the execution of profitable coups on the Stock Exchange.[a] It has already been noted that since Fould joined the Cabinet Louis Napoleon's unceasing demands on the Legislative Assembly for money have suddenly stopped. Since the recent elections, however, facts have been divulged which shed a glaring light on President Bonaparte's sources of income. Just one instance.

In our account we shall be drawing mainly on *La Patrie*, the respectable newspaper of the *Union électorale*,[249] whose owner, the banker Delamarre, is himself one of the most important stock-exchange gamblers in Paris.

A large-scale speculative operation *à la hausse*[b] was organised with an eye to the elections of March 10. M. Fould was the ringleader of the plot, the most prominent of the Friends of Order participated in it, and M. Bonaparte's camarilla had large cash interests in it, as did he himself.

On March 7 the 3 per cent bonds rose 5 centimes and the 5 per cent, 15 centimes; you see, *La Patrie* had made known the result of the preliminary election of the Friends of Order. This rise was too small for our speculators, however; a "boost" was needed. So *La Patrie* of March 8, which came out the previous evening, indicates in its stock-exchange bulletin that there is not the remotest doubt

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[a] See this volume, pp. 114-18.— *Ed.*

[b] On a rising market.— *Ed.*

about the victory of the party of Order. It states among other things:

"We will certainly not blame the capitalists for their restraint; if, however, there ever existed situations in which scepticism was inadmissible, this is one of them, after the results obtained in the primary election."

In order to evaluate the influence of the stock-exchange bulletin and the information in *La Patrie* in general on the Stock Exchange, one must know that it is the *de facto* 'official' gazette of the present government and receives official news *before* the *Moniteur* itself. Nevertheless, the coup failed this time.

On the 8th several army votes favourable to the red party became known and share prices immediately fell. A panic terror appeared to seize the speculators; it was now necessary to mobilise every means available. *La Patrie*'s stock-exchange bulletin stuck to its guns; every one of the *Union électorale*'s newspapers was ordered to the firing line; a few irregularities in connection with insignificant votes were discussed with great emphasis; one paper headlined the votes of a regiment which had voted monarchist; the republican papers were finally forced to publish some official denials, which a few days later proved to be just so many lies.

On the 9th these united endeavours succeeded in producing a small rise in state bonds at the opening of the Exchange, which did not last long, however. Until a quarter past two prices were rather low, but from that moment on they rose steadily until the close of business.[250] The causes of this sudden reversal were blurted out by *La Patrie* itself as follows:

"We are assured that some speculators with a large stake in an upswing made considerable purchases towards the close of business in order to create a positive mood in the provinces at the time of the election, and by the confidence roused in the provinces to bring about new purchases which would lead to a still higher rise."[a]

This operation amounted to several millions, its success lay in the rise of the 3 per cent bonds by 40 centimes and of the 5 per cent by 60 centimes.

This much is clear: there were speculators with a stake in the upswing who therefore made new purchases of a significant size at the critical moment in order to bring about a new rise. Who were these speculators? Let the facts provide the answer.

On the 11th there was a fall in prices on the Exchange. All the endeavours of the speculators were powerless against the uncertainty of the election results.

On the 12th a new, significant fall, since the result of the election

[a] *La Patrie* No. 69, March 10, 1850.—*Ed.*

was practically known, and it was as good as certain that the three socialist candidates[a] had an imposing majority. The speculating bulls now made a desperate effort. *La Patrie* and the *Moniteur du Soir* published, under the heading of official telegraphic despatches, election results from the provinces which were pure inventions. The manoeuvre succeeded. In the evening, at Tortoni's,[251] there was a slight rise. So it was only a matter of still further "boosting". The following news item was printed in *La Patrie*:

"According to the votes known so far, Citizen de Flotte only has a lead of 341 votes on Citizen F. Foy. This election result can still be decided in favour of our candidate by the votes of the mobile *gendarmerie*.—We are assured that the government will *tomorrow* lay before the Assembly two laws, on the press and on electoral assemblies, and demand that they be treated as a matter of urgency."[b]

The second item was false; only after long hesitation, after lengthy discussions with the leaders of the party of Order and a change in the Cabinet did the government decide to propose these laws. The first item was an even more brazen lie; at the very moment it was being published in *La Patrie*, the government sent a telegram to the *départements* stating that de Flotte had been elected.

Nonetheless, the stratagem succeeded; the bonds rose by 1 fr. 35 cts., and our gentlemen speculators realised between 3 and 4 millions. Surely, one cannot take it amiss of the "Friends of Property" if they seek to gain possession of as much of their fetish as possible in the interests of order and society.

As a result of this successful dodge[c] the speculators became so bold that they immediately made new purchases on the grandest scale, thus inducing a number of other capitalists to buy also. The rise was so pronounced that even the conjectural profits on this transaction were already being traded yet again. Then, on the morning of the 15th, came the crushing blow of the proclamation of Carnot, de Flotte and Vidal as representatives of the people; stock prices fell suddenly and irresistibly, and the defeat of our speculators could not be avoided by any further lying news reports or telegraphic fictions.

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[a] Lazare Hippolyte Carnot, Paul de Flotte and François Vidal.—*Ed.*
[b] *La Patrie* No. 74, March 15, 1850. The italics are Marx's.—*Ed.*
[c] The English word is used in the original.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## GOTTFRIED KINKEL[252]

The slackness in the German allegedly revolutionary party is so great that things which would arouse a universal storm in France or England blow over in Germany without anybody even being amazed that such things actually find general favour here. Herr Waldeck gives the jurymen a detailed witness's testimony that he was always a good constitutionalist, and is driven home in triumph by the Berlin democrats. In Trier, Herr Grün denies the revolution in a public court in the silliest fashion, and the people turn their backs on the condemned proletarians in the court-room to acclaim the acquitted industrialist.[253]

A fresh example of what is possible in Germany is provided by the defence speech made by Herr Gottfried Kinkel before the military court in Rastatt on August 4, 1849, and published in the Berlin *Abend-Post* of April 6 and 7 this year.

We know in advance that we shall provoke the general wrath of the sentimental swindlers and democratic spouters by denouncing this speech of the "captured" Kinkel to our party. To this we are completely indifferent. Our task is that of ruthless criticism, and much more against ostensible friends than against open enemies; and in maintaining this our position we gladly forego cheap democratic popularity. Our attack will by no means worsen Herr Kinkel's position; we *denounce his amnesty* by confirming his confession that he is not the man people allege to hold him for, and by declaring that he is worthy, not only of being amnestied, but even of entering the service of the Prussian state. Moreover, the speech has been published. We denounce the whole document to our party, and only reproduce the most striking passages here.

"Also, I was never in *command*, so that I am not responsible for the actions of others either. For I wish to guard against any identification of my actions with the dirt and filth which recently, I know, unfortunately tagged on to this revolution."

Since Herr Kinkel "joined the Besançon company as a private", and since he here casts suspicion on all commanders, was it not his duty at this juncture to exempt at least his immediate superior, Willich?

"I have never served in the army, and have therefore also *never broken any oath to the flag, nor used against my fatherland any military knowledge which I might have obtained in the service of my fatherland.*"

Was this not a direct denunciation of the captured former Prussian soldiers, of Jansen and Bernigau, who were shot soon afterwards; was it not a complete endorsement of the death sentence against Dortu, who had already been shot?

Herr Kinkel further denounces his own party to the military court in speaking of plans for ceding the left bank of the Rhine to France, and declaring himself to be innocent in relation to this criminal project. Herr Kinkel knows very well that there was only talk of a union of the Rhine Province with France in the sense that in the decisive battle between revolution and counter-revolution the Rhine Province would unfailingly fight on the revolutionary side, whether it was represented by Frenchmen or Chinamen. Just as little does he omit a reference to the mildness of his character, in contrast to the wild revolutionaries, which made it possible for him to have a good relationship with an Arndt and other conservatives as a *human being*, if not as a party man.

"My guilt is that in the summer I still wanted the same thing that you all wanted in March, that the whole German people wanted in March!"

Here he declares himself to be nothing but a fighter for the Imperial Constitution, who never wanted anything beyond the Imperial Constitution. We take note of this declaration.

Herr Kinkel comes to speak of an article which he wrote about a riot of the Prussian soldiers in Mainz,[254] and says:

"And what happened to me because of this? During this my absence from home I received a second summons to appear in court, and since I was unable to appear to defend myself I was deprived, as I have recently been informed, of the franchise for five years. *Five years deprivation of the franchise* was pronounced over me: for a man who has already once had the honour of being a *deputy, this is an exceedingly harsh punishment*" (!).

"How often have I heard it said that I am a '*bad Prussian*'; these words have wounded me.... Well then! *My* party has for the present lost the game in our fatherland. If the Prussian Crown now at last pursues a bold and strong policy, if *His*

*Royal Highness our Crown Prince, the Prince of Prussia*, succeeds in forging Germany into one by the sword, for no other way is possible, and giving it a great and respected place in relation to our neighbours, and ensuring real and lasting internal freedom, raising trade and intercourse again, sharing the military burden, now weighing too heavily on Prussia, equally over the whole of Germany, and above all providing bread for the poor of my nation, whose representative I feel myself to be—if your party succeeds in this, well, upon my oath! The honour and greatness of my fatherland are dearer to me than my ideals of state, and I know how to appreciate the French republicans of 1793" (Fouché and Talleyrand?) "who afterwards voluntarily bowed to the greatness of Napoleon for the sake of France; now should this happen, and then my people once again do me the honour of choosing me as their representative, *I should be the first deputy to cry with a glad heart: Long live the German Empire! Long live the Hohenzollern Empire!*[a] If one is a bad Prussian with such opinions, well! Then I really have no desire to be a good Prussian."

"Gentlemen, *think a little also of wife and child at home* when you pronounce sentence upon a man who stands before you today *in such deep misfortune* as a result of the changing tides of human destiny!"

Herr Kinkel made this speech at a time when twenty-six of his comrades were being sentenced to death and shot by the same military courts, men who faced the bullet in a quite different fashion from that in which Herr Kinkel faced his judges. When, incidentally, he presents himself as a quite harmless person, he is completely right. He only happened to join his party through a misunderstanding, and it would be a quite senseless piece of cruelty if the Prussian Government wished to keep him in the penitentiary any longer.

Written in mid-April 1850

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 4, 1850

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

[a] Kinkel's italics.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [EDITORIAL NOTE]

We have received the following report from Washington: "Herr Didier, editor of the *New-Yorker Schnellpost*, claims that he was formerly on the editorial staff of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*." We hereby declare that this is untrue.

Written in the second half of April 1850

Published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 4, 1850

Printed according to the journal

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## STATEMENT[255]

The Berlin *Abend-Post* of April 14 contains the following report, date-lined Stettin,[a] April 11.

"With reference to the London refugees it has been arranged that contributions should be sent to *Bucher*, who will contact *Schramm* (of Striegau[b]), since the other two committees live in dissension and share out contributions in a partial way."

In actual fact there is only *one* refugee committee[256] here in London, the undersigned, which was established in September last year with the commencement of emigration to London. Subsequently attempts have been made to set up other refugee committees; they have remained unsuccessful. The undersigned committee has hitherto been able—at least to prevent them dying from hunger—to aid the refugees arriving here in need of help—who all, except four or five, applied to us. The masses of refugees pouring in here now as a result of the Swiss expulsions have at last, it is true, almost exhausted the funds of this committee too. These funds have been shared out *absolutely equally* to all those who have been able to show that they participated in the revolutionary movements in Germany and were in need of help, regardless of whichever party faction they belonged to. If the undersigned committee has adopted the title "social-democratic", it is not because it has only supported refugees of this party, but because it has principally had recourse to the money available from this party—as was also made clear already in its Appeal of November last year.[257]

The rumour that heaps of money lay waiting for the refugees here in London—a rumour evidently provoked by the refugee lottery

[a] The Polish name is Szczecin.—*Ed.*
[b] The Polish name is Strzegom.—*Ed.*

suggested in Switzerland—led to demands being made on our committee which could not be fulfilled. On the other hand the simultaneous deliberate spreading of rumours in the newspapers about dissensions between competing committees has hindered the sending of sufficient contributions to London. The undersigned committee, in order to obtain information about the existence of other means and other committees for the support of the refugees, invited the refugees to send deputations to Citizens Struve, Rudolf Schramm, and Louis Bauer (from Stolpe). This was done. The refugees brought back the following answers:

Citizen Schramm (Striegau) declared that he belonged to no refugee committee, but had received a number of lottery tickets from Galeer in Geneva with instructions to send the money to Geneva. The other committee only *figures* as such.

Citizen Struve declared that he had no money, but only a number of lottery tickets, which he had not yet sold.

Citizen Bauer made the following written statement:

"Upon the request of refugee Kleiner it is hereby attested that the Refugee Committee of the Democratic Association[258] in this country is not in a position to support even a single political refugee, and that the funds of the society, after having donated £2.15.0 for this purpose, are similarly incapable of providing such assistance in future.

London, April 8, 1850

Dr. Bauer, President of the Support Committee of the Democratic Association"

Messrs. Struve and Schramm had advised the refugees to form a refugee committee from among themselves or from politically neutral persons. The undersigned committee left it to the discretion of the refugees to take a decision on this themselves. The answer was the following statement by the refugees:

"To the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee.

"London, April 7, 1850.—The undersigned refugees find cause, after the negotiations which have taken place on delegating the task of providing for us to a committee which might perhaps be formed from among ourselves, to express on the basis of the firm conviction of both the earlier and the more recently arrived refugees our deepest gratitude to the members of the presently existing committee for their activities and their painstaking assiduity in connection with this responsibility, since these have constantly shared out to our satisfaction the moneys to be administered. It only remains for us to wish that only these members may take care of us until the imminent revolution we all desire relieves them of this responsibility.

"Greetings and fraternity!" (The signatures follow.)

This document, drawn up by the refugees themselves, is the best answer to the above article and to other similar insinuations in the

press. Incidentally, we should not have replied were it not necessary in the interests of the refugees themselves, in need of support as they are, to enlighten the public concerning such statements.

London, April 20, 1850

The Social-Democratic Refugee Committee:

*K. Marx*, Chairman

*Fr. Engels, August Willich, K. Pfänder, H. Bauer*[a]

Published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* No. 102, April 28, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper and checked with the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] The editors attached the following note: "All democratic newspapers are requested to reproduce this Statement."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*

Sir,—In your number of Friday last[a] we perceive, among the police reports, an account of an interview of Messrs. Fothergill, Struve, and others, at the Mansion-house, with Mr. Alderman Gibbs, on behalf of the German refugees.[259] We beg to declare that neither any of the members of the undersigned committee, nor any of the German refugees supported by that committee, have had any connexion with this affair.

We request you, Sir, to publish this declaration in your next, as, in the interest of our nationality, we must protest against the numerous German refugees residing in London being made responsible for a step taken by some of them upon their own authority.

We are, Sir, your most obedient servants

The Democratic Socialist Committee for German Political Refugees—

*Ch. Marx*
*Ch. Pfaender*
*F. Engels*
*H. Bauer*
*A. Willich*

20 Great Windmill Street, Haymarket,
May 27, 1850[b]

Published in *The Times* No. 20500, May 28, 1850

Reprinted from the newspaper and checked with the rough draft by Engels

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[a] *The Times* No. 20497, May 24, 1850.—*Ed.*
[b] The rough draft has "May 24, 1850" written in an unknown hand.—*Ed.*

# Frederick Engels

## TWO YEARS OF A REVOLUTION; 1848 AND 1849[260]

[*The Democratic Review*, April 1850]

In the years 1848 and '49, there was published, in Cologne, a German daily paper, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (*New Rhenish Gazette*). This paper, edited by Charles Marx, chief editor, Frederick Engels, George Weerth, Freiligrath the celebrated poet, F. and W. Wolff, and others, very soon acquired an extraordinary degree of popularity, from the spirited and fearless manner in which it advocated the most advanced revolutionary principles, and the interests of the proletarians, of which it was the only organ in Germany. The Prussian government took advantage of the unsuccessful insurrections in the Rhenish provinces in May last, to stop the paper by various persecutions directed against the editors. They, in consequence, left the country, in order to seek new fields of activity in the various movements which at the time were either in preparation or taking place. Several of them went to Paris,[261] where a decisive turn of affairs (the 13th of June) was near at hand, and where they represented the German revolutionary party at the centre of French democracy; another[a] took his seat in the German National Assembly, which, at that moment, was being driven into insurrection; another,[b] again, went to Baden, and fought in the revolutionary army against the Prussians. After the defeats of these insurrections, they found themselves exiles in this country, in Switzerland, and France. Having no chance, for the moment, to re-establish a daily paper, they have got up a monthly magazine, to serve as their organ until circumstances shall allow them to re-assume their old position in the daily press of their country.

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[a] Wilhelm Wolff.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick Engels.—*Ed.*

The first number of this publication has just come to hand. It bears the same title as the daily paper did—*New Rhenish Gazette, a Political and Economical Review, edited by Charles Marx.*[a]

This first number contains three articles only. It opens with the first of a series of papers upon the two past years of revolutions, by the chief editor, Charles Marx. Then follows a relation of the insurrectionary campaign in Western and Southern Germany, during May, June, and July last, by Frederick Engels[b]; and, lastly, an article from the pen of Charles Blind (ex-ambassador at Paris of the Baden Provisional Government) upon the state of parties in Baden. These latter articles, although containing many important disclosures, are of interest chiefly to the German reader. The first article is devoted to a subject of primary interest to the readers of all countries, particularly the working classes. The subject, too, has found in Citizen Marx a writer every way able to do it justice. For these reasons, we deem it a duty to give as much in the shape of extract as our limited space will allow.

The article under notice treats of the Revolution of February; its causes and effects, and the succeeding events up to the great insurrection of June, 1848.[c]

"With the exception of very few chapters indeed, every important section of the revolutionary annals of 1848 and '49 bears upon its title page—*Defeat of Revolution!* But, what was really defeated in all these defeats was not revolution itself. It was, on the contrary, nothing but the unrevolutionary elements of the revolutionary party that were defeated[d]; individuals, delusions, ideas, plans, and projects of a more or less unrevolutionary character; elements[e] from which the subversive party[f] was not free before February, and of which it could not be freed by the victory of February, but by a series of defeats only. In other words: It was not by the immediate tragical or comical results of the first victory that the revolutionising progress made its way; this progress, on the contrary, was occasioned chiefly by the formation of a mighty and united counter-revolutionary interest, in the procreation of a foe, in grappling with whom the subversive party could alone develop itself to a really revolutionary party."

This is the general theme which Citizen Marx develops in the course of his article. He begins with exposing the causes of the

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[a] Engels gives the title of the journal in English.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 147-239.—*Ed.*

[c] Here and below Engels supplied his own translations of passages quoted from Marx's *The Class Struggles in France.* These differ in wording from the translation of the complete work in this volume of the *Collected Works.*—*Ed.*

[d] Marx has: "It was the pre-revolutionary traditional appendages, results of social relationships which had not yet come to the point of sharp class antagonisms" that were defeated (see p. 47 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[e] The words "of a more or less unrevolutionary character; elements" are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[f] Marx wrote "the revolutionary party".—*Ed.*

# TWO YEARS OF A REVOLUTION; 1848 AND 1849.

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The first page of Frederick Engels' article "Two Years of a Revolution; 1848 and 1849", published by *The Democratic Review*

revolution of February, and shews those causes to be far deeper rooted than any of the previous writers upon the subject ever have been able to do. With all historians of the last twenty years' events in France, it has been a thing generally agreed upon, that under Louis Philippe, the bourgeoisie, as a whole, was the ruling power, in France; that the scandalous disclosures of 1847 were the chief cause of the revolution, and that this revolution was a direct struggle of the proletarians against the bourgeoisie. Under Citizen Marx's pen, these assertions, although not directly and absolutely denied, yet undergo important modifications.

The German historian proves, that, under Louis Philippe, political power was concentrated in the hands, not of the entire bourgeois class, but of one fraction only of that class, that which is called in France the financial aristocracy, and, in England, the banking, funded, railway, etc., interests, or the moneyed interest, as opposed to the manufacturing interest.

"Not the entire bourgeois class of France lorded it over the country under Louis Philippe, but only one fraction of that class: bankers, stock-jobbers, railway kings, mining kings, and a part of the 'rallied' landlords—the so-called *financial aristocracy*. It was they who sat on the throne, who dictated laws in the Chambers, who disposed of government patronage, from the minister down to the licensed dealer in tobacco. The *manufacturing* portion of the bourgeoisie formed a part of the official opposition; they were represented by a minority only of the Chambers. Their opposition became more obstinate in the same measure as the exclusive sway of the financial aristocracy turned more and more exclusive; and as they themselves, after the fruitless insurrections[a] of the working people in 1832, 1834, and 1839,[262] deemed their dominion over the proletarians more firmly established.... The petty capitalists, the shopocracy[b] in all its various gradations, and the farming class, were entirely excluded from political power."

The necessary consequences of this exclusive dominion of the financial aristocracy were, that all public interest was made subservient to theirs; that the State was considered by them as a mere means to increase their fortunes at its expense. Citizen Marx depicts in a very forcible manner how this scandalous system was carried on in France for eighteen years; how the running up of the public debt, the increase in the public expenses, the never-ending financial difficulties and defects of the public purse, were so many sources from which new wealth flowed into the pockets of the money-lords, sources which every year were made to flow more freely, and to exhaust so much the quicker the resources of the country; how the expense of the government, the army and navy, the railways, and

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[a] Marx wrote "mutinies ... which had been drowned in blood".— *Ed.*

[b] This word is added by Engels.— *Ed.*

other public works, offered hundreds of opportunities, eagerly seized upon by the financiers, to cheat the public by fraudulent contracts, &c. In short—

"The monarchy of July was nothing else than a joint-stock company for working up the national wealth of France; the dividends of which society were shared amongst ministers, Chambers, 240,000 Parliamentary voters, and their more or less numerous[a] tail. Louis Philippe was the George Hudson[b] of this company—*Robert Macaire* on the throne. Trade, manufactures, agriculture, shipping, the interests of the manufacturing middle-classes, were necessarily and constantly damaged and endangered under this system [....]

"And while the jobbing interest made laws, directed the public administration, disposed of every organised public power, dominated public opinion by the press and by the power of facts, there was imitated in all spheres of society, from the court down to the *café-borgne*, that very same prostitution, that same shameless imposition, that same avidity of accumulating wealth, not by production, but by cheating others out of produce already existing. There was let loose—particularly in the most elevated regions of society, and coming, at every moment, into collision with bourgeois law itself—an universal outburst of those disorderly, unsound lusts and appetites, in which wealth acquired by gambling very naturally looks for satisfaction, where enjoyment becomes *crapuleux*, where gold, mud, and blood flow mixing together. The financial aristocracy, in its mode both of appropriating and of enjoying, is nothing but *the reproduction of 'Mob'*[c] *in the elevated spheres of bourgeois society.*"

The scandalous disclosures of 1847, the Teste[d] Praslin, Gudin, Dujarrier affairs, brought this state of things to the broad light of day. The infamous behaviour of the government in the Cracow, and Swiss Sonderbund affairs, violated the national pride to the utmost; while the victory of the Swiss liberals, and the revolution at Palermo, in January, '48 exalted the spirits of the opposition.[263]

"At last, the outbreak of the universal unsettled feeling was ripened into revolt by two great and general economical events. The first of these events was the potatoe disease, and the bad harvests of 1845 and '46.[e] The all but famine of 1847 provoked in France and other continental countries numerous bloody conflicts. *Here* the orgies of the financial aristocracy, *there* the people struggling for the first necessaries of life! At Buzançais the mutineers of hunger beheaded,[264] at Paris aristocratic thimble-riggers saved from the law by the royal family! The second great economical event[f] was an

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[a] The words "more or less numerous" are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx wrote "the director" (see p. 50 of this volume). Engels gives the name of a big English businessman.—*Ed.*

[c] Marx wrote "lumpenproletariat" (see p. 51 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[d] See Engels' note to the 1895 edition of Marx's *The Class Struggles in France* (p. 117 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[e] In Marx's work this sentence reads: "The *potatoe blight* and the *crop failures* of 1845 and 1846 increased the general ferment among the people" (see p. 52 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[f] In Marx's work there follows: "which hastened the outbreak of the revolution".—*Ed.*

universal commercial and industrial revulsion. Announced in England already in autumn 1845 by the wholesale breakdown of railway speculation, interrupted during 1846 by a series of incidents, and particularly the repeal of the Corn-laws—at last, in autumn 1847, it broke out in the failures of the large London colonial firms, followed up by the failures of country bankers, and the shutting up of the factories in the English manufacturing districts. The reaction of this crisis upon continental trade was not exhausted at the time the revolution broke out. This devastation of trade[a] made still more insupportable, in France, the exclusive rule of the monied interest. The opposing fractions of the bourgeoisie united in the banquet agitation[b] for a reform in Parliament, which should secure the majority to them. The commercial revulsion in Paris threw a number of manufacturers and wholesale dealers upon the home trade, as the foreign market offered for the moment no chance of profit. These capitalists set up large retail concerns, the competition of which ruined hundreds of smaller shopkeepers. Thence the numerous failures in this section of the Paris bourgeoisie, thence its revolutionary spirit in February."

The united action of these causes made the revolution of February break out. The provisional government was established. All opposing parties were represented in this government: the monarchical opposition[265] (Crémieux and even Dupont de l'Eure), the republican bourgeoisie (Marrast, Marie, Garnier-Pagès), the republican small trading class (Ledru-Rollin and Flocon), and the proletarians (Louis Blanc and Albert). Lamartine, lastly, represented the revolution of February itself, the common insurrection of bourgeois and proletarians, with its imaginary results, its delusions, its poetry, and its big words. By his position and his views he belonged to the bourgeoisie, the representatives of whom, therefore, formed the large majority of the new government.

"If in consequence of political centralisation Paris governs France, the working class in moments of revolutionary earthquakes govern Paris. The first act of the provisional government was directed against this overwhelming influence; it was an appeal from 'revolution-intoxicated Paris' to 'sober France'. Lamartine contested the right of the combatants[c] to proclaim the republic; 'the majority of the French people alone were competent to do so[d]; the working men had better not stain their victory by an usurpation',[e] etc. The bourgeoisie permitted to the working men one usurpation only: that of the combat."

The proletarians forced the government to proclaim the republic. Raspail acted as their speaker. He declared that, if in two hours this

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[a] In Marx's work this phrase reads: "The devastation of trade and industry caused by the economic epidemic", etc.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx wrote "Throughout the whole of France the bourgeois opposition *agitated at banquets*", etc.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx wrote "barricade fighters" (see p. 53 of this volume).— *Ed.*

[d] In Marx's work there follows: "they must await the majority vote".— *Ed.*

[e] From Lamartine's speech made in the Chamber of Deputies on February 24, 1848. Marx gives a summary of this speech.— *Ed.*

was not done, he should call again at the head of 200,000 armed working men. Before the term had elapsed the republic was proclaimed.

"The working class, in dictating the republic to the government and to France, all at once stepped forward into the foreground as an independent party, but at the same time provoked against itself all the bourgeois interest of France. What the proletarians had conquered, was not their emancipation, but the battle-field, upon which they could fight for their emancipation. The republic of February, in the beginning, could do nothing but *complete* the government of the middle-classes, in opening the circle of political action to all the propertied classes of France. The majority of the large landlords, the Legitimists, were emancipated from the political nullity to which they had been doomed by the revolution of 1830.[a] [...] By universal suffrage, that vast class of mere nominal landed proprietors (the real proprietors are the capitalists, to whom the property is mortgaged),[b] that class which forms the large majority of Frenchmen—the peasantry—was called upon to arbitrate the destinies of France. And lastly, the republic of February made openly manifest the rule of the bourgeoisie by setting aside the crown behind which capital had hitherto hid itself. The working men had established, in July 1830, the bourgeois monarchy—in February 1848,[c] they established the bourgeois republic. But as the monarchy of 1830[d] was forced to announce itself a 'monarchy surrounded with republican institutions', the republic of 1848[e] announced itself '*a republic surrounded with social institutions*'. This concession, too, was forced from the republic by the Parisian working men."

The "right to work" and the commission of the Luxembourg (by which Louis Blanc and Albert were virtually excluded from the government, the bourgeois majority of which retained the actual power) were the most conspicuous of these social institutions. The working men saw themselves reduced to work out their salvation, not *against* the bourgeoisie, but independent of, and side-to-side with the bourgeoisie. The Bourse and the Bank continued to exist; only the Socialist church of the Luxembourg was set up by the side of these two great bourgeois churches; and as the working men believed they could emancipate themselves without interfering with the interests of the bourgeoisie, they also believed they could do so without interfering with the remaining bourgeois nations of Europe.

"The development of the industrial working class is entirely dependent upon the development of the industrial capitalist class.[f] It is only under the government of this latter class, that the industrial proletarians attain that importance which alone can

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[a] Marx wrote "by the July monarchy" (see p. 54 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[b] The phrase in parenthesis is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[c] References to 1830 and 1848 are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[d] Marx wrote "the July monarchy".—*Ed.*

[e] Marx wrote "the February republic".—*Ed.*

[f] In Marx's work this sentence reads: "The development of the industrial proletariat is, in general, conditioned by the development of the industrial bourgeoisie" (see p. 56 of this volume).—*Ed.*

make their revolution a national one; that they create those immense productive powers of modern industry, which will become the means of their revolutionary emancipation; that the last roots[a] of feudalism are torn up, and thus the field prepared upon which alone a proletarian revolution is possible. Now, manufacturing industry, in France, is more advanced[b] than in any other country of the continent. But the fact, that the revolution of February was directed, before all, against the financial aristocracy—this fact proves clearly that the *industrial* bourgeoisie, before February, did not govern France. Indeed, the industrial bourgeoisie can govern in a country only, whose manufacturing industry commands, for its produce, the universal market; the limits of the home market are too narrow for its development.[c] The manufacturing industry of France, however, in a great measure commands even the home markets, by the protective duties only.[d] Therefore, if in Paris the proletarians, at the moment of a revolution, possess a real power, and an influence which lead them to outrun their ultimate[e] means of action—in the remainder of France they are concentrated in a few industrial centres, such as Lyons, Lille, Mulhouse, Rouen,[f] and almost disappear under the vast majority of surrounding peasants and small tradesmen. Therefore, the struggle against capital in its most developed and decisive form, the struggle of the industrial salaried working man against the industrial working capitalist, in France, is a mere local fact, which, after February, could not form the prominent national feature of the revolution. And it could do so the less, as the struggle against the more subordinate modes of action of capital, the struggle of the peasant against usury and the mortgaging system, of the small tradesman against the wholesale dealer, the banker, and manufacturer, in one word, against bankruptcy, were as yet enveloped in the general rising against the financial aristocracy. [...] The French proletarians could not take a single step in advance, could destroy not a single atom of the existing bourgeois institutions,[g] until the march of the revolution had aroused against the rule of capital, had forced to join the proletarians, all those intermediate classes, the peasants and the small tradesmen, who are neither bourgeois nor proletarians, and who, in France, form the large mass of the nation. Then, and then only, the proletarians, instead of pursuing their interests without interfering with those of the bourgeoisie, could proclaim the proletarian interests to be the revolutionary interests of the nation, and assert them in direct opposition to those of the bourgeoisie.[266] And it was only by their immense defeat in June, '48, that the proletarians could approach that victory....

"Thus the government of the bourgeoisie was abolished by the establishment of the republic; it was abolished, not in reality, but[h] in the imagination of the working men, who took the financial aristocracy for the entire bourgeoisie; in the imagination

[a] Marx wrote "the material roots" (see p. 56 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[b] In Marx's work there follows: "and the French bourgeoisie more revolutionary".—*Ed.*

[c] In Marx's work the end of the sentence reads as follows: "where modern industry shapes all property relations to suit itself, and industry can win this power only where it has conquered the world market, for national bounds are inadequate for its development".—*Ed.*

[d] Marx wrote "through a more or less modified system of prohibitive tariffs".—*Ed.*

[e] The word "ultimate" is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[f] The names of the industrial centres are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[g] Marx wrote "a hair of the bourgeois order".—*Ed.*

[h] The words "not in reality, but" are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

of republican worthies who denied the existence of hostile[a] classes, or who, at the very utmost, admitted it as a consequence of monarchy.[b] Thus every royalist all at once called himself a republican, and every millionaire a working man. The word which corresponded to this imaginary abolition of classes and class interests[c] was the word *Fraternity*, the universal brotherhood. This very pleasant abstraction from all existing antagonism of classes, this sentimental adjustment of opposed class interests, this enthusiastic elevation into those sublime regions where no earthly class struggles exist, this fraternity was the great word of the revolution of February. The struggling classes were divided by a mere *mistake*, and Lamartine, on the 24th of February, called for a government which should put an end to that 'dreadful *misunderstanding*', which had sprung up between the several classes of society."

We shall continue these extracts in our next. The acts of the provisional government, the convocation of the National Assembly, and the insurrection of June will then be passed in review.

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[*The Democratic Review*, May 1850]

In our number for April we followed up Citizen Marx's remarks upon the revolution of February, up to the establishment and first acts of the provisional government. We had, already, more than one occasion to see that the middle-class elements of that government were powerful enough to subserve the interests of their order, and to profit by the ignorance of the proletarians of Paris as to their real interests, and to the means for advancing them. We continue our extracts:—

"The republic found no resistance, neither at home nor abroad. By this single fact it was disarmed. Its aim was no longer to revolutionise the world, its aim was to adapt itself to the exigences of existing bourgeois society. And the fanaticism with which the provisional government followed up this aim, is proved especially in its financial measures.

"Public and private credit, of course, were shaken. Public credit is based on the certainty that the State allows the Jews of finance to fatten upon it. But the *old* State was gone, and the revolution had been directed, before all, against these financial Jews. Besides, that oscillations of the last European commercial crisis had not yet subsided. There were, as yet, failures following upon failures. Private credit had been paralysed, circulation stopped, and production obstructed, before even the revolution of February broke out. The revolutionary crisis, of course, augmented the commercial one. And if private credit is based upon the certitude, that the bourgeois mode of

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[a] The word "hostile" is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx has here "as a result of the constitutional monarchy", and after a semicolon one more phrase which reads: "in the hypocritical phrases of the factions of the bourgeoisie which until then had been excluded from power" (see p. 57 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[c] Marx has "class relations" instead of "classes and class interests".—*Ed.*

producing wealth,[a] that the whole bourgeois order of things, is intact and inviolable, what must have been the effect of a revolution which called into question the very foundation of the bourgeois mode of producing the economical slavery of the proletarian class; and which, in opposition to the Bourse, set up the Sphinx of the Luxembourg? The emancipation of the proletarian class, means the repeal of bourgeois credit, for it is the abolition of bourgeois production and of the social state consistent with it. Public and private credit are the thermometers[b] by which you may measure the intensity of a revolution. *In the same degree in which credit falls rises the ardour and the potency of revolution.*

"The provisional government was anxious to free the republic from its anti-bourgeois appearance. It had, therefore, in the first instance to ensure its exchangeable value, *its current price on 'Change.* And with the current price of the republic on 'Change, private credit, of course, was sure to rise again.

"In order to destroy even the slightest suspicion, that the republic would or could not fulfil the engagements inherited from monarchy—in order to restore faith in its bourgeois morality and solvency, the provisional government had recourse to a puff quite as childish as it was devoid of dignity. It paid to the public creditors the interest of the debt even *before* it was legally due. The bourgeois *a-plomb*, the self-reliance of the capitalists awoke suddenly again when they saw the anxiety with which the government sought to buy up their confidence. [...]

"The financial aristocracy who ruled under Louis Philippe,[c] had their cathedral church in the Bank. As the Exchange governs public credit, the Bank governs private credit.[d]

"Directly menaced by the revolution,[e] not only in its dominion but in its very existence, the Bank tried at once to discredit the republic by destroying credit everywhere. The Bank at once refused credit to the private bankers, to the manufacturers and merchants. This manoeuvre, as it did not succeed in producing a counter-revolution, recoiled, in its consequences, upon the Bank itself. Capitalists withdrew the coin they had deposited in its vaults. Holders of notes ran upon the Bank to have them changed for coin.

"Without any forcible interference, in a strictly legal manner, the provisional government could have forced the Bank into bankruptcy, they had only to remain passive and to abandon it to its fate. The *failure of the Bank*—that was the deluge which would have swept away from the soil of France in an instant the financial aristocracy, that most powerful and most dangerous enemy of the republic—that golden pedestal of the monarchy of July. And the Bank once bankrupt, must not even the bourgeoisie have regarded it as a last effort on the part of the government if it had created a national bank and subjected national credit to the control of the nation?

"But on the contrary: the provisional government acted as Pitt in 1797 had done, suspended cash payments and[f] made the notes of the bank a legal tender. Still more, it made all provincial banks branch banks of the Bank of France, and allowed it, thus, to spread its net all over the country. Later on, the government mortgaged to the Bank, for a loan, the national woods and forests. Thus the revolution of February

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[a] Marx wrote "that bourgeois production in the entire scope of its relations", etc. (see p. 59 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[b] Marx wrote "the economic thermometer".—*Ed.*

[c] Marx wrote "under the July monarchy" (see p. 60 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[d] Marx wrote "commercial credit".—*Ed.*

[e] Marx wrote "the February Revolution".—*Ed.*

[f] The phrase "acted as Pitt in 1797 had done, suspended cash payments and" is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

fortified and enlarged the power of the financial aristocracy[a] which it had been its aim to destroy!"

It is generally known what the government, so merciful to the money-lords of the Exchange and the Bank, gave to the classes forming the opposite extremity of society: to the working men and small tradespeople it gave the confiscation of the money in the savings' banks, to the peasantry the tax of the 45 centimes upon every franc of the four direct taxes.

"The sums deposited in the savings' bank were seized and declared a consolidated public debt.[b] By this the small trader was exasperated against the republic.[c] By receiving, instead of his money,[d] mere government securities, which he was obliged to sell on 'Change, he fell utterly a prey to the Jews of the Bourse, against whom he had made the revolution of February!! [...]

"The tax of the 45 centimes fell most heavily upon the peasantry, who formed the large majority of the French people. They had to pay the expenses of the revolution of February, and naturally they henceforth formed the chief material for the counter-revolution. The tax of the 45 centimes was a vital question for the peasant, and he made it a vital question for the republic. The republic, for him, was henceforth identical with that obnoxious tax,[e] and the proletarian of Paris appeared to him in the light of the lazy prodigal who feasted at his expense. If the revolution of 1789 had set in with the freeing of the peasantry from all feudal charges, the revolution of 1848[f] announced itself to that class[g] by a new tax!!

"There was only one means for the government to weather all these inconveniences and to throw the State out of the old track: and that was a *declaration of national bankruptcy*. The Jew banker Fould, the present minister of finance, proposed this remedy to Ledru-Rollin,[h] and the virtuous indignation is not yet forgotten with which this citizen, as he himself stated in the National Assembly, protested against such a proposal. M. Fould had offered to him the apple from the tree of knowledge!!!

"The provisional government, in accepting the bills of exchange drawn by old bourgeois society upon the State, had surrendered into its hands. It had become the persecuted debtor of bourgeois society, instead of standing up against it as its threatening creditor, who had to enforce payment of revolutionary debts of many years' standing. It had to refortify bourgeois society,[i] in order to be enabled to fulfil

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[a] Marx wrote "enlarged the bankocracy".—*Ed.*

[b] Marx wrote "and by decree transformed into an irredeemable state debt" (see p. 60 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[c] In Marx's work this sentence reads as follows: "This embittered the already hard pressed *petty bourgeois* against the republic" (see p. 60 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[d] Marx wrote "in place of his savings bank books" (see p. 60 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[e] Marx wrote "the *45 centimes tax*" (see p. 61 of this volume).—*Ed.*

f In Marx's work there follows: "in order not to endanger capital and to keep its state machine going".—*Ed.*

[g] Marx wrote "to the rural population".—*Ed.*

[h] This refers to the speech which Ledru-Rollin made in the Constituent Assembly on April 21, 1849. The words "this remedy" are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[i] Marx wrote "to consolidate the shaky bourgeois relationships" (see p. 62 of this volume).—*Ed.*

engagements which can be fulfilled within the pale of bourgeois society only. Credit was its very first condition of existence, and the concessions and promises made to the proletarians were turned into as many fetters, which it had to throw off. The emancipation of the proletarians, even as a mere word, became an insupportable danger for the republic, for it was a never-ending protest against the restoration of credit, which is based upon the undisturbed and inviolate acknowledgement of the existing antagonism of classes.[a] There was a necessity, then, to *put down, once for all,*[b] *the proletarians.*"

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[*The Democratic Review*, June 1850]

The army had been exiled from Paris since February; the national guard, *i.e.*, the armed bourgeoisie, the only armed force in Paris, had never been strong enough to fight, by itself, the proletarians. It had, in spite of all resistance, been adulterated by the admixture of working men. There was no chance left but that of opposing working men to working men.

"For this purpose the provisional government formed twenty-four battalions of *gardes mobile*, each numbering 1,000 men, mostly from 15 to 20 years of age. They were recruits, almost exclusively from the mob,[c] which in all large towns, forms a mass entirely distinct from the industrial working class,[d] recruiting class for thieves and criminals of all sorts, living upon the offal of society, people without any fixed trade, vagrants, *gens sans feu et sans aveu*, differing according to the character of the nation to which they belong[e]; and in the early age at which the government recruited them, capable as well of the greatest heroism and the most exalted self-sacrifice, as of the lowest degree of villainy and the dirtiest corruptibility. The provisional government bought them up for one and a half francs daily. They gave them a regimental dress to distinguish them in every respect from the working men in the *blouse*. Their officers were either taken from the army or from the sons of the bourgeoisie,[f] whose splendid speeches about dying for the republic deceived them. And the people took these 24,000 vigorous and daring young soldiers, who had just left the barricades, for their own army, for the real proletarian guards, in opposition to the old bourgeois national guard.[g] Their error was excusable.

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[a] Marx wrote "existing economic class relations" (ibid.).— *Ed.*

[b] The words "once for all" are added by Engels.— *Ed.*

[c] Marx wrote "*lumpenproletariat*" (ibid.).— *Ed.*

[d] Marx wrote "the industrial proletariat".— *Ed.*

[e] Marx wrote "according to the degree of civilisation of the nation to which they belong, but never renouncing their *lazzaroni* character".— *Ed.*

[f] In Marx's work the corresponding passage reads: "And so the Paris proletariat officers from the standing army as leaders; in part they themselves elected young sons of the bourgeoisie", etc.— *Ed.*

[g] In Marx's work the corresponding passage reads: "And so the Paris proletariat was confronted with an army, drawn from its own midst, of 24,000 young, strong, foolhardy men. It gave cheers for the Mobile Guard on its marches through Paris. It acknowledged it to be its foremost fighters on the barricades. It regarded it as the *proletarian* guard in contradistinction to the bourgeois National Guard."— *Ed.*

"The government, besides, resolved to surround themselves with an industrial army. Minister Marie enlisted a hundred thousand working men (thrown into the street by the crisis and the revolution), into *ateliers nationaux*. Under this high-sounding name there was hidden nothing but the application of these working men to tedious, monotonous, unproductive labour on embankments, &c., &c., for wages of 23 sous ($11^1/_2$d)[a] daily. *English workhouses in the open air*—the *ateliers nationaux* were nothing but that. The provisional government hoped they had thus formed by them a second proletarian army to be used against the working class at large.[b] But the bourgeoisie were deceived in the *ateliers nationaux*, as the people were deceived in the *garde mobile*. They had created an army for insurrection.

"But one end was obtained: *ateliers nationaux* was the name for the public workshops which Louis Blanc had asked for in the Luxembourg. The *ateliers* of Marie had been created in direct opposition to the Luxembourg. [...] The rumour was spread that Louis Blanc had invented the *ateliers nationaux*; and this appeared the more credible as Louis Blanc, the prophet of national workshops, was himself a member of the provisional government. And thus in the opinion, artificially kept up, of the Paris bourgeoisie, of France and Europe,[c] those workhouses were the first realisation of Socialism which, in them, was nailed to the pillory.

"Not by their reality, but by their name, the *ateliers nationaux* were the incorporated protest of the proletarian order against bourgeois industry, bourgeois credit, and the bourgeois republic. Upon them, then, fell the whole hatred of the bourgeoisie. This class, at the same time, had found in them the object against which to direct the first attack, as soon as it had recovered the necessary strength for declaring against the illusions of February. All the hatred and grumbling of the small trading class was at once directed against these *ateliers nationaux*. They, with unfeigned anger, calculated the sums devoured by these proletarian unproductives, while their own position got worse every day. [...] The national workshops, the declarations of the Luxembourg, the proletarian processions through Paris, these were, in their estimation, the causes of their own critical situation. And no one fanaticised himself more against the pretended plottings of the Communists, than the petty tradesman, the shopkeeper of Paris, who himself was on the verge of the abyss of bankruptcy.[d]

"Thus, while every day brought the stirring news of a new revolution to the victory-intoxicated people, the bourgeoisie concentrated more and more in their hands all the advantages, all the decisive positions for the ensuing struggle between them and the proletarians—all the control over the intermediate classes of society."[e]

The necessary consequence was a series of moral victories of the bourgeoisie. If the proletarians, on the 17th of March, had apparently the upper hand, yet the real end of the manifestation, the

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[a] This is added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Marx wrote "*against the workers themselves*" (see p. 63 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[c] In Marx's work the beginning of this sentence reads: "And in the half naive, half intentional confusion of the Paris bourgeoisie, in the artificially moulded opinion of France, of Europe", etc. (ibid.).—*Ed.*

[d] In Marx's work the end of the sentence reads as follows: "than the petty bourgeoisie, who hovered hopelessly on the brink of bankruptcy" (see p. 64 of this volume). The words "the shopkeeper of Paris" are added by Engels.—*Ed.*

[e] In Marx's work this passage reads: "Thus in the approaching skirmish between bourgeoisie and proletariat, all the advantages, all the decisive posts, all the middle

**subjection of the provisional government to the will of the proletarians, was defeated. The 16th of April, however, was a decided defeat of the proletarians, and was followed by the return of the army into Paris.[267] The election for the National Assembly, shortly after, gave a decided majority to the bourgeoisie.**

"Universal suffrage did not possess that magic power which the old republican party had attributed to it. They saw in all France, at least in the majority of Frenchmen, only *citizens* with identical interests, identical ideas and intelligences.[a] They worshipped what they called the people. But, instead of this *imaginary* French people, universal suffrage brought to light the real people, that is to say, representatives of the different classes of which it is composed. And we have seen why the peasantry and the small trading class were obliged to vote under the direction of the now again warlike bourgeoisie, and of the large landlords, who ardently strove for a restoration. But if universal suffrage was not the magic wand, which credulous, self-deceiving republicans believed it to be, it had the far higher merit of causing the struggle of the classes to make the different intermediate sections of bourgeois society pass rapidly through the different stages of[b] illusions and disillusionings, to force all the factions of the capitalist class at once into political power, and thus to tear off from a portion of them the delusive mask of opposition which they had worn under the monarchy.[c]

"In the Constituent National Assembly, which met on the 4th of May, the bourgeois republicans, the men of the *National*, had the majority. Legitimists and Orleanists, in the beginning, dared to show themselves only under the mask of bourgeois republicanism. It was in the name of the republic only that the struggle against the proletarians could be commenced.... The republic, as proclaimed by the National Assembly,[d] was not a revolutionary weapon against bourgeois society, but, on the contrary, [...] was the bourgeois republic. In the National Assembly all France sat in judgment on the Parisian working men. That assembly at once did away with the social delusions of February, it proclaimed plainly and unmistakably the bourgeois republic,[e] it excluded from the Executive Commission the representatives of the proletarians, Louis Blanc and Albert; it rejected the motion for a separate Ministry of

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strata of society were in the hands of the bourgeoisie, at the same time as the waves of the February Revolution rose high over the whole Continent, and each new post brought a new bulletin of revolution, now from Italy, now from Germany, now from the remotest parts of South-Eastern Europe, and maintained the general ecstasy of the people, giving it constant testimony of a victory that it had already forfeited."— *Ed.*

[a] The word "intelligences" is added by Engels.— *Ed.*

[b] The words "the different stages of" are added by Engels.— *Ed.*

[c] In Marx's work the end of the sentence reads as follows: "of tossing all the sections of the exploiting class at one throw to the apex of the state, and thus tearing from them their deceptive mask, whereas the monarchy with its property qualifications only let certain factions of the bourgeoisie compromise themselves, allowing the others to lie hidden behind the scenes and surrounding them with the halo of a common opposition" (see p. 65 of this volume).— *Ed.*

[d] Marx wrote "The republic proclaimed by the National Assembly, the sole legitimate republic", etc.— *Ed.*

[e] In Marx's work there follows: "nothing but the bourgeois republic".— *Ed.*

Labour; it received with storms of applause the announcement of its minister, Trélat, that the only thing to be done was, *to reduce labour to its former conditions.*[a]

"But all this was insufficient. The republic of February had been founded[b] by the working men with the passive assistance of the bourgeoisie. The proletarians considered themselves, rightly, as the conquerors, and made the haughty pretensions of conquerors. It was necessary, therefore, to combat and vanquish them in the streets.[c] And as the republic of February, with its socialist concessions, had been brought about by a battle of the proletarian class, then united with the bourgeoisie against royalty, another battle was necessary to separate the republic from the socialist concessions, to set up the bourgeois republic officially. [...] The real birth of the bourgeois republic is not the victory of February, it is the defeat of June."

The collision of the 15th of May, and the battle of the 23rd, 24th, 25th, and 26th of June,[268] are known enough in their immediate causes, and in the events connected with them. The defeat of June decided, *for a time,* the conflict between the two contending classes.

"The Paris proletarians had been *forced* into the insurrection of June by the bourgeoisie. This circumstance already contains in it its condemnatory judgment. Neither were the proletarians pushed by immediate and recognised necessity to overthrow the bourgeoisie; nor were they strong enough for the task. The *Moniteur* informed them officially that the time was past when the republic could feel inclined to bow before their 'illusions'; and their defeat could alone convince them that even the very least amelioration of their condition was hopeless if looked for within the limits of the bourgeois republic.[d] And now, in the place of the seemingly extravagant, but in reality very petty and even middle-class measures which the workman would force upon the republic of February, now was proclaimed the daring, revolutionary battle-cry: *Down with the bourgeoisie! Dictatorship of the Working Class!*

"The bourgeois republic, created from the blood of the working people, was compelled to come out[e] at once in its true character as the state, the openly proclaimed end of which is to eternalise the ascendancy of capital and the slavery of labour. Bourgeois ascendancy, freed from all fetters, but never losing sight of its implacable and invincible enemy,[f] could not but immediately turn into *bourgeois terrorism.* The proletarians for the moment removed from the stage; the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie once acknowledged; the intermediate strata of bourgeois society, shopocracy, and peasantry, the more their own condition got insupportable, and the more their antagonism against the bourgeoisie became pronounced, were obliged to associate with the proletarians."

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[a] From Trélat's speech made in the Constituent Assembly on June 20, 1848.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx wrote "was won" (see p. 66 of this volume).— *Ed.*

[c] Marx goes on to say: "they had to be shown that they were worsted as soon as they did not fight *with* the bourgeoisie, but *against* the bourgeoisie.— *Ed.*

[d] Marx has one more phrase which reads: "a utopia that becomes a crime as soon as it wants to become a reality" (see p. 69 of this volume).— *Ed.*

[e] In Marx's work the beginning of the sentence reads as follows: "By making its burial place the birthplace of the *bourgeois republic*, the proletariat compelled the latter to come out", etc. (ibid.).— *Ed.*

[f] Marx has one more phrase which reads: "invincible because his existence is the condition of its own life".— *Ed.*

If the defeat of June, in France, fortified the political power of the bourgeoisie, it destroyed it in the other continental countries. The open alliance of the bourgeoisie with feudal royalty, which everywhere, after June, was entered into, was profited of by royalty to break the power of the bourgeoisie.

"The defeat of June revealed to the despotic powers of Europe the secret that France could not do without external peace in order to carry on the internal war. Thus the nations that had risen for national independence were sacrificed to Russia, Austria, and Prussia. These national revolutions were subjected to the fate of the proletarian revolution.[a] The Hungarian shall not be free, nor the Pole, nor the Italian, as long as the working man remains a slave!

"Lastly, by the victories of the Holy Alliance, Europe took a direction which necessarily will cause any new proletarian revolution in France to give birth to universal war. The next French revolution will be forced to extend itself beyond the limits of the national territory, and to conquer that *European* surface which alone will allow free development to the social revolution of the nineteenth century.[b]

"Thus it was by the defeat of June only that all the conditions were created under which France is enabled to take the initiative of the European revolution. Thus, only after its having been dyed in the blood of the insurgents of June, the Tricolour became the banner of European revolution — the *Red Flag!!*"[c]

Written in the spring of 1850

**Reprinted from the journal**

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[a] Marx goes on to say: "and they were robbed of their apparent autonomy, their independence of the great social revolution" (see p. 70 of this volume).—*Ed.*

[b] In Marx's work the end of the sentence reads as follows: "and *conquer the European terrain*, on which alone the social revolution of the nineteenth century can be accomplished" (ibid.).—*Ed.*

[c] Marx ends the first article of his series with the following words: "And we exclaim: *The revolution is dead!—Long live the revolution!*"—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [A LETTER TO THE PRUSSIAN AMBASSADOR IN LONDON, BARON BUNSEN][269]

64 Dean Street, Soho Square,
May 30th, 1850

Sir,

We learn from the public papers, that the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* has, of late, published a series of revelations concerning that part of the German and particularly the Prussian emigration which, at the present moment, resides in London; that the above-named paper has spoken of certain relations existing between London and Berlin, and that it has brought the name of one of the undersigned in connexion with this subject.

The Society of which we are members[a] does not take in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*. We therefore take the liberty of addressing ourselves to you, and we expect from your loyalty, that you, Sir, the official representative in this country, of our nationality, will have the *courtoisie* to furnish us with the numbers in question of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*.

We have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servants

*Charles Marx*
*August Willich*
*Frederick Engels*

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Printed according to the original in Engels' hand

Published in English for the first time

[a] German Workers' Educational Society in London.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## ADDRESS OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO THE LEAGUE[270]

June 1850

### CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO THE LEAGUE

Brothers!

In our last circular letter,[a] brought to you by the emissary of the League,[b] we gave you an account of the position of the workers' party and, in particular, the League, both at the present time and in the event of a revolution.

The chief purpose of this letter is to report on the present state of the League.

The defeats of the revolutionary party last summer brought for a moment the League to the point of almost total disorganisation. The most active League members who had taken part in the various movements were scattered; contact was lost, addresses were unreliable, and this together with the danger of letters being opened made correspondence impossible for a time. So until towards the end of last year the Central Authority was condemned to complete inactivity.

As the first effects of the defeat suffered wore off, the need for a strong secret organisation of the revolutionary party throughout Germany made itself felt. In the Central Authority this need gave rise to the decision to send an emissary to Germany and Switzerland. On the other hand it led to an attempt to organise a new clandestine group in Switzerland and to an attempt by the Cologne community to reorganise the League in Germany on their own initiative.

In Switzerland, early in the year, a number of refugees who had made a more or less distinguished name for themselves in the various movements formed themselves into a group whose aim was

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[a] See this volume, pp. 277-87.—*Ed.*

[b] Heinrich Bauer.—*Ed.*

when the opportunity arose to participate in the overthrow of the governments and to keep men in readiness to lead the movement and even take over the government.[271] The group did not belong to any particular party—the motley character of its adherents did not permit this. For they represented every political shade of the movement and ranged from resolute Communists and even former League members to the most timorous petty-bourgeois democrats and ex-members of the Palatinate Government.

At the time a large number of people from Baden and the Palatinate seeking positions or with lesser ambitions were in Switzerland. For them this group offered desirable opportunities for self-advancement.

Nor were the instructions which the group sent to its agents and which are in the possession of the Central Authority of a kind to inspire confidence. The absence of a definite party point of view as well as the attempt to bring all the available oppositional elements into a specious unity were poorly concealed under a mass of detail about industrial, agricultural, political and military conditions in the different localities. The strength of this group was likewise very insignificant. According to the complete list of members in our possession the whole society at its zenith consisted of barely 30 members in Switzerland. It is noteworthy that among these there were hardly any workers. From the start it was an army consisting exclusively of N.C.O.s and officers without soldiers. It included people like P. Fries and Greiner from the Palatinate, Körner from Elberfeld, Sigel, etc.

They sent two agents to Germany. The first, Bruhn, was a League member from Holstein. He contrived by false pretences to induce a number of League members and communities to join the new group for a time, in the belief that it was the resurrected League. At the same time he sent a report on the League to the Swiss Central Authority in Zurich and another on the Swiss group to us. Not content with this ambiguous position, while he was still in correspondence with us, he wrote direct libels to the above-named people in Frankfurt, who had been won for the Swiss affairs, and instructed them to have nothing to do with London. Because of this he was at once expelled from the League. The matter in Frankfurt was settled by the League emissary. For the rest Bruhn's labour on behalf of the Swiss Central Authority remained without effect. The second agent was a student named Schurz from Bonn. He too achieved nothing because, as he wrote to Zurich, "he found that the League already controlled all useful forces". He then left Germany suddenly and is now drifting around Brussels and Paris, where the

League keeps an eye on him. That the Central Authority did not regard the new group as a danger to the League was due to the fact that a quite trustworthy League member[a] belonged to its central committee and had been instructed to watch and keep us informed about the plans and measures resolved upon by these people insofar as they were directed against the League. The Central Authority has also sent an emissary to Switzerland[b] to assist the above-mentioned League member to attract useful people to the League and in general to organise the League in Switzerland. All this information is based on quite reliable documentary evidence.

Another attempt of the same sort was made earlier by Struve, Sigel and others, who were united in Geneva at the time. These people were impertinent enough to pretend that the organisation they had tried to form actually was the League and to misuse the names of the League members for this purpose. Of course, their lies deceived no one. Their attempt was so futile in all respects that the few remaining members of this abortive organisation in Switzerland were finally forced to join the group already mentioned. But the more impotent this coterie became the more imposing were the titles they gave to themselves—like "Central Committee of European Democracy", etc. Here in London, too, Struve continued his efforts in this direction together with other disillusioned great men. Manifestos and invitations to join the "Central Bureau of the United German Emigration" and the "Central Committee of European Democracy"[272] were sent all over Germany, but once more without the slightest response.

The alleged connections between this coterie and French and other non-German revolutionaries simply do not exist. All its activities are confined to a number of petty intrigues among the local German refugees. They have no direct effect on the League and represent no threat. It is easy to keep an eye on them.

All attempts of this sort either have the same goal as the League, i. e. the revolutionary organisation of the workers' party. In this case they destroy the centralisation and strength of the party by fragmenting it and so they are definitely to be regarded as harmful separatism. Or they can only aim at misusing the workers' party for purposes alien or directly opposed to it. The workers' party can use other parties and party factions for its own purposes on occasion but must never subordinate itself to any other party. But those people who were in the government during the last movement[c] and who

[a] Wilhelm Wolff.—*Ed.*

[b] Ernst Dronke.—*Ed.*

[c] The reference is to the insurgent movement for the Imperial Constitution in Germany in the spring and summer of 1849.—*Ed.*

used their position to betray the movement and to suppress the workers' party wherever it wanted to act independently must be kept at a distance under all circumstances.

We have the following to report about the state of the League.

### *I. Belgium*

The organisation of the League as it existed among the Belgian workers in 1846 and 1847 has, of course, disappeared since 1848, when the chief members were arrested, condemned to death and had their sentences commuted to imprisonment for life.[273] In general the League in Belgium has lost much of its strength since the February Revolution and the expulsion of most of the members of the German Workers' Society[274] from Brussels. The present policy of the police has not permitted it to reorganise. Despite this a community has managed to survive in Brussels to this day and it functions to the best of its ability.

### *II. Germany*

It had been the intention of the Central Authority to give in this circular a special report on the situation of the League in Germany. But this is not possible at the present time as the Prussian police is investigating a widespread organisation among the revolutionary party.[a] This circular will be sent to Germany by a safe route but copies may possibly fall into the hands of the police here and there in the course of distribution within Germany. It must therefore be so formulated that its content will not give the police any evidence that could be used against the League. For the moment then the Central Authority confines itself to the following remarks.

The chief centres of the League in Germany are Cologne, Frankfurt am Main, Hanau, Mainz, Wiesbaden, Hamburg, Schwerin, Berlin, Breslau, Liegnitz, Glogau,[b] Leipzig, Nuremberg, Munich, Bamberg, Würzburg, Stuttgart and Baden.

The following are appointed leading districts: Hamburg for Schleswig-Holstein; Schwerin for Mecklenburg; Breslau for Silesia; Leipzig for Saxony and Berlin; Nuremberg for Bavaria; Cologne for Rhineland and Westphalia.

For the time being the communities in Göttingen, Stuttgart and Brussels shall remain in direct communication with the Central

[a] See this volume, pp. 378 and 382-83.—*Ed.*

[b] The Polish names are Wroclaw, Legnica, Glogow.—*Ed.*

Authority until they have extended their influence to the point where new leading districts can be formed.

The position of the League in Baden will not be determined until receipt of the report from the emissary sent there and to Switzerland.[a]

Where, as in Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg, there are peasants' and labourers' associations, League members have been able directly to influence them and in part to gain complete control. The workers' and labourers' associations in Saxony, Franconia, Hesse and Nassau are also for the most part under the leadership of the League. The most influential members of the Workers' Fraternity[275] also belong to the League. The Central Authority would point out to all communities and League members that such influence on the workers', sport, peasants' and labourers' associations, etc., is of the very greatest importance and should be achieved wherever possible. The Central Authority requests the leading districts and the communities which correspond directly with it to make special mention of what has happened in this respect in their next reports.

The emissary to Germany,[b] who has received a commendation from the Central Authority for his efforts, has everywhere admitted only the most reliable people as members to the League and has left the further expansion of the League in their hands, relying on their greater knowledge of local conditions. Whether it will be possible to recruit resolute revolutionaries to the League will depend on the situation in the various localities. Where this is not possible a second class of League members should be formed from among people who do not yet understand the communist consequences of the present movement but who are useful and reliable. This second class must be told that their organisation is purely local or provincial and it must constantly be under the supervision of the actual League members and authorities. For with the aid of these additional contacts it will be possible to gain a firm grip on the peasants' and sport associations. The detailed organisation can be left to the leading districts and the Central Authority looks forward to their reports on these matters as soon as possible.

One community has proposed to the Central Authority that a League congress be convened immediately on German soil. The communities and districts will realise themselves that in the present circumstances it is not advisable to convene even provincial

[a] Ernst Dronke.—*Ed.*
[b] Heinrich Bauer.—*Ed.*

congresses of the leading districts everywhere. A general League congress is quite out of the question at the present time. But as soon as circumstances permit the Central Authority will convene a congress of the League in a suitable place.—Prussian Rhineland and Westphalia have recently been visited by an emissary[a] of the Cologne leading district. The report on this tour has not yet been received in Cologne. We request all leading districts likewise to send out emissaries to tour their regions as soon as possible and to report back on the results. Lastly, we report that in Schleswig-Holstein contacts have been established with the army; we are awaiting an account of what influence the League may hope to gain there.

### *III. Switzerland*

We are still awaiting the report of our emissary[b] and so we shall return to this in greater detail in our next circular.

### *IV. France*

Contacts with the German workers in Besançon and other places in the Jura will be re-established from Switzerland. In Paris, Ewerbeck, the League member who has been the leader of the communities there, has announced his resignation from the League as he thinks that his literary activities are more important. In consequence, contact has been disrupted for the time being and must be re-established with all the more caution as the Parisians have admitted a number of people who are quite useless and who in the past have even been directly hostile to the League.

### *V. England*

The London district is the strongest in the whole League. It has distinguished itself above all by the fact that for some years now it has financed the League and in particular the emissaries' journeys almost unaided. It recently strengthened itself still further by admitting new elements and it continually provides leadership for the local German Workers' Society[276] as well as the most energetic section of German refugees here.

The Central Authority maintains contact with the resolutely revolutionary parties among the French, English and Hungarians through a few members delegated for the purpose.

[a] Peter Nothjung.—*Ed.*

[b] Ernst Dronke's first report to the Central Authority was sent on July 3, 1850. Dronke wrote to Engels about the League's affairs on July 10, 1850.—*Ed.*

Of the French revolutionaries the really proletarian party, led by Blanqui, has joined forces with us. The delegates of the Blanquist secret societies are in regular and official contact with the League delegates whom they have entrusted with important tasks in preparation for the next French revolution.

The leaders of the revolutionary Chartist party are also in regular close contact with the delegates of the Central Authority.[277] Their journals are at our disposal. The breach between this revolutionary independent workers' party and the more conciliatory faction led by O'Connor was substantially hastened thanks to League delegates.

Similarly the Central Authority is in contact with the most progressive party of the Hungarian refugees. This party is important as it boasts a number of excellent military leaders whose services would be available to the League in a revolution.

The Central Authority requests the leading districts to distribute this circular among their members as quickly as possible and to report soon. All members are urged to make the greatest possible efforts, especially at this moment when the situation is so critical that the outbreak of a new revolution can no longer be very far away.

Written in June 1850 Printed according to the book

Distributed in manuscript copies

Published by Engels in the Appendices to the book: K. Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-prozess zu Köln*, Hottingen-Zürich, 1885

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## THE PRUSSIAN REFUGEES

### TO THE EDITOR OF *THE SUN*[278]

Sir,

For some time past we, the undersigned German political refugees residing in London, have had occasion to admire the attention paid to us not only by the Prussian Embassy but also by the British Government. We should not have taken much notice of this, as we should be at a loss to conceive in what respect we might possibly come into collision with what the Alien Bill[279] calls "the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of these realms", but we have of late read so much in the public papers about orders given to the Prussian Ambassador[a] to insist upon the removal from England of the most dangerous refugees, and we have been for about a week past so closely watched by English police agents, that we really think we must lay the case before the public.

No doubt the Prussian Government exert themselves to have the Alien Bill enforced against us. But why? Because we interfere in English politics? It would be impossible to prove that we had done so. Why, then? Because the Prussian Government must pretend that the shot fired at the King[b] in Berlin was the result of the wide-spread conspiracy, the centre of which is to be sought in London.

Now, let us look to the facts of the case. Can the Prussian Government deny that Sefeloge, the author of the attempt, besides being a notorious madman, is a member of the ultra-Royalist Society the *Treubund*?[280] Can they deny that he is registered in the books of that society as member No. 133, section No. 2, in Berlin? Can they deny that he has received, not long ago, pecuniary aid from that society? Can they deny that his papers were deposited at the house of

[a] Bunsen.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

a Major Kunowski, an ultra-Royalist, employed at the Royal War Office?

It is really ridiculous to pretend, in the face of such facts, that the revolutionary party had anything to do with that attempt. The revolutionary party have no interest in seeing the Prince of Prussia arrive speedily at the throne, but the ultra-Royalists have. And yet the Prussian Government is making the Radical Opposition pay for the attempt, as is shown by the new law against the liberty of the press,[a] and by the activity of the Prussian Embassy in London.

We may state, at the same time, that about a fortnight before the attempt, persons whom we have the conviction to be Prussian agents, presented themselves to us, trying to entrap us into regicidal conspiracies. We were, of course, not to be made the dupes of such attempts.

If the British Government desires any information respecting us, we shall always be ready to give it. What it can hope to learn by sending spies after us we are at a loss to conceive.

The Holy Alliance, now re-constructing under the egis of Russia, would be too glad if they could succeed in making England, the only stumbling-block in their way, adopt a reactionary policy at home. What would become of the anti-Russian feeling of England, of the diplomatic notes and Parliamentary assertions of her Government, if commented upon by an enforcement of the Alien Bill, called forth by nothing but the revenge of the Holy Alliance, of which Prussia forms part and parcel?

The Governments of the Holy Alliance, we hope, will not succeed in deceiving the British Government to such an extent as would call forth from the Home Office measures which would seriously affect the long-established reputation of England as safest asylum for refugees of all parties and of all countries.

We remain, Sir, your most obedient servants,

*Charles Marx*, *Fred. Engels*, } Editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of Cologne

*Aug. Willich*, Colonel in the Insurrectionary Army in Baden

64 Dean Street, Soho Square,
June 14, 1850

Published in *The Sun*, June 15, 1850 and in *The Northern Star* No. 660, June 15, 1850

Reprinted from *The Sun* and checked with *The Northern Star*

[a] Of June 8, 1850.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE SPECTATOR*[281]

**(Private)**

Sir,

We take the liberty of requesting you to insert the enclosed letter in your next.[a] We have every reason to believe, that there exists, on the part of the government, an inclination to enforce the Alien Bill and to have it then renewed by Parliament. We are, it seems, to be the first victims. We think that the honour of the English nation is somewhat interested in preventing the execution of such a plan; we think, too, we cannot do better but appeal frankly from the British Government to public opinion. And, therefore, hope you will not refuse to our letter the publicity which your widely-circulated paper is sure to give it.

In case you should wish any further information, we shall be glad to give it, if you will only be kind enough to let us know when and where we can meet you.

We are, Sir, yours most respectfully.

Written on June 14, 1850

Printed according to the original in Engels' hand

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, first Russ. ed., Vol. XXV, Moscow, 1934

Published in English for the first time

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[a] The following sentence is crossed out in the manuscript: "The spy system exercised upon us, by the British Government, to an almost incredible extent, is a sufficient proof, that the reiterated requests of the Prussian Ambassador...."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## PRUSSIAN SPIES IN LONDON[282]

64 Dean Street, Soho Square,
14th June, 1850

Sir,

For some time past, we, the undersigned German refugees residing in this country, have had occasion to admire the attention paid to us by the British Government. We were accustomed to meet, from time to time, some obscure servant of the Prussian Ambassador, not being "registered as such according to law"; we were accustomed to the ferocious spouting and to the rabid proposals of such *agents provocateurs*, and we knew how to treat them. What we admire is, not the attention the Prussian Embassy pay us—we are proud to have merited it; it is the *entente cordiale* which seems to be established, as far as we are concerned, between Prussian spies and English informers.

Really, Sir, we should have never thought that there existed in this country so many police-spies as we have had the good fortune of making the acquaintance of in the short space of a week. Not only that the doors of the houses where we live are closely watched by individuals of a more than doubtful look, who take down their notes very coolly every time any one enters the house or leaves it; we cannot make a single step without being followed by them wherever we go. We cannot get into an omnibus or enter a coffee-house without being favoured with the company of at least one of these unknown friends. We do not know whether the gentlemen engaged in this grateful occupation are so "on her Majesty's service"; but we know this, that the majority of them look anything but clean and respectable.

Now, of what use can be, to any one, the scanty information thus scratched together at our doors by a lot of miserable spies, male

prostitutes of the lowest order, who mostly seem to be drawn from the class of common informers, and paid by the job? Will this, no doubt exceedingly trustworthy information, be of such value as to entitle any one to sacrifice, for its sake, the old-established boast of Englishmen, that in their country there is no chance of introducing that spy system from which not one country of the Continent is free?

Besides, we always have been, and are now, ready to give any information respecting ourselves the Government may desire, as far as this will be in our power.

We know, however, very well what is at the bottom of all this. The Prussian Government have taken occasion of the late attempt on the life of Frederick William IV [a] to open another campaign against their political enemies in Prussia and out of Prussia. And because a notorious madman has fired a shot at the King of Prussia, the English Government are to be entrapped into enforcing the Alien Bill against us; although we are at a loss to conceive in what respect our presence in London can possibly come into collision with "the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of these realms".

Some eight years ago, when we, in Prussia, attacked the existing system of government, the official functionaries and press replied, why, if these gentlemen do not like the Prussian system, they are perfectly at liberty to leave the country. We left the country, and we knew the reason why. But after leaving it, we found Prussia everywhere; in France, in Belgium, in Switzerland, we felt the influence of the Prussian Ambassador. If, through his influence, we are to be made to leave this last refuge left to us in Europe, why,then Prussia will think herself the ruling power of the world.

England has hitherto been the only obstacle in the way of the Holy Alliance, now reconstructing under the protection of Russia; and the Holy Alliance, of which Prussia forms part and parcel, aim at nothing more than at entrapping anti-Russian England into a home policy of a more or less Russian cast. What, indeed, would Europe think of the late diplomatic notes and Parliamentary assertions of the British Government, if commented by an enforcement of the Alien Bill called forth by nothing but the revengeful instances of foreign reactionary governments?

The Prussian Government declare the shot fired at their King to be the result of widespread revolutionary conspiracies, the centre of which is to be sought in London. In accordance with this, they firstly destroy the liberty of the press at home, and secondly demand the

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[a] See this volume, pp. 378-79.—*Ed.*

English Government to remove from this country the pretended chiefs of the pretended conspiracy.

Considering the personal character and qualities of the present King of Prussia, and those of his brother, the heir to the throne,[a] which party has a greater interest in the speedy succession of the latter—the Revolutionary party or the ultra-Royalists?

Allow us to state, that a fortnight before the attempt was made at Berlin, persons whom we have every reason to consider as agents either of the Prussian Government or the ultra-Royalists, presented themselves to us, and almost directly engaged us to enter into conspiracies for organising regicide in Berlin and elsewhere. We need not add, that these persons found no chance of making their dupes of us.

Allow us to state, that, after the attempt, other persons of a similar character have tried to force themselves upon us, and spoken in a similar manner.

Allow us to state, that Sefeloge, the sergeant who shot at the King, was not a Revolutionist, but an ultra-Royalist. He belonged to section No. 2 of the ultra-Royalist society, the *Treubund*. He is registered under number 133 on the list of members. He has been for a time supported with money by this society: his papers were deposited at the house of an ultra-Royalist Major[b] employed at the War Office.

If ever this affair should come to be tried in open court, which we doubt, the public will see clear enough whether there have been any instigators to the attempt, and who they have been.

The ultra-Royalist *Neue Preussische Zeitung* was the first to denounce the refugees in London as the real authors of the attempt.[c] It even named one of the undersigned,[d] whom already before it had stated to have been in Berlin during a fortnight, while, as scores of witnesses can prove, he never for a moment left London. We wrote to M. Bunsen, the Prussian Ambassador, requesting him to furnish us with the numbers in question of that paper.[e] The attention paid to us by that gentleman did not go so far as to cause him to comply with what we had expected from the *courtoisie* of the Chevalier.[f]

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[a] William, Prince of Prussia.—*Ed.*

[b] Kunowski.—*Ed.*

[c] The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 117, May 25, 1850.—*Ed.*

[d] Karl Marx.—*Ed.*

[e] See this volume, p. 370.—*Ed.*

[f] An ironical allusion to Bunsen's title of a baron. Further the following paragraph is crossed out in the rough copy: "We now write to the Home Secretary, stating the willingness of furnishing him, as far as we shall be able to do so, with any information he may desire, respecting our persons, but at the same time we deem it our duty as

We believe, Sir, that under these circumstances, we cannot do better than bring the whole case before the public. We believe that Englishmen are interested in anything by which the old-established reputation of England, as the safest asylum for refugees of all parties and of all countries, may be more or less affected.

We are, Sir, your most obedient servants,

*Charles Marx,*
*Fred. Engels,* } Editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of Cologne

*Aug. Willich,* Colonel in the Insurrectionary Army of Baden

Written on June 14, 1850

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Reprinted from the newspaper and checked with Engels' manuscript

public characters, to bring the case at once before the public, so that it might not afterwards be said, that we had, secretly, committed our honour and that of our party by a compromise with any government, in order to be permitted to continue our stay in this country."—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE GLOBE*[283]

Sir,

Allow me to call, through the medium of your paper, the attention of the public to a fact in which the honour of the British nation is, perhaps, more or less interested.

You are aware that the different continental governments, after the defeats of the movement party in 1849, succeeded in driving the numerous political refugees, more particularly the Germans, the Hungarians, the Italians and the Poles, from one place of asylum to another, until they found protection and tranquillity in this country.

There are certain governments on the Continent, whose animosity against their political opponents seems not to be satisfied with this result. The Prussian government is of this number. After having succeeded in concentrating most of the Prussian refugees in this country the Berlin Cabinet is evidently trying to make them, somehow or other, depart for America. The same parties who at home, in their own newspapers (witness the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*[a] and the *Assemblée nationale*), represent the English government as a committee of *Jacobins* and of conspirators against the conservatives of all Europe—these same parties affect a most suspicious anxiety for the tranquillity of this country, by denouncing to the British government the foreign refugees as interfering with English politics and as being connected with the attempt at assassinating the King of Prussia.[b]

I have the honour of belonging to those, whom the persecution of the Prussian government has followed everywhere they went. Editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* (of Cologne) in 1842, and of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848 and 1849, both of which papers were directly or indirectly stopped by the forcible interference of the Prussian government, I have been expelled from France in 1845 and

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[a] The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* Nos. 116, 117, May 24 and 25, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

1849, from Belgium in 1848, upon the direct request and by the influence of the Prussian embassy; and during my stay in Prussia, in 1848 and 1849, I had about a dozen political actions brought against me, the whole of which were, however, abandoned after my having been twice acquitted by the jury.[284]

That even in this country, I am not lost sight of by the Prussian government, is proved to me by numerous warnings which I received of late, stating that the English government, upon the ground of similar denunciations, intended to take steps against me; and by the fact that for several days past some individuals place themselves at my very door, taking down notes every time any one comes or leaves the house. It is further proved by the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*,[a] which stated, some time ago, that I was travelling through Germany and had stayed a fortnight in Berlin, whilst I can prove by my landlords and other Englishmen that I never for a moment left London since I arrived here last year. This same ultra-royalist paper, after the attempt of the madman Sefeloge, brought my pretended journey to Berlin into connexion with that attempt; and yet this paper ought to know best who, if anyone, is connected with this affair, inasmuch as Sefeloge is a member of Section No. 2 of the ultra-royalist society the *Treubund*, and never was connected with any but staff-officers employed in the Berlin War Office. It is moreover proved by the presence, here in London, of Prussian *agents provocateurs* who, a fortnight before Sefeloge's attempt, presented themselves to me and some of my friends, preaching the necessity of such an attempt and hinting even at the existence of a conspiracy got up, in Berlin, for this purpose; and who, after having found it impossible to make their dupes of us, now frequent Chartist meetings, in order to induce the public to believe that the foreign refugees take an active part in the English Chartist movement.

In conclusion allow me to ask you, Sir, and through you the public, whether it would be desirable that, upon such authority, the British government should be induced to take steps which might more or less interfere with the conviction, universally spread, that the British laws afford equal protection to whosoever puts his foot upon British soil?

I am, etc.

Written in mid-June 1850

Printed according to the original in Engels' hand

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[a] The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 117, May 25, 1850.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## STATEMENT

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE *NEUE DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG*[285]

Sir,

In your newspaper's article of June 22 this year you reproached me for advocating the *rule and the dictatorship of the working class*, while you propose, in opposition to myself, the *abolition of class distinctions in general*. I do not understand this correction.

You know very well that on p. 16 of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (published before the February Revolution of 1848) it is stated that:

"If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."[a]

You know that I defended the same point of view in my *Misère de la philosophie*[b] against Proudhon, before February 1848.

Finally, in the very article you criticise, p. 32, No. 3, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung [.Politisch-ökonomische Revue]*,[c] it is stated:

"This Socialism" (i. e. communism) "is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 505-06.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 212.—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, p. 127.—*Ed.*

production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionising of all the ideas that result from these social relations."

June 1850

*K. Marx*

In your newspaper's article of June 22 you very kindly acknowledge that a "noticeable gap" arose in the German daily press as a result of the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, but you protest against "Herr Engels' claim" that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was the only organ of the press to represent the proletariat not merely in words or out of benevolence.

It is true that in my article on the campaign for the German Imperial Constitution, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* No. 1, I declared that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was the only paper in which the German proletariat was supported not merely out of benevolence or in words.[a] Should you be of the opinion that this statement is in any way detrimental to the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, the former official organ of the extreme Left in Frankfurt, then you will doubtless earn the gratitude of the workers by showing when, where and how the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* has represented the German proletariat or its class interests.

London, June 25, 1850

*F. Engels*

Published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* No. 158, July 4, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, p. 156.—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## TO THE CHAIRMAN OF A REFUGEE MEETING IN LONDON

[Rough copy]

[London,] June 30 [,1850]

Citizen Chairman,

While the June Revolution was attacked by all the watchdogs of the bourgeois class, I publicly defended those terrible days, which for me are the greatest manifestation of the struggle which the working class is pursuing against the capitalist class.

If I am absent from this refugee celebration today, it is because I am completely prevented by illness from being in your midst; my heart is with you.

Greetings and fraternity,

*Karl Marx*

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, second Russ. ed., Vol. 27, Moscow, 1962

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITORS OF THE *WESER-ZEITUNG*[286]

In your issue of June 22 this year there is a dispatch from London in which the following passage occurs:

"Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and August Willich ... have written to *The Spectator* that spies from the Prussian embassy are following every step they take, etc. *The Spectator* comments briefly upon their long letter of complaint, as follows: 'This class of people (namely political refugees) errs very frequently in such matters, and in fact their error springs from two sources: vanity, which deludes them into thinking that they are much more important than is really the case, and secondly the consciousness of their own guilt. The suspicions expressed by the refugees against the liberal-minded and hospitable English Government are nothing more and nothing less than an *impertinence*.'"[a]

One does not have to be intimately acquainted with the general attitude and the firmly established conventional forms of the English daily press to discover immediately that no English paper, and least of all the accomplished and witty *Spectator*, could make a comment so clumsily Prussian in both content and form. The whole of the above "comment" from *The Spectator* is a *shameless forgery by the correspondent.* Not only does *not a word* of it appear in *The Spectator*, but on the contrary, the editors of this newspaper make the following remark in the same issue that contains our statement.

"A letter in another page makes an extraordinary charge against our own Government. We know nothing more than is to be obtained from a perusal of the letter itself; but a charge publicly made, in so circumstantial a manner with so much verisimilitude of particulars, ought not to be unregarded. The charge is that of

[a] Italicised by the authors of the statement.—*Ed.*

favouring the operations of Prussian bloodmen[a] in London, in order to [obtain] an application of the Alien Act against German patriots." (*The Spectator*, June 15, p. 554.)

The praises accorded to Herr Bunsen in the same article give sufficient indication of the interests in which your correspondent perpetrated this forgery. Incidentally, Prussian cunning deserves the highest marks for this manoeuvre.

We expect that by publishing this statement in your next issue you will leave to your correspondent alone the honour of the authorship of this ingenious stratagem.

London, July 2, 1850

*Karl Marx, Frederick Engels*

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[a] The authors translate this word as *Blutmenschen* and give the English equivalent in brackets.—*Ed.*

## Frederick Engels

# LETTER FROM GERMANY.[287] THE WAR IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

Cologne, July 21, 1850

The all-engrossing topic now in Germany is, of course, the Schleswig-Holstein affair. As this affair is in your country, as well as in France, very little understood, you will allow me to give a rapid view of it.

It has been shown clearly enough that the small independent states by which Germany is surrounded are, under a more or less liberal form, the chief seats of reaction. Thus Belgium, the model state of Constitutionalism, was the first to resist the shock of February;[a] the first to proclaim martial law and to pass sentences of death upon patriots.[288] Thus Switzerland shifted herself in a far from honourable way through the revolutionary storm, hiding behind the Chinese wall of neutrality as long as revolution was in the ascendant, and playing the subservient tool of the Holy Alliance against disarmed refugees, when reaction was again rife throughout Europe. It is evident that the petty national egotism of those impotent states must induce them to rely upon the support principally of old-established, *i.e.* reactionary governments, the more so as they cannot but be aware that every European revolution puts their own national independence in question, an independence which to uphold none are interested but the supporters of the old political system.

Denmark is another of these petty states sharing this pride of a national independence and this exorbitant desire to aggrandise

[a] The Revolution of February 1848 in France.—*Ed.*

themselves.* The independence and power of Denmark, a state living only upon the plunder of universal commerce by the Sound Dues,[289] is of interest to none but Russia and a certain fraction of English politicians. Denmark is literally the slave of Russia, by a series of treaties agreed to in the last century[290]; and through Denmark Russia lays hold upon the Dardanelles of the Baltic. The old school of English politicians, too, take an interest in the aggrandisement of Denmark, according to their old policy of cutting up central Europe into a set of small states quarrelling with each other, and thus leaving England to apply to them the principle "Divide and conquer".

The policy of the revolutionary party in all countries has, on the contrary, always been to strongly unite the great nationalities hitherto cut up in small states, and to ensure independence and power, not to those small wrecks of nationalities—such as Danes, Croats, Czechs, Slovaks, &c.,&c., counting from one to three millions each at the very outset, or to those mongrel would-be nations, such as the Swiss and Belgians—but to the large and healthy nationalities now oppressed by the ruling European system. An European confederacy of republics can only be formed by great and equally powerful nations; such as the French, English, German, Italian, Hungarian, and Polish nations, but never by such miserably powerless so-called nations as the Danes, the Dutch, the Belgians, Swiss, &c.

Besides, will the revolutionary party allow the most important maritime position of the north, the inlet of the Baltic, to remain for ever at the mercy of Danish egotism? Will they allow the Danes to make up the interest of their national debt by imposing heavy tolls upon every vessel trading across the Sound and Belt? Certainly not.

Denmark, by that precious hereditary right which treats a people as so many chattels, became united with two German countries, Schleswig and Holstein. They had separate constitutions, common to both of them, and old-established rights granted by their princes, "that these countries should for ever remain together and undivided". The law of succession, besides, is different in Denmark to what it is in the two duchies. In 1815, at the infamous congress of Vienna, where nations were cut up and sold by auction, Holstein was incorporated with the German confederacy, but Schleswig was not. From that day the Danish national party tried, but in vain, to incorporate Schleswig into Denmark. At last 1848 arrived. In March

* It is a fact not generally known that the annexation of Savoy to Switzerland was in 1848-49 much discussed in the latter country, and that the Swiss hoped to see this realised by the defeat of the Italian revolution.—*Note by Engels.*

a popular movement took place in Copenhagen, and the national and liberal party got into office. They instantly decreed a constitution, and the incorporation of Schleswig into Denmark. The consequence was the insurrection of the duchies, and the war between Germany and Denmark.[291]

While German soldiers in Posen, in Italy, and in Hungary, fought against the revolution, this war in Schleswig was the only revolutionary war Germany ever carried on. The question was whether the Schleswigers were to be forced to follow the fate of small, impotent, half-civilised Denmark, and to be the slaves of Russia for ever, or whether they should be allowed to re-unite themselves to a nation of forty millions, which was then just engaged in the struggle for its freedom, unity, and consequent recovery of its strength. And the German princes, particularly the royal drunkard of Prussia,[a] knew the revolutionary signification of this war too well. The note[b] is well known by which the Prussian embassy, Major Wildenbruch, proposed to the king of Denmark[c] to carry on the war for *show*, just as much as was necessary to *allow the Danish and German revolutionary enthusiasts who engaged on both sides as volunteers, to devour each other.*[292] Consequently the war was, on the German side, one continued series of treasons, down to the battle of Fredericia, where the republican Schleswig-Holstein corps, 10,000 men, were surprised and cut up by three times their number of Danes, while 40,000 Prussians and others were only a few miles off and left them in the scrape; and down to the treacherous peace concocted at Berlin,[293] a peace which allows Russia to land troops in Schleswig, and Prussia to march into Holstein to put down the rebellion, she herself has aided and abetted at least officially.

If there was any doubt as to which side was the revolutionary, or which the reactionary interest, there can be none now. Russia sends her fleet to fraternise with the Danes and to blockade, in common with them, the shores of Schleswig-Holstein. All the "powers that be" are arrayed against this small German tribe of not more than 850,000 souls; and nothing but the sympathies of the revolutionists of all countries is there to assist this small but brave people. They will fall no doubt; they may resist a time, and even overthrow the treacherous bourgeois government which Prussia has forced upon them, they may beat Danes and Russians, but at last they will be crushed, unless the Prussian army, which is sure to march into

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*
[b] Handed by Ludwig Wildenbruch on April 8, 1848.—*Ed.*
[c] Frederick VII.—*Ed.*

Holstein, refuses to act. And if this, which is not at all impossible, should come to pass, you would see things in Germany take another turn. Then there would be a general outbreak, and such a one that 1848 would be nothing compared to it; for the acts of the Holy Alliance have told well upon the German people; and if in '48 even the federative republic was impossible, now nothing would be accepted short of the *German republic, one and indivisible, democratic* and—within six months—*Social.*

Written on July 21, 1850 Reprinted from the journal

First published in *The Democratic Review*, August 1850

# FREDERICK ENGELS

## THE PEASANT WAR IN GERMANY[294]

Written in the summer and autumn of 1850

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Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the 1875 edition and checked with the journal and the 1870 edition

The German people, too, have their revolutionary tradition. There was a time when Germany produced characters that could match the best men in the revolutions of other countries, when the German people displayed an endurance and vigour which would in a more centralised nation have yielded the most magnificent results, and when the German peasants and plebeians were full of ideas and plans that often make their descendants shudder.

In face of the slackening that has now ensued almost everywhere after two years of struggle, it is high time to remind the German people of the clumsy yet powerful and tenacious figures of the Great Peasant War. Three centuries have passed and many a thing has changed; still the Peasant War is not so impossibly far removed from our present struggle, and the opponents who have to be fought are still essentially the same. We shall see the classes and fractions of classes which everywhere betrayed 1848 and 1849 in the role of traitors, though on a lower level of development, already in 1525. In any case, it is no credit to the modern insurrection that the robust vandalism of the Peasant War was seen only here and there in the movement of the past few years—at Odenwald, in the Black Forest, and in Silesia.

## I

To begin with, let us briefly review the situation in Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

German industry had made considerable progress in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The local village industry of the feudal type was superseded by the guild system of industry in the towns, which produced for wider circles, and even for remoter markets. The weaving of coarse woollen fabrics and linens had become a permanent and widespread branch of industry, and even finer woollen and linen fabrics and silks were manufactured in Augsburg. Along with the art of weaving especial growth was witnessed in industries which were nurtured by the ecclesiastic and secular luxury of the late medieval epoch and verged on the fine arts: those of the gold- and silver-smith, the sculptor and engraver, etcher and wood-carver, armourer,[a] engraver of medals, wood-turner, etc. A succession of more or less important discoveries, the most prominent of which were the invention of gunpowder* and printing, had contributed substantially to the development of the crafts. Commerce kept pace with industry. By its century-long monopoly of sea navigation the Hanseatic League[295] ensured the elevation of all Northern Germany from medieval barbarism. Even though since the end of the fifteenth century the League had quickly begun to succumb to the competition of the English and Dutch, the great trade route from India to the north still lay through Germany,

* As has now been shown beyond doubt, gunpowder came to the Arabs through India from China, and they brought it through Spain to Europe along with fire-arms.— *Note by Engels to the 1875 edition.*

[a] This word is missing in the 1850 edition.— *Ed.*

Vasco da Gama's discoveries notwithstanding, and Augsburg still remained the great market of Italian silks, Indian spices, and all Levantine products. The towns of Upper Germany, particularly Augsburg and Nuremberg, were centres of an opulence and luxury quite remarkable for that time. The production of raw materials had also considerably increased. The German miners of the fifteenth century were the most skilful in the world and the flowering of the towns had also elevated agriculture from its early medieval crudity. Not only had large stretches of land been put to the plough, but dye crops and other imported plants were introduced, whose careful cultivation had favourable influence on farming in general.

Still, the progress of Germany's national production had not kept pace with the progress in other countries. Agriculture lagged far behind that of England and the Netherlands, and industry far behind that of Italy, Flanders and England, while the English, and especially the Dutch, had already begun ousting the Germans from the sea trade. The population was still very sparse. Civilisation existed only here and there, concentrated round the several centres of industry and commerce; but the interests of even these centres were highly divergent, with hardly any point of contact. The trade relations and export markets of the South differed totally from those of the North; the East and the West stood outside almost all traffic. Not a single city was in a position to be the industrial and commercial centre of the whole country, such, for instance, as London had already become for England. All internal communications were almost exclusively confined to coastal and river navigation and to the few large trade routes from Augsburg and Nuremberg via Cologne to the Netherlands, and via Erfurt to the North. Away from the rivers and trade routes there was a number of smaller towns which lay outside the major traffic and continued to vegetate undisturbed in the conditions of the late Middle Ages, needing only few foreign goods and providing few products for export. Of the rural population only the nobility came in contact with wider circles and with new needs; in their relations, the peasant masses never went beyond their immediate locality and its horizons.

While in England and France the rise of commerce and industry had the effect of intertwining the interests of the entire country and thereby brought about political centralisation, Germany had not got any further than grouping interests by provinces, around merely local centres, which led to political division, a division that was soon made all the more final by Germany's exclusion from world commerce. In step with the disintegration of the *purely feudal*

Empire, the bonds of imperial unity became completely dissolved, the major vassals of the Empire became almost independent sovereigns, and the cities of the Empire, on the one hand, and the knights of the Empire, on the other, began entering into alliances either against each other or against the princes or the Emperor. Uncertain of its own position, the imperial government vacillated between the various elements comprising the Empire, and thereby lost more and more authority; in spite of all its intrigues and violence, the attempt at centralisation in the manner of Louis XI was only just able to hold together the Austrian hereditary lands. Who finally won and were bound to win in this confusion, in these countless and interrelated conflicts, were the bearers of centralisation amidst the disunity, the bearers of local and provincial centralisation—the *princes*, at whose side the Emperor himself became more and more of a prince like the others.

In these circumstances, the position of the classes inherited from the Middle Ages had changed considerably, and new classes had emerged beside the old.

The *princes* came from the high nobility. They were already almost independent of the Emperor and possessed most of the sovereign rights. They made war and peace on their own, maintained standing armies, convened Diets, and levied taxes. They had brought a large part of the lesser nobility and most of the towns under their sway, and resorted continuously to all possible means of incorporating in their dominion all the remaining imperial towns and baronial estates. They were centralisers in respect to these towns and estates, while acting as a decentralising force in respect to the imperial power. Internally, their government was already highly autocratic. They convened the estates only when they could not do without them. They imposed taxes and borrowed money whenever it suited them; the right of the estates to ratify taxes was seldom recognised and still more seldom practised. And even when practised, the prince usually had the majority by virtue of the knights and prelates, the two tax-exempted estates that participated in the benefits enjoyed from taxes. The princes' need for money grew with their taste for luxury, the expansion of their courts, the standing armies, and the mounting costs of government. The taxes became ever more oppressive. The towns were mostly protected from them by their privileges, and the full impact of the tax burden fell upon the peasants, the subjects of the princes, as well as upon the serfs, bondsmen and tithe-paying peasants [*Zinsbauern*][a] of their vassal knights. Where direct taxation

[a] This word is missing in the 1850 and 1870 editions.—*Ed.*

proved insufficient, indirect taxes were introduced. The most refined devices of the art of finance were called into play to fill the anaemic treasury. When nothing availed, when there was nothing to pawn and no free imperial city was willing to grant any more credit, the princes resorted to currency operations of the basest kind, coined depreciated money, and set high or low compulsory exchange rates at the convenience of their treasuries. Furthermore, trade in urban and other privileges, later forcibly withdrawn only to be resold at a high price, and the use of every attempt at opposition as an excuse for all kinds of extortion and robbery, etc., etc., were common and lucrative sources of income for the princes of the day. Justice, too, was a perpetual and not unimportant merchandise. In brief, the subjects of that time, who, in addition, had to satisfy the private avarice of the princely bailiffs and officials, had a full taste of all the blessings of the "paternal" system of government.

The middle nobility of the medieval feudal hierarchy had almost entirely disappeared; it had either risen to acquire the independence of petty princes, or sunk into the ranks of the lesser nobility. The *lesser nobility*, or *knighthood*, was fast moving towards extinction. Much of it was already totally impoverished and lived in the service of the princes, holding military or civil offices; another part of it was in the vassalage and under the sway of the princes; and a small part was directly subject to the Emperor. The development of military science, the growing importance of the infantry, and the improvement of fire-arms dwarfed the knighthood's military merits as heavy cavalry, and also put an end to the invincibility of its castles. Like the Nuremberg artisans, the knights were made redundant by the progress of industry. The knights' need for money considerably hastened their ruin. The luxury of their palaces, rivalry in the magnificence of tournaments and feasts, the price of armaments and horses—all increased with the development of society,[a] while the sources of income of the knights and barons increased but little, if at all. As time went on, feuds with their attendant plunder and extortion, highway robbery and similar noble occupations became too dangerous. The payments and services of their subjects yielded the knights hardly more than before. To satisfy their growing requirements, the gracious knights had to resort to the same means as the princes. The peasantry was plundered by the nobility with a dexterity that increased every year. The serfs were sucked dry, and the bondsmen were burdened with ever new payments and services on a great variety of pretexts and on all possible occasions. Statute

[a] The 1850 and 1870 editions have "civilisation" instead of "society".—*Ed.*

labour, tributes, rents, land-sale taxes, death taxes, protection moneys,[296] etc., were raised at will, in spite of all the old agreements. Justice was denied or sold for money, and when the knight could not get at the peasant's money in any other way, he threw him into the tower without further ado and forced him to pay a ransom.

The relations between the lesser nobility and the other estates were also anything but friendly. The knights bound by vassalage to the princes strove to become vassals of the Empire, the imperial knights strove to retain their independence; this led to incessant conflicts with the princes. The knight regarded the arrogant clergy of those days as an entirely superfluous estate, and envied them their large possessions and the wealth held secure by their celibacy and the church statutes. He was continually at loggerheads with the towns, he was always in debt to them, he made his living by plundering their territory, robbing their merchants, and by holding for ransom prisoners captured in the feuds. And the knights' struggle with all these estates became the more violent the more the money question became to them as well a question of life.

The *clergy*, that bearer of the medieval feudal ideology, felt the influence of historic change just as acutely. Book-printing and the claims of growing commerce robbed it of its monopoly not only in reading and writing, but also in higher education. The division of labour also made inroads into the intellectual realm. The newly rising juridical estate drove the clergy from a number of the most influential offices. The clergy was also on its way to becoming largely superfluous, and demonstrated this by its ever greater laziness and ignorance. But the more superfluous it became, the more it grew in numbers, due to the enormous riches that it still continuously augmented by all possible means.

There were two entirely distinct classes among the clergy. The clerical feudal hierarchy formed the *aristocratic* class: the bishops and archbishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates. These high church dignitaries were either imperial princes or reigned as feudal lords under the sovereignty of other princes over extensive lands with numerous serfs and bondsmen. They exploited their dependants as ruthlessly as the knights and princes, and went at it even more wantonly. In addition to brute force they applied all the subterfuges of religion; in addition to the fear of the rack they applied the fear of ex-communication and denial of absolution; they made use of all the intrigues of the confessional to wring the last penny from their subjects or to augment the portion of the church. Forgery of documents was for these worthies a common and favourite means of swindling. But although they received tithes from their subjects in

addition to the usual feudal services and quitrents, these incomes were not enough for them. They fabricated miracle-working sacred images and relics, set up sanctifying prayer-houses, and traded in indulgences in order to squeeze more money out of the people, and for quite some time with eminent success.

It was these prelates and their numerous *gendarmerie* of monks, which grew constantly with the spread of political and religious witch-hunts, on whom the priest-hatred not only of the people, but also of the nobility, was concentrated. Being directly subject to the Emperor,[a] they were a nuisance for the princes. The life of luxurious pleasure led by the corpulent bishops and abbots, and their army of monks excited the envy of the nobility, and the more flagrantly it contradicted their preaching, the more it inflamed the people, who had to bear its cost.

The *plebeian* part of the clergy consisted of rural and urban preachers. These stood outside the feudal church hierarchy and had no part in its riches. Their work was less controlled, and, important though it was for the church, it was for the moment far less indispensable than the police services of the barracked monks. They were, therefore, the worse paid by far, and their prebends were mostly very meagre. Of burgher or plebeian origin, they were close enough to the life of the masses to retain their burgher and plebeian sympathies in spite of their clerical status. For them participation in the movements of the time was the rule, whereas for monks it was an exception. They provided the movement with theorists and ideologists, and many of them, representatives of the plebeians and peasants, died on the scaffold as a result. The people's hatred of the clergy turned against them only in isolated cases.

What the Emperor was to the princes and nobility, the *Pope* was to the higher and lower clergy. Where the Emperor received the "general pfennig"[297] or the imperial taxes, the Pope received the universal church taxes, out of which he paid for the luxury of the Roman court. And in no country were these church taxes collected more conscientiously and exactingly than in Germany—thanks to the power and number of the clergy. Particularly the annates,[298] collected on the bestowal of bishoprics. The growing needs led to the invention of new means of raising revenues, such as trade in relics and indulgences, jubilee collections, etc. Large sums of money flowed yearly from Germany to Rome in this way, and the consequent increased oppression not only heightened the hatred for

[a] Instead of *reichsunmittelbar* (directly subject to the Emperor) the 1850 edition has *souverän* (sovereign).—*Ed.*

the clergy, but also roused the national sentiments, particularly of the nobility, the then most nationalistic estate.

In the medieval *towns* three distinct groups developed from the original citizenry with the growth of commerce and the handicrafts.

The urban society was headed by the *patriciate*, the so-called *honourables*. They were the richest families. They alone sat in the town council, and held all town offices. Hence, they not only administered but also consumed all the town revenues. Strong by virtue of their wealth and time-honoured aristocratic status recognised by Emperor and Empire, they exploited the town community and the peasants belonging to the town in every possible way. They practised usury in grain and money, seized monopolies of all kinds, gradually deprived the community of all rights to communal use of town forests and meadows and used them exclusively for their own private benefit, exacted arbitrary road-, bridge- and gate-tolls and other imposts, and trafficked in trade, guild, and burgher privileges, and in justice. They treated the peasants of the town precincts with no more consideration than did the nobility and clergy. On the contrary, town bailiffs and village officials, patricians all, added a certain bureaucratic punctiliousness to aristocratic rigidity and avarice in collecting imposts. The town revenues thus collected were administered in a most arbitrary fashion; the accounts in the town books, a mere formality, were neglected and confused in the extreme; embezzlement and deficit were the order of the day. How easy it was at that time for a comparatively small, privileged caste bound by family ties and common interests, to enrich itself enormously out of the town revenues, is easily seen from the many embezzlements and swindles[a] which 1848 brought to light in so many town administrations.

The patricians took pains everywhere to let the rights of the town community fall into disuse, particularly in matters of finance. Only later, when their machinations transcended all bounds, the communities came into motion again to at least gain control over the town administration. In most towns they actually regained their rights, but due to the eternal squabbles between the guilds, the tenacity of the patricians, and the protection the latter enjoyed from the Empire and the governments of the allied towns, the patrician council members soon in effect regained their former undivided dominance, be it by cunning or force. At the beginning of the

[a] The 1850 and 1870 editions have *Tripotagen* (knavery) instead of *Schwindeleien* (swindles).—*Ed.*

sixteenth century the communities in all the towns were again in the opposition.

The town opposition to the patricians broke up into two factions which took quite distinct stands in the Peasant War.

The *burgher opposition*, forerunners of our present-day liberals, included the richer and middle burghers, and, depending on local conditions, a more or less appreciable section of the petty burghers. Their demands did not overstep purely constitutional limits. They wanted control over the town administration and a share in legislative power, to be exercised either by an assembly of the community itself or by its representatives (big council, community committee); further restriction of the patrician nepotism and the oligarchy of a few families which was coming to the fore ever more distinctly within the patriciate itself. At best, they also demanded several council seats for burghers from their own midst. This party, joined here and there by the dissatisfied and impoverished part of the patriciate, had a large majority in all the ordinary community assemblies and in the guilds. The adherents of the council and the more radical part of the opposition together formed only a small minority among the real *burghers*.

We shall see how this "moderate", "law-abiding", "well-to-do" and "intelligent" opposition played exactly the same role, with exactly the same effect, in the movement of the sixteenth century, as its successor, the constitutional party, played in the movement of 1848 and 1849.[299]

Beyond that, the burgher opposition declaimed zealously against the clergy, whose idle luxury and loose morals roused its bitter scorn. It urged measures against the scandalous life of those worthy men. It demanded the abolition of the clergy's special jurisdiction and tax exemption, and particularly a reduction in the number of monks.

The *plebeian opposition* consisted of ruined burghers and the mass of townsmen without civic rights—journeymen, day labourers, and the numerous precursors of the lumpenproletariat, who existed even in the lowest stages of urban development. The lumpenproletariat is, generally speaking, a phenomenon that occurs in a more or less developed form in all the so far known phases of society. The number of people without a definite occupation and permanent domicile increased greatly at that time due to the decay of feudalism in a society in which every occupation, every sphere of life, was still fenced in by countless privileges. In all the developed countries vagabonds had never been so numerous as in the first half of the sixteenth century. In war time some of these tramps joined the armies, others begged their way across the countryside, and still

others eked out a meagre living in the towns as day labourers or from whatever other occupation that was not under guild jurisdiction. All three groups played a part in the Peasant War—the first in the armies of princes which overpowered the peasants, the second in the peasant conspiracies and in peasant gangs where its demoralising influence was felt at all times, and the third in the clashes of the urban parties. It will be recalled, however, that a great many, namely those living in the towns, still had a substantial share of sound peasant nature and had not as yet been possessed by the venality and depravity of the present "civilised" lumpenproletariat.

As we see, the plebeian opposition in the towns of that day was a very mixed lot. It brought together the depraved parts of the old feudal and guild society with the undeveloped, budding proletarian elements of the germinating modern bourgeois society. There were impoverished guild burghers, on the one hand, who still clung to the existing burgher system by virtue of their privileges, and the dispossessed peasants and discharged vassals as yet unable to become proletarians, on the other. Between these two groups were the journeymen, who still stood outside official society and whose condition was as close to that of the proletariat as this could be with the contemporary state of industry and the guild privileges; but due to these privileges they were, at the same time, almost all prospective burgher artisans. The party affiliation of this conglomeration was therefore highly uncertain, and varied from locality to locality. Before the Peasant War the plebeian opposition took part in the political struggles not as a party, but as a noisy marauding tagtail of the burgher opposition, a mob that could be bought and sold for a few barrels of wine. The peasant revolts turned it into a party, and even then it remained almost everywhere dependent on the peasants in its demands and actions—a striking proof of how much the town of that time still depended on the countryside. In their independent actions, the plebeians demanded extension of the monopoly in urban handicrafts to the countryside, and had no wish to see a curtailment of town revenues come about through the abolition of feudal burdens within the town precincts, etc.; in brief, they were reactionary in their independent actions, and delivered themselves up to their own petty-bourgeois elements—a typical prelude to the tragicomedy staged in the past three years by the modern petty bourgeoisie under the trade mark of democracy.

Only in Thuringia under the direct influence of Münzer, and in a few other localities under that of his pupils, was the plebeian faction of the towns carried away by the general storm to such an extent that the embryonic proletarian element in it gained the upper hand for a

time over all the other factions[a] of the movement. This episode grouped round the magnificent figure of *Thomas Münzer*, was the culmination point and also the briefest episode, of the Peasant War. It stands to reason that the plebeian factions were the quickest to collapse, that they had a predominantly fantastic outlook, and that the expression of their demands was necessarily extremely uncertain; in the existing conditions they found the least firm ground to stand on.

Beneath all these classes, save the last one, was the exploited bulk of the nation, the *peasants*. It was on the peasant that the whole arrangement of social strata reposed: princes, officials, nobles, clergymen, patricians and burghers. No matter whose subject the peasant was—a prince's, an imperial baron's, a bishop's, a monastery's or a town's—he was treated by all as a thing, a beast of burden, and worse. If a serf, he was entirely at the mercy of his master. If a bondsman, the legal levies stipulated in the agreement were enough to crush him; yet they were daily increased. He had to work on his lord's estate most of his time; out of what he earned in his few free hours he had to pay tithes, tributes, the quitrent, princely levies [*Bede*], road (war) tolls, and local and imperial taxes. He could neither marry nor die without paying something to the lord. Besides his statute labour he had to gather litter, pick strawberries and bilberries, collect snail-shells, drive the game in the hunt, and chop wood, etc., for his gracious lord. The right to fish and hunt belonged to the master; the peasant had to look on quietly as his crop was destroyed by wild game. The common pastures and woods of the peasants were almost everywhere forcibly appropriated by the lords. The lord did as he pleased with the peasant's own person, his wife and daughters, just as he did with the peasant's property. He had the right of the first night. He threw the peasant into the tower when he wished, and the rack awaited the peasant there just as surely as the investigating attorney awaits the arrested in our day. He killed the peasant or had him beheaded when he pleased. There was none out of the edifying chapters of the *Carolina*[300] dealing with "ear clipping", "nose cutting", "eye gouging", "chopping of fingers and hands", "beheading", "breaking on the wheel", "burning", "hot irons", "quartering", etc., that the gracious lord and patron would not apply at will. Who would defend the peasant? It was the barons, clergymen, patricians or jurists who sat in the courts, and they knew

[a] The 1850 edition has *Faktoren* (agents) instead of *Fraktionen* (factions).—*Ed.*

perfectly well what they were being paid for. After all, every official estate of the Empire lived by sucking the peasants dry.

Though gnashing their teeth under the terrible burden, the peasants were still difficult to rouse to revolt. They were scattered over large areas, and this made collusion between them extremely difficult. The old habit of submission inherited by generation from generation, lack of practice in the use of arms in many regions, and the varying degree of exploitation depending on the personality of the lord, all combined to keep the peasant quiet. For this reason we find so many local peasant insurrections in the Middle Ages but, prior to the Peasant War, not a single general national peasant revolt, at least in Germany. Moreover, the peasants were unable to make revolution on their own as long as they were confronted by the united and organised power of the princes, the nobility and the towns. Their only chance of winning lay in an alliance with other estates. But how could they join with other estates if they were exploited to the same degree by all of them?

As we see, in the early sixteenth century the various estates of the Empire—princes, nobles, prelates, patricians, burghers, plebeians and peasants—formed an extremely confusing mass with their varied and highly conflicting needs. The estates stood in each other's way, and each was continually in overt or covert conflict with all the others. The division of the nation into two large camps, as seen in France at the outbreak of the first Revolution and as witnessed today on a higher level of development in the most advanced countries, was thus a rank impossibility. Anything like it could only come about if the lowest stratum of the nation, the one exploited by all the other estates, the peasants and plebeians, would rise up. The entanglement of interests, views and aspirations of that time will be easily understood from the confusion brought about in the last two years by the present far less complicated structure of the German nation, consisting of the feudal nobility, the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the proletariat.

II

The grouping of the then numerous and different estates into bigger entities was made virtually impossible by decentralisation, local and provincial independence, the industrial and commercial isolation of the provinces from each other, and poor communications. It came about only with the general spread of revolutionary political and religious ideas during the Reformation. The various estates that either embraced or opposed those ideas, concentrated the nation—only very laboriously, to be sure, and only approximately—into three large camps: the Catholic or reactionary, the Lutheran bourgeois reformist, and the revolutionary. If we discover little logic in this great division of the nation, and if we find partly the same elements in the first two camps, this is explained by the dissolution of most of the official estates handed down from the Middle Ages, and by the decentralisation which, for the moment, imparted to these estates in different localities opposing tendencies. In recent years we have so often encountered similar facts in Germany that this apparent jumble of estates and classes in the much more complicated environment of the sixteenth century cannot surprise us.

In spite of the latest experiences, German ideology still sees nothing except violent theological bickering in the struggles that brought the Middle Ages to an end. Should the people of that time, say our home-bred historians and political sages, have only come to an understanding concerning divine matters, there would have been no reason whatever for quarrelling over the earthly affairs. These ideologists are so gullible that they accept unquestioningly all the illusions that an epoch makes about itself or that ideologists of an epoch make about that epoch. People of that kind see in, say, the

Revolution of 1789 nothing but a somewhat heated debate over the advantages a constitutional monarchy has over absolutism, in the July Revolution[a] a practical controversy over the untenability of justice "by the grace of God", and in the February Revolution[b] an attempt at solving the problem: "republic or monarchy?", etc. To this day our ideologists have hardly any idea of the *class struggles* fought out in these upheavals, of which the political slogan on the banner is every time a bare expression, although the tidings about them are carried discernibly enough not only from abroad, but also by the rumble and grumble of many thousands of native proletarians.

Even the so-called religious wars of the sixteenth century mainly concerned very positive material class interests; those wars were class wars, too, just as the later internal collisions in England and France. Although the class struggles of those days were clothed in religious shibboleths, and though the interests, requirements, and demands of the various classes were concealed behind a religious screen, this changed nothing at all and is easily explained by the conditions of the times.

The Middle Ages had developed altogether from the raw. They wiped the old civilisation, the old philosophy, politics and jurisprudence off the slate, to begin anew in everything. The only thing they kept from the shattered old world was Christianity and a number of half-ruined towns divested of all civilisation. As a consequence, just as in every primitive stage of development, the clergy obtained a monopoly in intellectual education and education itself became essentially theological. In the hands of the clergy politics and jurisprudence, much like all other sciences, remained mere branches of theology, and were treated in accordance with the principles prevailing in the latter. Church dogmas were also political axioms, and Bible quotations had the validity of law in any court. Even when a special estate of jurists had begun to take shape, jurisprudence long remained under the patronage of theology. This supremacy of theology in the entire realm of intellectual activity was at the same time an inevitable consequence of the fact that the church was the all-embracing synthesis and the most general sanction of the existing feudal order.

It is clear that under the circumstances all the generally voiced attacks against feudalism, above all the attacks against the church, and all revolutionary social and political doctrines were necessarily

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[a] Of 1830.—*Ed.*
[b] Of 1848.—*Ed.*

also mostly theological heresies. The existing social relations had to be stripped of their halo of sanctity before they could be attacked.

The revolutionary opposition to feudalism was alive throughout the Middle Ages. It took the shape of mysticism,[301] open heresy, or armed insurrection, depending on the conditions of the time. It is well known how much sixteenth-century reformers depended on mysticism. Münzer himself was indebted to it. The heresies gave expression partly to the patriarchal Alpine shepherds' reaction to the feudalism advancing upon them (Waldenses[302]), partly to the opposition of the towns that had outgrown feudalism (the Albigenses,[303] Arnold of Brescia, etc.), and partly to direct peasant insurrections (John Ball and, among others, the Hungarian teacher in Picardy[304]). We can here leave aside the patriarchal heresy of the Waldenses and the Swiss insurrection, which was in form and content a reactionary, purely local attempt at stemming the tide of history. In the two remaining forms of medieval heresy we find already in the twelfth century the precursors of the great antithesis between the burgher and peasant-plebeian oppositions, which caused the defeat of the Peasant War. This antithesis is seen throughout the later Middle Ages.

The town heresies—and those are the actual official heresies of the Middle Ages—were directed primarily against the clergy, whose wealth and political station they attacked. Just as the present-day bourgeoisie demands a *gouvernement à bon marché* (cheap government), the medieval burghers chiefly demanded an *église à bon marché* (cheap church). Reactionary in form like any heresy that sees only degeneration in the further development of church and dogma, the burgher heresy demanded the revival of the simple early Christian Church constitution and abolition of exclusive priesthood. This cheap arrangement would eliminate monks, prelates, and the court in Rome; in short, all the expensive element of the church. The towns, which were republics themselves, albeit under the protection of monarchs, were the first to enunciate in general terms through their attacks upon the Papacy that a republic was the normal form of bourgeois rule. Their hostility to some of the dogmas and church laws is explained partly by the foregoing, and partly by their living conditions. Their bitter opposition to celibacy, for instance, has never been better explained than by Boccaccio. Arnold of Brescia in Italy and Germany, the Albigenses in Southern France, John Wycliffe in England, Hus and the Calixtines[305] in Bohemia, were the principal exponents of this trend. The towns were then already a recognised estate sufficiently capable of fighting secular feudalism with its privileges by force of arms or in the assemblies of the estates.

This explains quite simply why here the opposition to feudalism amounted only to opposition to *ecclesiastical* feudalism.

We also find in Southern France and in England and Bohemia that most of the lesser nobility joined the towns in their struggle against the clergy and in their heresies—which is explained by the dependence of the lesser nobility on the towns, and by their common interests as opposed to the princes and prelates. We shall encounter the same thing in the Peasant War.

The heresy that lent direct expression to peasant and plebeian needs and was almost invariably associated with an insurrection was of a totally different nature. Though it shared all the demands of the burgher heresy in relation to the clergy, the Papacy and the revival of the early Christian Church constitution, it went infinitely further. It demanded the restoration of early Christian equality among members of the community and recognition of this equality also as a prescript for the burgher world. It invoked the "equality of the children of God" to infer civil equality, and partly even equality of property. Equality of nobleman to peasant, of patrician and privileged burgher to the plebeian, abolition of statute labour, quitrents, taxes, privileges, and at least the most crying differences in property—those were the demands advanced with more or less determination as naturally consistent with the early Christian doctrine. At the time when feudalism was at its zenith there was little to choose between this peasant-plebeian heresy of the Albigenses, for example, and the burgher heresy, but in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it developed into a clearly distinctive party opinion and usually occupied an independent place alongside the heresy of the burghers. This was so in the case of John Ball, preacher of Wat Tyler's rebellion in England, and the Wycliffe movement, and of the Taborites[306] and the Calixtines in Bohemia. In the case of the Taborites there was even already a republican tendency under the theocratic cloak, a view further developed by the plebeians in Germany in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The fanaticism of mystically-minded sects, the Flagellants and Lollards,[307] etc., which continued the revolutionary tradition in times of suppression, was contiguous with this form of heresy.

At that time the plebeians were the only class that stood outside the existing official society. They had no access to either the feudal or the burgher association. They had neither privileges nor property; they did not even have the kind of heavily-taxed property possessed by the peasant or petty burgher. They were propertyless and rightless in every respect; their living conditions never even brought

them into direct contact with the existing institutions, which ignored them completely. They were a living symptom of the decay of the feudal and guild-burgher society, and at the same time the first precursors of the modern bourgeois society.

This explains why even then the plebeian faction could not confine itself to fighting only feudalism and the privileged burghers; why, in fantasy at least, it reached beyond the then scarcely dawning modern bourgeois society; why, an absolutely propertyless faction, it questioned the institutions, views and conceptions common to all societies based on class antagonisms. In this respect, the chiliastic dream-visions[308] of early Christianity offered a very convenient starting point. On the other hand, this sally beyond the present and even the future could be nothing but violent and fantastic, and was bound to slide back at its first practical application to within the narrow limits set by the contemporary situation. The attack on private property and the demand for community of property was bound to dissolve into a primitive organisation of charity; vague Christian equality could at best dissolve into civic "equality before the law"; elimination of all authority would finally end in the establishment of republican governments elected by the people. The anticipation of communism in fantasy became in reality an anticipation of modern bourgeois conditions.

This violent anticipation of coming historical developments, easily explained by the living conditions of the plebeians, is first seen in *Germany*, with *Thomas Münzer* and his party. True, the Taborites had a kind of chiliastic community of property, but that was a purely military measure. Only in the teachings of Münzer did these communist notions express the aspirations of a real section of society. He was the first to formulate them with a certain definiteness, and only after him do we find them in every great popular upheaval, until they gradually merge with the modern proletarian movement; just as the struggles of free peasants in the Middle Ages against the increasing feudal domination merged with the struggles of serfs and bondsmen for the complete abolition of the feudal system.

The first of the three large camps, the *conservative Catholic*, embraced all the elements interested in maintaining the existing conditions, i.e. the imperial authorities, the ecclesiastical and a section of the lay princes, the richer nobility, the prelates and the city patricians,while the camp of *Lutheran* reform, *moderate in the burgher manner*, attracted all the propertied elements of the opposition, the mass of the lesser nobility, the burghers, and even some of the lay princes who hoped to enrich themselves through confiscation of church estates and wanted to seize the opportunity of gaining

greater independence from the Empire. As for the peasants and plebeians, they formed a *revolutionary* party whose demands and doctrines were most forcefully set out by Münzer.

Luther and Münzer each fully represented his party by his doctrine, as well as by his character and behaviour.

Between 1517 and 1525 *Luther* changed just as much as the present-day German constitutionalists did between 1846 and 1849, and as every bourgeois party does when, placed for a time at the head of the movement, it is overwhelmed by the plebeian or proletarian party standing behind it.

When in 1517 Luther first opposed the dogmas and statutes of the Catholic Church his opposition was by no means of a definite character. Though it did not overstep the demands of the earlier burgher heresy, it did not and could not rule out any trend which went further. At that early stage it was necessary that all the opposition elements should be united, the most resolute revolutionary energy should be displayed, and the sum of the existing heresies against the Catholic orthodoxy should be represented. In exactly the same way our liberal bourgeoisie of 1847 was still revolutionary, called itself socialist and communist, and clamoured for the emancipation of the working class. Luther's sturdy peasant nature asserted itself in the stormiest fashion in that first period of his activity.

"If the raging madness" (of the Roman churchmen) "were to continue, it seems to me no better counsel and remedy could be found against it than that kings and princes apply force, arm themselves, attack those evil people who have poisoned the entire world, and put an end to this game once and for all, *with arms, not with words.*[a] Since we punish thieves with the sword, murderers with the halter,[b] and heretics with fire, why do we not turn on all those evil teachers of perdition, those popes, cardinals and bishops, and the entire swarm of the Roman Sodom *with arms in hand, and wash our hands in their blood?*"[c]

But this initial revolutionary zeal was short-lived. Luther's lightning struck home. The entire German people was set in motion. On the one hand, peasants and plebeians saw the signal to revolt in his appeals against the clergy, and in his sermon of Christian freedom; on the other, he was joined by the moderate burghers and a large section of the lesser nobility. Even princes were drawn into the maelstrom. The former believed the day had come to settle

[a] The last three words are italicised by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] Luther wrote: "punish thieves with the halter, murderers with the sword".—*Ed.*

[c] *Epitoma responsionis ad Martinum Luther* [1520]. Engels quotes according to W. Zimmermann, *Allgemeine Geschichte des grossen Bauernkrieges*, Th. 1, S. 364-65.—*Ed.*

scores with all their oppressors, the latter only wished to break the power of the clergy, the dependence upon Rome, to abolish the Catholic hierarchy and to enrich themselves on the confiscation of church property. The parties stood aloof from each other, and each had its spokesmen. Luther had to choose between them. He, the protégé of the Elector of Saxony,[a] the revered professor of Wittenberg who had become powerful and famous overnight, the great man with his coterie of servile creatures and flatterers, did not hesitate for a single moment. He dropped the popular elements of the movement and took the side of the burghers, the nobility, and the princes. His appeals for a war of extermination[b] against Rome resounded no more. Luther now preached *peaceful progress* and *passive resistance* (cf., for example, *An den Adel teutscher Nation*, 1520, etc.). Invited by Hutten to visit him and Sickingen in the castle of Ebern, where the nobility conspired against the clergy and the princes, Luther replied:

"I do not wish the Gospel *defended by force and bloodshed*. The World was conquered by the Word, the Church is maintained by the Word, the Word will also put the Church back into its own, and Antichrist, who gained his own without violence, will fall without violence."[c]

From this reversal or, to be more exact, from this more definite explication of Luther's policy sprang that bartering and haggling over institutions and dogmas to be retained or reformed, that disgusting diplomatising, conciliating, intriguing and compromising, which resulted in the Confession of Augsburg, the finally importuned articles of a reformed burgher church.[309] It was quite the same kind of petty bargaining as was recently repeated in political form *ad nauseam* at the German national assemblies, agreement assemblies, chambers of revision, and Erfurt parliament.[310] The philistine nature of the official Reformation was most distinctly on display at these negotiations.

There were good reasons for Luther, henceforth the recognised representative of the burgher reform, to preach lawful progress. The bulk of the towns espoused the cause of moderate reform, the lesser nobility became more and more devoted to it, and a section of the princes joined in, while another section vacillated. Success was as

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[a] Frederick III.— *Ed.*

[b] The 1850 edition has *Vertilgungsrufe* (appeals for extermination) instead of *Aufrufe zum Vertilgungskampfe* (appeals for a war of extermination).— *Ed.*

[c] A passage from Luther's letter to Hutten quoted in his letter to Spalatin dated January 16, 1521. Intalicised by Engels. (See W. Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 1, S. 366.)— *Ed.*

good as won, at least in a large part of Germany. The remaining regions could not in the long run withstand the pressure of moderate opposition in the event of continued peaceful development. On the other hand, any violent upheaval was bound to bring the moderate party into conflict with the extremist plebeian and peasant party, to alienate the princes, the nobility, and many towns from the movement, leaving the alternative of either the burgher party being overshadowed by the peasants and plebeians or all the parties to the movement being crushed by a Catholic restoration. We have seen examples enough of late of how, after gaining the slightest victory, bourgeois parties sought to steer a lawful course between the Scylla of revolution and the Charybdis of restoration.

Since in the social and political conditions of that time the results of every change were bound to benefit the princes and inevitably increased their power, it came about that the burgher reform fell the more completely under the control of the reformed princes, the more sharply it broke away from the plebeian and peasant elements. Luther himself became more and more their vassal, and the people knew perfectly well what they were doing when they accused him of having become just another flunkey of the princes, and when they stoned him in Orlamünde.

When the Peasant War broke out, and this in regions where the nobility and the princes were mostly Catholic, Luther tried to strike a mediatory pose. He resolutely attacked the authorities. He said it was their oppression that was to blame for the rebellion, that it was not the peasants but God himself who had risen against them. Yet, on the other hand, he said, the revolt was ungodly and contrary to the Gospel. In the end he advised both parties to yield and reach an amicable understanding.[a]

But in spite of these well-meaning mediatory offers, the revolt spread swiftly and even involved Protestant regions dominated by Lutheran princes, lords and towns, rapidly outgrowing the "circumspect" burgher reform. The most determined faction of the insurgents under Münzer made its headquarters in Luther's immediate proximity in Thuringia. A few more successes and the whole of Germany would be in flames, Luther surrounded and perhaps piked as a traitor, and the burgher reform swept away by the tide of a peasant-plebeian revolution. This was no time for circumspection. All the old animosities were forgotten in the face of the revolution. Compared with the hordes of peasants, the servants

[a] M. Luther, *Ermanunge zum fride auff die zwelff artikel der Bawrschafft ynn Schwaben*, Wittemberg, 1525.—*Ed.*

of the Roman Sodom were innocent lambs, sweet-tempered children of God. Burgher and prince, noble and clergyman, Luther and the Pope, all joined hands "against the murderous and plundering peasant hordes".[a]

"They must be *knocked to pieces, strangled* and *stabbed, covertly* and *overtly*, by everyone who can, just as one must kill a *mad dog*!" Luther cried. "Therefore, dear sirs, help here, save there, stab, knock, strangle them everyone who can, and should you lose your life, bless you, no better death can you ever attain." There should be no false mercy for the peasant. Whoever hath pity on those whom God pities not, whom He wishes punished and destroyed, belongs among the rebels himself. Later the peasants themselves would learn to thank God when they had to give up one cow in order to enjoy the other in peace, and the princes would learn through the upheaval the spirit of the mob that must be ruled by force only.[b] "The wise man says: *cibus, onus et virga asino.*[c] The peasants must have nothing but chaff. They do not hearken to the Word, and are foolish, so they must hearken to the rod and the gun, and that serves them right. We must pray for them that they obey. Where they do not there should be little mercy. *Let the guns roar among them*, or else they will do it a thousand times worse."[d]

Our late socialist and philanthropic bourgeoisie said the same things when the proletariat claimed its share of the fruits of victory after the March events.

Luther had put a powerful tool into the hands of the plebeian movement by translating the Bible. Through the Bible he contrasted the feudalised Christianity of his day with the moderate Christianity of the first centuries, and the decaying feudal society with a picture of a society that knew nothing of the ramified and artificial feudal hierarchy. The peasants had made extensive use of this instrument against the princes, the nobility, and the clergy. Now Luther turned it against the peasants, extracting from the Bible such a veritable hymn to the God-ordained authorities as no bootlicker of absolute monarchy had ever been able to match. Princedom by the grace of God, resigned obedience, even serfdom, were sanctioned with the aid of the Bible. Not the peasant revolt alone, but Luther's own mutiny against religious and lay authority were thereby disavowed; not only the popular movement, but the burgher movement as well, were betrayed to the princes.

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[a] Part of the title of the pamphlet: M. Luther, *Wyder die mördische unnd reubischenn Rottenn der Pawrenn* [Wittemberg, 1525]. The passage that follows is quoted according to the text given by W. Zimmermann (op. cit., Th. 3, S. 370). Italics by Engels.— *Ed.*

[b] An indirect quotation from M. Luther, *Ein Sendbrief von dem harten Büchlein wider die Bawern* [1525].— *Ed.*

[c] Latin for "food, pack, and lash to the ass".— *Ed.*

[d] *M. Luthers Schreiben an Johann Rühel*, May 30, 1525. Italics by Engels. Quoted according to W. Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 3, S. 714.— *Ed.*

Need we name the bourgeois who recently provided examples of the same disavowal of their own past?

Let us now compare the plebeian revolutionary, *Münzer*, with Luther, the burgher reformer.

*Thomas Münzer* was born in *Stolberg*, in the Harz, somewhere around 1498.[311] His father is said to have died on the scaffold, a victim of the obduracy of the Count of Stolberg. In his fifteenth year Münzer organised a secret union at the Halle school against the Archbishop of Magdeburg[a] and the Roman Church in general. His learning in the theology of his time brought him an early doctor's degree and the position of chaplain in a Halle nunnery. Here he treated the church dogmas and rites with the greatest contempt. At mass he omitted the words of the transubstantiation and, as Luther said, devoured the almighty gods unconsecrated.[b] The medieval mystics, and particularly the chiliastic works of Joachim the Calabrese, were the main subject of his studies. The millennium and the Day of Judgment of the degenerated church and corrupted world propounded and described by that mystic seemed to Münzer imminently close, what with the Reformation and the general unrest of his time. He preached in his neighbourhood with great success. In 1520 he went to Zwickau as the first evangelist preacher. There he found one of those fanatical chiliastic sects that continued their existence on the quiet in many localities, whose momentary humility and detachment concealed the increasingly rampant opposition to the prevailing conditions of the lowest strata of society, and who were now, with the unrest growing, coming into the light of day ever more boldly and persistently. It was the sect of the Anabaptists[312] headed by Niklas *Storch*. They preached the approach of the Day of Judgment and of the millennium; they had "visions, transports, and the spirit of prophecy" and soon came into conflict with the Council of Zwickau. Münzer defended them, though he never joined them unconditionally and would much rather have brought them under his own influence. The Council took drastic measures against them; they had to leave the town, and Münzer with them. This was at the close of 1521.

He went to Prague and sought to gain a foothold there by joining the remnants of the Hussite movement. But all that he accomplished with his proclamation[c] was that he had to flee from Bohemia as well.

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[a] Ernst.— *Ed.*

[b] *M. Luther's Schrift von der Winkelmesse.* (See W. Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 2, S. 55.)— *Ed.*

[c] Th. Müntzer, *Ankündigung mit eigner Hand geschrieben, und in Prag 1521 angeschlagen wider die Papisten.* (See W. Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 2, S. 64-67.)— *Ed.*

In 1522 he became preacher at Allstedt in Thuringia. The first thing he did here was to reform the cult. Even before Luther dared to go so far, he entirely abolished the Latin language and ordered the entire Bible, and not only the prescribed Sunday Gospels and epistles, to be read to the people. At the same time, he organised propaganda in his locality. People flocked to him from all directions, and Allstedt soon became the centre of the popular anti-priest movement of all Thuringia.

Münzer was as yet more theologian than anything else. He still directed his attacks almost exclusively against the priests. He did not, however, preach quiet debate and peaceful progress as Luther did at that time, but continued Luther's earlier violent sermons, calling upon the princes of Saxony and the people to rise in arms against the Roman priests.

"Does not Christ say, 'I came not to send peace, but a sword'? What must you" (the princes of Saxony) "do with that sword? Only one thing if you wish to be the servants of God, and that is to drive out and destroy the evil ones who stand in the way of the Gospel. Christ ordered very earnestly (Luke 19:27): 'bring hither mine enemies and slay them before me'.... Do not shallowly pretend that the power of God will do it without the aid of your sword, for then it would rust in its sheath. Those who stand in the way of God's revelation must be destroyed mercilessly, as Ezekiel, Cyrus, Josiah, Daniel and Elijah destroyed the priests of Baal, else the Christian Church will never come back to its source. We must uproot the weeds in God's vineyard at harvest time. God said in the Fifth Book of Moses, 7, 'thou shalt not show mercy unto the idolaters, but ye shall destroy their altars, and break down their images and burn them with fire that I shall not be wroth at you'."[a]

But these appeals to the princes were of no avail, while revolutionary sentiments among the people grew day by day. Münzer, whose ideas became ever sharper and ever more bold, now resolutely broke away from the burgher Reformation, and henceforth also became an out-and-out political agitator.

His philosophico-theological doctrine attacked all the main points not only of Catholicism, but of Christianity generally. In the form of Christianity he preached a kind of pantheism, which curiously resembled modern speculative contemplation[313] and at times even approached atheism. He repudiated the Bible both as the only and as the infallible revelation. The real and living revelation, he said, was reason, a revelation that has existed at all times and still exists among all peoples. To hold up the Bible against reason, he maintained, was to kill the spirit with the letter, for the Holy Spirit of which the Bible speaks is not something that exists outside us—the Holy Spirit is our

[a] Th. Müntzer, *Die Fürstenpredigt. Ausslegung des andern vnterschyds Danielis dess propheten gepredigt auffm schlos zu Alstet vor den tetigen thewren Herzogen vnd vorstehern zu Sachssen durch Thomä Müntzer diener des wordt gottes*, Alstedt, MDXXIIII.— *Ed.*

reason. Faith is nothing but reason come alive in man, and pagans could therefore also have faith. Through this faith, through reason come to life, man became godlike and blessed. Heaven is, therefore, nothing of another world and is to be sought in this life. It is the mission of believers to establish this Heaven, the kingdom of God, here on earth. Just as there is no Heaven in the beyond, there is also no Hell and no damnation. Similarly, there is no devil but man's evil lusts and greed. Christ was a man as we are, a prophet and a teacher, and his supper is a plain meal of commemoration wherein bread and wine are consumed without any mystic garnish.

Münzer preached these doctrines mostly concealed in the same Christian phraseology behind which the present-day philosophy has had to hide for some time. But the arch-heretical fundamental idea is easily discerned in all his writings, and he obviously took the biblical cloak much less in earnest than many a disciple of Hegel does in modern times. Yet three hundred years separate Münzer from modern philosophy.

Münzer's political doctrine was very closely aligned to these revolutionary religious conceptions, and overstepped the directly prevailing social and political conditions in much the same way as his theology overstepped the conceptions current in his time. As Münzer's religious philosophy approached atheism, so his political programme approached communism, and even on the eve of the February Revolution more than one present-day communist sect lacked as comprehensive a theoretical arsenal as was "Münzer's" in the sixteenth century. This programme, which was less a compilation of the demands of the plebeians of that day than a brilliant anticipation of the conditions for the emancipation of the proletarian element that had scarcely begun to develop among the plebeians—this programme demanded the immediate establishment of the kingdom of God on Earth, of the prophesied millennium, by restoring the church to its original status and abolishing all the institutions that conflicted with the purportedly early Christian but in fact very novel church. By the kingdom of God Münzer meant a society with no class differences, no private property and no state authority independent of, and foreign to, the members of society. All the existing authorities, insofar as they refused to submit and join the revolution, were to be overthrown, all work and all property shared in common, and complete equality introduced. A union was to be established to realise all this, and not only throughout Germany, but throughout Christendom. Princes and lords would be invited to join, but should they refuse the union was to take up arms and overthrow or kill them at the first opportunity.

Münzer set to work at once to organise the union. His sermons became still more militant and revolutionary. He thundered forth against the princes, the nobility and the patricians with a passion that equalled the fervour of his attacks upon the clergy. He depicted the prevailing oppression in burning colours and countered it with his dream-vision of the millennium of social republican equality. Also, he published one revolutionary pamphlet after another, and sent emissaries in all directions, while personally organising the union in Allstedt and its vicinity.

The first fruit of this propaganda was the destruction of St. Mary's Chapel in Mellerbach near Allstedt, according to the command of the Bible (Deut. 7 [5], 6): "Ye shall destroy their altars, and break down their images ... and burn their graven images with fire for thou art an holy people." The princes of Saxony came in person to Allstedt to quell the unrest and bid Münzer come to the castle. There he delivered a sermon the like of which they had not heard from Luther, whom Münzer described as "that easy-living flesh of Wittenberg".[a] Münzer maintained that ungodly rulers, especially priests and monks who treated the Gospel as heresy, should be killed, and referred to the New Testament for confirmation. The ungodly had no right to live save by the mercy of the elect. Should the princes not exterminate the ungodly, God would take their sword from them, *because the entire community had the power of the sword.* The princes and lords are the prime movers of usury, thievery and robbery; they take all creatures into their private possession—the fish in the water, the birds in the air, and the plants in the soil. And then they preach to the poor the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," while they themselves take everything they find, and rob and oppress the peasant and the artisan. If, however, one of the latter commits the slightest transgression, he has to hang, and Dr. Lügner says to all this: Amen.

"The masters themselves are to blame that the poor man becomes their enemy. If they do not remove the causes of the upheaval, how can things go well in the long run? Oh, dear sirs, how the Lord will smite these old pots with an iron rod! But for saying so, I am regarded a rebel. So be it!" (Cf. Zimmermann's *Bauernkrieg*, Th. 2, S. 75.)[b]

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[a] This phrase is part of the title of Th. Münzer's pamphlet directed against Luther, *Hochverursachte Schutzrede vnd antwwort / wider das Gaistlosse Sanfft lebende fleysch zu Wittenberg....* Thomas Müntzer Alstedter... Anno MDXXIIII. (In this pamphlet Münzer refers to Luther as Dr. Lügner, the German for Dr. Liar.)—*Ed.*

[b] This quotation from Münzer's speeches (see the above-quoted *Hochverursachte Schutzrede...* and *Die Fürstenpredigt*...) is given according to Zimmermann's book.—*Ed.*

Münzer had the sermon printed. Duke Johann of Saxony punished his Allstedt printer with banishment, and ordered all Münzer's writings to be censored from then on by the ducal government in Weimar. But Münzer paid no heed to this order. He hastened to publish a highly inciting paper[a] in the imperial city of Mühlhausen, wherein he called on the people

"to widen the hole so that all the world may see and understand who our great personages are that have blasphemously turned our Lord into a painted manikin".

It ended with the following words:

"All the world must suffer a big jolt. There will be such a game that the ungodly will be thrown off their seats, and the downtrodden will rise."

Thomas Münzer, "the man with the hammer", wrote the following motto on the title page:

"Beware, I have put my words into thy mouth [b] that thou mayest uproot, destroy, scatter and overthrow, and that thou mayest build and plant. A wall of iron against the kings, princes, priests, and against the people hath been erected. Let them fight, for victory will wondrously lead to the perdition of the strong and godless tyrants."

Münzer's breach with Luther and his party had taken place long before. Luther had had to accept some of the church reforms which Münzer had introduced without consulting him. He watched Münzer's activities with a moderate reformer's nettled mistrust of a more energetic, ambitious party. Already in the spring of 1524, in a letter to Melanchthon, that model of a zealous stick-in-the-mud philistine, Münzer wrote that he and Luther did not understand the movement at all. He said they sought to choke it by the letter of the Bible, and that their doctrine was worm-eaten.

"Dear brethren," he wrote, "cease your waiting and hesitation. It is time, for summer is at the door. Keep not friendship with the ungodly who hinder the Word from working its full force. Flatter not your princes, or you will perish with them. Ye tender scholars, be not wroth, for I can do nothing else."[c]

Luther had more than once challenged Münzer to an open debate. The latter, however, always ready to take up the battle before the people, had not the least desire to let himself in for a theological

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[a] *Aussgetrückte emplössung des falschen Glaubens der ungetrewen welt...* Jere. am. 23. Cap. Thomas Müntzer mit dem Hammer. Mülhausen, MDXXIIII. (W. Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 2, S. 77-78.)—*Ed.*

[b] In the 1850 edition there follows a phrase missing in the 1870 and 1875 editions: "I have put you over the people and over the empires."—*Ed.*

[c] From Münzer's letter to Melanchthon of March 27, 1522. (Zimmermann erroneously dated it March 29, 1524.)—*Ed.*

squabble before the partisan public of Wittenberg University. He did not wish "to bring the testimony of the Spirit exclusively before the high school of learning".[a] If Luther were sincere, he should use his influence to stop the chicaneries against his, Münzer's, printer, and lift the censorship so that their controversy might be freely fought in the press.

But now, when Münzer's above-mentioned revolutionary brochure appeared, Luther denounced him publicly. In his published *Brieff an die Fürsten zu Sachsen von dem auffrurischen geyst* he declared Münzer to be an instrument of Satan and called upon the princes to intervene and drive the instigators of the turmoil out of the country, since they did not confine themselves to preaching their evil doctrine but also incited to insurrection, to violent action against the authorities.

On August 1, Münzer was compelled to appear before the princes in the castle of Weimar on the charge of incitement to mutiny. Highly compromising facts had been obtained against him; they were on the scent of his secret union; his hand was detected in the societies of the miners and the peasants. He was threatened with banishment. No sooner had he returned to Allstedt than he learned that Duke George of Saxony demanded his extradition. Union letters in his handwriting had been intercepted, wherein he called George's subjects to armed resistance against the enemies of the Gospel. Had he not left the town, the Council would have extradited him.

In the meantime, the growing unrest among the peasants and plebeians had made it incomparably easier for Münzer to carry on his propaganda. In the Anabaptists he found invaluable agents for this purpose. This sect, which had no definite and positive dogmas, held together only by its common opposition to all ruling classes and by the common symbol of the second baptism, ascetic in its mode of living, untiring, fanatical and intrepid in carrying on propaganda, had grouped itself more and more closely around Münzer. Made homeless by persecutions, its members wandered all over Germany and carried word everywhere of the new teaching, in which Münzer had made their own demands and wishes clear to them. Countless Anabaptists were put on the rack, burned at the stake or otherwise executed, but the courage and endurance of these emissaries was unshakable, and the success of their activities amid the people's rapidly growing unrest was enormous. Thus, after his flight from Thuringia, Münzer found the ground prepared wherever he went.

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[a] Th. Müntzer, *Ausgetrückte emplössung des falschen Glaubens der ungetrewen welt...*, quoted according to W. Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 2, S. 77.— *Ed.*

Near Nuremberg, where Münzer went first,[314] a peasant revolt had been nipped in the bud hardly a month before. Münzer conducted his propaganda surreptitiously; soon people appeared who defended his most audacious theological ideas on the non-obligatory nature of the Bible and the meaninglessness of sacraments, who declared Christ a mere human and the power of the lay authorities ungodly. "There is Satan stalking, the Spirit of Allstedt!" Luther exclaimed.[a] In Nuremberg Münzer printed his reply to Luther.[b] He accused him of flattering the princes and supporting the reactionary party by his insipid moderation. But the people would free themselves all the same, he wrote, and it would go with Dr. Luther as with a captive fox.—The Council ordered the paper confiscated, and Münzer had to leave Nuremberg.

Now he went across Swabia to Alsace, then to Switzerland, and then back to the Upper Black Forest, where an insurrection had broken out several months before, largely precipitated by his Anabaptist emissaries. This propaganda tour of Münzer's had doubtless substantially contributed to the establishment of the people's party, to the clear definition of its demands and to the final general outbreak of the insurrection in April 1525. It was through this tour that the dual effect of Münzer's activities became particularly apparent—on the one hand, on the people, whom he addressed in the only language they could then comprehend, that of religious prophecy; and, on the other hand, on the initiated to whom he could disclose his ultimate aims. Even before his journey he had assembled in Thuringia a circle of resolute men from among the people and the lesser clergy, whom he had put at the head of the secret society. Now he became the soul of the entire revolutionary movement in Southwestern Germany, organised ties from Saxony and Thuringia through Franconia and Swabia up to Alsace and the Swiss border, and counted such South German agitators as Hubmaier of Waldshut, Konrad Grebel of Zurich, Franz Rabmann of Griessen, Schappeler of Memmingen, Jakob Wehe of Leipheim, and Dr. Mantel in Stuttgart, who were mostly revolutionary priests, among his disciples and the heads of the union. He himself stayed mostly in Griessen on the Schaffhausen border, journeying from there across the Hegau, Klettgau, etc. The bloody reprisals by the alarmed princes and lords everywhere against this new plebeian

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[a] From Luther's letter to Johannes Briessmann, dated February 4, 1525. Quoted according to Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 2, S. 81.—*Ed.*

[b] Th. Müntzer, *Hochverursachte Schutzrede vnd antwwort/wider das Gaistlosse Sanfft lebende fleysch zu Wittenberg...*—*Ed.*

heresy contributed not a little to fanning the spirit of rebellion and consolidating the ranks of the union. In this way Münzer conducted his agitation for about five months in Upper Germany and returned to Thuringia when the culmination of the conspiracy was near at hand, because he wished to lead the movement himself. There we shall find him later.

We shall see how truly the character and behaviour of the two party leaders reflected the attitude of their respective parties, how Luther's indecision and fear of the movement, which was assuming serious proportions, and his cowardly servility to the princes fully corresponded to the hesitant and ambiguous policy of the burghers, and how Münzer's revolutionary energy and resolution was reproduced among the most advanced section of the plebeians and peasants. The only difference was that while Luther confined himself to expressing the ideas and wishes of the majority of his class and thereby won very cheap popularity among it, Münzer, on the contrary, went far beyond the immediate ideas and demands of the plebeians and peasants, and organised a party of the élite of the then existing revolutionary elements, which, inasmuch as it shared his ideas and energy, always remained only a small minority of the insurgent masses.

## III

The first signs of a budding revolutionary spirit appeared among the German peasants about fifty years after the suppression of the Hussite movement.*

In 1476 the first peasant conspiracy occurred in the bishopric of Würzburg, a land impoverished by the Hussite wars, "by bad government, manifold taxes, payments, feuds, enmity, war, fire, murder, prison and the like",[a] and continually and shamelessly plundered by bishops, priests and the nobility. A young shepherd and musician, *Hans Böheim of Niklashausen,* also called the Drum-Beater and *Hans the Piper,* suddenly appeared as a prophet in the Tauber valley. He declared that he had had a vision of the Virgin Mary, that she had commanded him to burn his drum, to stop serving the dance and sinful sensuality, and to exhort the people to penance. Everyone should purge himself of sin and the vain lusts of the world, forsake all ornaments and finery, and make a pilgrimage to the Madonna of Niklashausen to obtain forgiveness.

Already here, with the first precursor of the movement, we find the asceticism typical of all medieval uprisings tinged with religion and, in modern times, of the early stages of every proletarian movement. This ascetic austerity of morals, this demand to forsake all joys of life and all entertainments, opposes the ruling classes with

* In our chronology we are following the data given by Zimmermann, upon which we are obliged to rely in the absence of adequate sources abroad and which are quite satisfactory for the purposes of the present work.—*Note by Engels to the 1850 edition.* (In the 1870 and 1875 editions this note was omitted since Engels pointed out in the Preface that he was using Zimmermann's data.—*Ed.*)

[a] Engels quotes an extract from a 15th-century manuscript preserved in the Würzburg archive. See W. Zimmermann, *Allgemeine Geschichte des grossen Bauernkrieges,* Th. 1, S. 118.—*Ed.*

the principle of Spartan equality, on the one hand, and is, on the other, a necessary stage of transition without which the lowest stratum of society can never set itself in motion. In order to develop its revolutionary energy, to become conscious of its own hostile attitude towards all other elements of society, to concentrate itself as a class, it must begin by stripping itself of everything that could reconcile it with the existing social system; it must renounce the few pleasures that make its wretched existence in the least tolerable for the moment, and of which even the severest oppression could not deprive it. This *plebeian and proletarian asceticism* differs both in its wild fanatical form and in its essence from the bourgeois asceticism of the Lutheran burgher morality and of the English Puritans (as distinct from the Independents [315] and the more radical sects), whose entire secret amounts to *bourgeois thrift*. It stands to reason, however, that this plebeian-proletarian asceticism gradually sheds its revolutionary nature when the development of modern productive forces infinitely multiplies the luxuries, thus rendering Spartan equality superfluous, and when the position of the proletariat in society, and thereby the proletariat itself, become more revolutionary. This asceticism disappears gradually from among the masses, and in the sects, which relied upon it, it degenerates either directly into bourgeois parsimony or into a high-sounding virtuousness which, in practice, degenerates to a philistine or guild-artisan meanness. Besides, renunciation of pleasures need hardly be preached to the proletariat for the simple reason that it has almost nothing more to renounce.

Hans the Piper's call to penitence found a ready response; all the prophets of rebellion began with this call, and, indeed, only a violent exertion, a sudden renunciation of all this habitual mode of existence could set this disunited and widely scattered peasant species, raised in blind submission, into motion. The pilgrimages to Niklashausen began and rapidly increased, and the more massive the stream of pilgrims, the more openly the young rebel spoke out his plans. The Madonna of Niklashausen had told him, he preached, that henceforth there should be neither king nor prince, neither papal nor any other ecclesiastic or lay authority. Each should be a brother to the other and win his bread by the toil of his own hands, and none should have more than his neighbour. All tributes, rents, services, tolls, taxes and other payments and duties should be for ever abolished, and forest, water and pasture should everywhere be free.

The people received this new gospel with joy. The fame of the prophet, "the message of our Lady", spread far and wide; pilgrim throngs flocked to him from Odenwald, from the Main, Kocher and

Jagst, even from Bavaria and Swabia, and from the Rhine. Miracles said to have been performed by the Piper were recounted; people fell to their knees before him, praying to him as to a saint, and then fought for tufts from his cap for relics or amulets. In vain did the priests speak against him, denouncing his visions as the devil's delusions and his miracles as diabolic swindles. The mass of the believers increased precipitously, a revolutionary sect began to take shape, the Sunday sermons of the rebel shepherd drew gatherings of 40,000 and more to Niklashausen.

Hans the Piper preached to the masses for a number of months, but he did not intend to confine himself to preaching. He had secret connections with the pastor of Niklashausen and with two knights, Kunz von Thunfeld and his son, who held to the new teaching and were to become the military leaders of the planned insurrection. Finally, on the Sunday before the day of St. Kilian, when his power appeared to be great enough, the shepherd gave the signal.

"And now go home," he closed his sermon, "and weigh in your mind what our holiest Lady has announced to you, and on the coming Saturday leave your wives and children and old men at home, and you, men, come back to Niklashausen on the day of St. Margaret, which is next Saturday, and bring your brothers and friends, as many as they may be. Do not come with pilgrim's staves, however, but with armour and arms, a candle in one hand, and a sword, pike or halberd in the other, and the Holy Virgin will then tell you what she wishes you to do."[a]

But before the peasants arrived in their numbers, the bishop's[b] horsemen seized the rebel prophet at night and brought him to the castle of Würzburg. On the appointed day almost 34,000 armed peasants appeared, but the news of the Piper's detention crushed them. Most of them went home, while the initiated kept about 16,000 together, with whom they marched to the castle under the leadership of Kunz von Thunfeld and his son Michael. The bishop persuaded them with promises to turn back, but no sooner had they begun to disperse than they were attacked by the bishop's horsemen and many of them taken captive. Two were decapitated, and Hans the Piper was burned at the stake. Kunz von Thunfeld escaped and was allowed to return only after ceding all his estates to the bishopric. The pilgrimages to Niklashausen continued for some time, but were finally also suppressed.

After this initial attempt, Germany remained quiet for some time. Only towards the close of the century were there any new peasant revolts and conspiracies.

[a] From a free rendering of the sermon as given by W. Zimmermann (op. cit., Th. I, S. 121-22).—*Ed.*

[b] Rudolf II von Scherenberg.—*Ed.*

We shall pass over the Dutch peasant revolt of 1491 and 1492, which was suppressed by Duke Albrecht of Saxony in the battle of Heemskerk, the simultaneous peasant revolt in the Abbey of Kempten in Upper Swabia, and the Frisian revolt under Sjoerd Aylva, about 1497,[a] which was also suppressed by Albrecht of Saxony. These revolts were partly too far from the scene of the Peasant War proper, and partly uprisings of hitherto free peasants against the attempt to force feudalism upon them. We pass on to the two great conspiracies which laid the ground for the Peasant War: the *Bundschuh* and the *Poor Konrad.*

The same famine that had precipitated the peasant revolt in the Netherlands, brought about a secret alliance of peasants and plebeians in Alsace in 1493; people of the purely burgher opposition took part in it, and it even enjoyed some sympathy among the lesser nobility. The seat of the alliance was in the region of Schlettstadt, Sulz, Dambach, Rosheim, Scherweiler, etc., etc. The conspirators demanded plunder and extermination of Jews, whose usury then, as now, fleeced the peasants of Alsace, proclamation of a jubilee year, whereby all debts would expire, repeal of duties, tolls and other imposts, abolition of the ecclesiastical and Rottweil (imperial) court, the right of the estates to ratify taxes, reduction of the priests' prebend to fifty or sixty guilders, abolition of the auricular confession, and self-elected courts for every community. When they were strong enough the conspirators planned to overpower the stronghold of Schlettstadt, to confiscate the treasuries of the monasteries and of the town, and from there to arouse the whole of Alsace. The banner of the Union, which was to be unfurled at the start of the uprising, depicted a peasant's clog with a long leather thong, the so-called *Bundschuh,* which served peasant conspiracies as an emblem and name in the following twenty years.

The conspirators were wont to hold their meetings at night on the lonesome Hunger Hill. Initiation into the Bundschuh involved the most mysterious of ceremonies and the severest threats of punishment for betrayal. But the affair got abroad about Easter Week of 1493, the time appointed for the attack on Schlettstadt. The authorities stepped in immediately. Many of the conspirators were arrested and tortured, some were quartered or decapitated, and others had their hands or fingers cut off and were driven out of the country. A great many fled to Switzerland.

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[a] The Frisian peasant revolt occurred in 1500. Engels gives the date 1497 as in Zimmermann.—*Ed.*

The Bundschuh, however, was far from crushed by this first blow. On the contrary, it continued in secret and the numerous fugitives scattered all over Switzerland and South Germany became as many emissaries. Finding the same oppression and, consequently, the same inclination to revolt everywhere they went, they propagated the Bundschuh in the whole of the present-day Baden. The tenacity and stamina with which the peasants of Upper Germany conspired for about thirty years after 1493, with which they surmounted all the obstacles arising from their scattered way of life on the road to a larger, more centralised organisation, and with which they renewed their conspiracies over and over after countless dispersions, defeats, and executions of their leaders, until an opportunity came at last for a mass uprising—this tenacity is truly admirable.

In 1502 there were signs of a secret movement among the peasants of the bishopric of Speyer, which at that time also included the locality of Bruchsal. The Bundschuh had reorganised itself there with really considerable success. About 7,000 men belonged to the society, whose centre was in Untergrombach, between Bruchsal and Weingarten, and whose ramifications reached down the Rhine to the Main, and up to the Margraviate of Baden. Its articles said: neither rent nor tithe, neither tax nor toll are to be paid any longer to the princes, the nobility, or the clergy; serfdom is to be abolished; the monasteries and other *church estates are to be confiscated and divided among the people, and no other ruler is to be recognised save the Emperor.*

Here we find for the first time expressed by peasants the two demands—secularising church estates in favour of the people, and a united and indivisible German monarchy—which will henceforth be advocated regularly by the more advanced peasants and plebeians, until Thomas Münzer changes *distribution* of church estates to *confiscation* and conversion into *community of property*, and a united German *Empire* to a united and indivisible *republic.*

The revived Bundschuh, like the old, had its own secret meeting place, its oath of silence, its initiation ceremonies, and its union banner with the legend, "Nothing but God's Justice!" Its plan of action was similar to that of the Alsatian union. Bruchsal, most of whose inhabitants belonged to the Bundschuh, was to be captured and a Bundschuh army organised there and sent into the surrounding principalities as an itinerant meeting point.

The plan was betrayed by a clergyman who had learned of it from one of the conspirators in the confessional. The authorities instantly took countermeasures. How widespread the Bundschuh had become is evident from the terror that seized the various imperial estates in Alsace and the Swabian League.[316] Troops were concen-

trated, and mass arrests were made. Emperor Maximilian, "last of the knights", issued bloodthirsty punitive decrees against the unheard-of peasant undertaking. Throngs of peasants assembled here and there and offered armed resistance, but the isolated peasant troops could not hold out for long. Some of the conspirators were executed, others escaped, but secrecy was so well preserved that, in their own localities and in the possessions of the neighbouring lords, the majority, even the leaders, remained unharmed.

After this new defeat there followed a long period of apparent calm in the class struggle. But work went on underground. In the first years of the sixteenth century *Poor Konrad* appeared in Swabia, evidently with the support of the scattered members of the Bundschuh. In the Black Forest the Bundschuh continued in small isolated groups until, ten years later, an energetic peasant leader succeeded in gathering the various threads into a major conspiracy. Both conspiracies became public one after the other in the restless years of 1513-15, in which the Swiss, Hungarian and Slovenian peasants rose simultaneously in a series of major insurrections.

The man who revived the Upper Rhine Bundschuh was *Joss Fritz* of Untergrombach, a fugitive of the conspiracy of 1502, a former soldier, and in all respects an outstanding figure. After his flight he stayed in various localities between Lake Constance and the Black Forest, and finally settled in Lehen near Freiburg in Breisgau, where he even became a forester. Most interesting facts are contained in the court records about the manner in which he reorganised the Bundschuh from that vantage point and how ingeniously he recruited people of different kinds. The diplomatic talent and tireless perseverance of this model conspirator helped him enrol a great number of people of various classes into the Bundschuh —knights, priests, burghers, plebeians and peasants, and it appears almost certain that he even organised several more or less sharply divided grades of the conspiracy. All serviceable elements were utilised with the greatest circumspection and skill. Apart from the more initiated emissaries who traversed the country in various disguises, vagrants and beggars were employed for subordinate missions. Joss stood in direct contact with the beggar kings, and through them held the numerous vagabond population in the palm of his hand. The beggar kings played a considerable role in his conspiracy. They were very bizarre figures: one roamed the country with a girl whose seemingly wounded feet were his pretext for begging; he had more than eight insignia on his hat—the Fourteen Deliverers, St. Ottilie, Our Mother in Heaven, etc.—and, besides, wore a long red beard and carried a big knotty stick with a dagger

and pike. Another, who begged in the name of St. Velten, had spices and wormseeds for sale, and wore a long iron-coloured coat, a red barret with the insignia of the Infant of Trient attached to it, a sword at his side, and many knives and a dagger in his girdle. Others had bleeding wounds, which they deliberately did not allow to heal, and their attire was also picturesque. There were at least ten of them, and for the price of two thousand guilders they were simultaneously to set aflame Alsace, the Margraviate of Baden, and Breisgau, and to put themselves, with at least 2,000 of their kind, under the command of Georg Schneider, a former captain of the mercenaries, on the day of the Zabern parish fair in Rosen, in order to take possession of that town. A courier service from station to station was established by members of the Bundschuh, and Joss Fritz and his chief emissary, Stoffel of Freiburg, rode continually from place to place to hold nocturnal military reviews of the neophytes. The court records offer ample evidence of the spread of the Bundschuh in the Upper Rhine and Black Forest regions. They contain countless names and descriptions of members from the various localities of that region—most of them journeymen, then peasants and innkeepers, a few nobles, priests (like the one from Lehen), and breadless mercenaries. This composition of the Bundschuh is evidence of the more developed character of the society under Joss Fritz. The urban plebeian element was asserting itself more and more. The ramifications of the conspiracy spread throughout Alsace, the present-day Baden, up to Württemberg and the Main. From time to time large gatherings were held on secluded mountains such as the Kniebis, etc., to discuss the affairs of the Union. The meetings of the chiefs, in which local members and delegates of remoter localities often participated, took place on the Hartmatte near Lehen, and it was there that the fourteen articles of the Bundschuh were adopted. The articles agreed upon were: no master besides the Emperor and (according to some) the Pope; abolition of the Rottweil imperial court and restriction of the church court to religious affairs; abolition of interest after it had been paid for so long that it equalled the capital; top interest rate of five per cent; freedom of hunting, fishing, pasture, and woodcutting; restriction of priests each to one prebend; confiscation of church estates and monastery treasures for the Bundschuh war chest; abolition of all inequitable taxes and tolls; eternal peace in all Christendom; determined action against all opponents of the Bundschuh; Bundschuh taxes; seizure of a strong town, such as Freiburg, to serve as Bundschuh headquarters; negotiations with the Emperor as soon as the Bundschuh troops are gathered, and with Switzerland in case the Emperor declines. It was

evident that, on the one hand, the demands of the peasants and plebeians were becoming more definite and firm, and that, on the other, concessions had had equally to be made to the moderate and timid.

The blow was to be struck about autumn 1513. Only a Bundschuh banner was lacking, and Joss Fritz went to Heilbronn to have it painted. Besides all sorts of emblems and pictures, it bore the peasant's clog emblem and the legend, "God Help Thy Divine Justice". While he was away a premature attempt was made to overwhelm Freiburg, which was discovered. Some indiscretions in the conduct of propaganda put the Council of Freiburg and the Margrave of Baden[a] on the right scent, and the betrayal by two conspirators completed the series of disclosures. The Margrave, the Council of Freiburg, and the imperial government at Ensisheim[317] instantly sent spies and soldiers; some Bundschuh members were arrested, tortured and executed. But again the majority escaped, Joss Fritz among them. This time the Swiss Government sternly persecuted the fugitives, and even executed many of them. However, it had just as little success as its neighbours in preventing the greater part of the fugitives from remaining continually in the vicinity of their former homes and even returning to them after some time. The Alsace Government in Ensisheim behaved more brutally than the others. It ordered very many to be decapitated, broken on the wheel, and quartered. Joss Fritz himself kept mainly to the Swiss bank of the Rhine, but often crossed to the Black Forest, without ever being apprehended.

Why this time the Swiss made common cause with the neighbouring governments against the Bundschuh is made apparent by the peasant revolt that broke out the following year, 1514, in Berne, Solothurn and Lucerne,[b] resulting in a purge of the aristocratic governments and the patriciate generally. The peasants also won certain privileges for themselves. The success of the local Swiss revolts was due to the simple fact that there was even less centralisation in Switzerland than in Germany. In 1525 the peasants managed to dispose of their local lords everywhere, but succumbed to the organised armies of the princes, and it was these latter that Switzerland did not have.

Simultaneously with the Bundschuh in Baden, and apparently in direct association with it, a second conspiracy was formed in Württemberg. Documents indicate that it had existed since 1503, but

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[a] Christoph I.— *Ed.*

[b] Its first outbreaks began in 1513.— *Ed.*

since the name Bundschuh became too dangerous after the setback of the Untergrombach conspirators, it adopted the name Poor Konrad. Its main seat was the valley of the Rems at the foot of the mountain of Hohenstaufen. Its existence had been no secret for a long time, at least to the people. The merciless oppression of Duke Ulrich's government coupled with several famine years, which contributed greatly to the outbreak of the movements of 1513 and 1514, had increased the number of conspirators. The newly imposed taxes on wine, meat and bread, and a capital tax of one pfennig yearly on every guilder, provoked the uprising. The town of Schorndorf, where the heads of the complot met in the house of a cutler named Kaspar Pregizer, was to be seized first. In the spring of 1514, the rebellion broke out. Three thousand—and according to some, five thousand—peasants gathered before the town, but were persuaded by the amicable promises of the Duke's officers to withdraw. Duke Ulrich, who had agreed to abolish the new taxes, arrived posthaste with eighty horsemen to find everything quiet in consequence of the promise. He promised to convene a Diet to examine all complaints. But the chiefs of the society knew very well that Ulrich sought only to keep the people quiet until he recruited and concentrated enough troops to be able to break his word and collect the taxes by force. From Kaspar Pregizer's house, "Poor Konrad's chancery", they issued a call for a society congress, and sent emissaries in all directions. The success of the first uprising in the Rems valley had everywhere stimulated the movement among the people. The appeals and the emissaries found a favourable response everywhere, and the congress held in Untertürkheim on May 28 was attended by a large number of representatives from all parts of Württemberg. It was decided to proceed at once with propaganda and to strike in the Rems valley at the first opportunity, in order to spread the uprising from that point in every direction. While Bantelhans of Dettingen, a former soldier, and Singerhans of Würtingen, an esteemed peasant, were bringing the Swabian Jura into the society, the uprising broke out on every side. Though Singerhans was attacked and seized, the towns of Backnang, Winnenden, and Markgröningen fell into the hands of the peasants who had joined forces with the plebeians, and the entire area from Weinsberg to Blaubeuren, and from there to the border of Baden, was in open revolt. Ulrich was compelled to yield. However, while calling the Diet for June 25, he wrote to the surrounding princes and free towns asking for aid against the uprising, which, he said, threatened all princes, authorities and nobles in the Empire, and which "bore an uncommon resemblance to the Bundschuh".

In the meantime, the Diet, i.e. the deputies of the towns, and many delegates of the peasants who also demanded seats in the Diet, came together as early as June 18 in Stuttgart. The prelates had not yet arrived. The knights had not even been invited. The city opposition of Stuttgart, as well as two threatening peasant throngs at Leonberg and in the Rems valley, supported the demands of the peasants. Their delegates were admitted, and it was decided to depose and punish the three hated councillors of the Duke—Lamparter, Thumb and Lorcher—and appoint for the Duke a council of four knights, four burghers and four peasants, to grant him a fixed civil allowance, and to confiscate the monasteries and endowments in favour of the state treasury.

Duke Ulrich countered these revolutionary decisions with a coup d'état. On June 21 he rode with his knights and councillors to Tübingen, where he was followed by the prelates, ordered the burghers to come there as well, which they did, and there continued the Diet without the peasants. The burghers, confronted with military terror, betrayed their peasant allies. On July 8 the Tübingen agreement came about, saddling the country with almost a million of the Duke's debts, laying some restrictions on the Duke which he never observed, and disposing of the peasants with a few meagre general phrases and a very definite penal law against insurrection and association. Naturally, nothing was said any more about peasant representation in the Diet. The peasantry cried treason, but the Duke, who had acquired new credit after his debts were taken over by the estates, soon gathered troops, and his neighbours, particularly the Elector Palatine,[a] also sent him military aid. The Tübingen agreement was thus accepted all over the country towards the end of July, and a new oath was taken. Only in the Rems valley Poor Konrad offered resistance. The Duke, who again rode there in person, barely escaped with his life. A peasant camp was set up on the mountain of Kappel. But as the affair dragged on, most of the insurgents dispersed for lack of food, and the rest also went home after an ambiguous agreement with some of the Diet deputies. In the meantime, Ulrich, his army strengthened with companies willingly placed at his service by the towns, which, having attained their demands, turned fanatically against the peasants, attacked the Rems valley in spite of the agreement and plundered its towns and villages. Sixteen hundred peasants were taken prisoner, sixteen of them instantly decapitated, and most of the others made to pay heavy fines into Ulrich's treasury. Many remained in prison for a long

[a] Ludwig V.—*Ed.*

time. Strict penal laws were enacted against a revival of the society, against all gatherings of peasants, and the nobility of Swabia formed a special league for the suppression of all attempts at insurrection.—The top leaders of Poor Konrad had meanwhile succeeded in escaping to Switzerland, whence after a few years they returned home, most of them singly.

At the time of the Württemberg movement, signs of new Bundschuh activity were observed in Breisgau and in the Margraviate of Baden. In June, an insurrection was attempted near Bühl, but it was quickly throttled by Margrave Philip, and its leader, Gugel-Bastian, was seized in Freiburg and beheaded.

In the spring of the same year, 1514, a general peasant war broke out in *Hungary*. A crusade against the Turks was preached, and freedom was promised as usual to the serfs and bondsmen who would join it. About 60,000 gathered under the command of Georg Dózsa, a Szekler,[318] who had distinguished himself in previous Turkish wars and attained nobility. The Hungarian knights and magnates, however, looked with disfavour upon the crusade, which threatened to deprive them of their property and bondsmen. They overtook isolated peasant groups, took back their serfs by force and maltreated them. When this reached the ears of the army of crusaders the fury of the oppressed peasants broke loose. Two of the most enthusiastic advocates of the crusade, Laurentius and Barnabás, fanned the hatred against the nobility in the army by their revolutionary speeches. Dózsa himself was as angered with the treacherous nobility as his troops. The army of crusaders became an army of revolution and Dózsa put himself at the head of the new movement.

He camped with his peasants in the Rákos field near Pest. Clashes with men of the noblemen's party in the surrounding villages and the suburbs of Pest opened the hostilities. It soon came to skirmishes, and then to Sicilian Vespers[319] for all the noblemen who fell into the hands of the peasants, and to destruction by fire of all the castles in the vicinity. The court made its threats in vain. After the first acts of popular justice against the nobility had been accomplished under the walls of the capital, Dózsa proceeded with further operations. He divided his army into five columns. Two were sent to the mountains of Upper Hungary to rouse the populace and exterminate the nobility. The third, under Ambros Száleresi, a citizen of Pest, remained on the Rákos to watch the capital, while the fourth and fifth were led by Dózsa and his brother Gregor against Szegedin.[a]

[a] The Hungarian name is Szeged.—*Ed.*

In the meantime, the nobility gathered in Pest, and summoned to its aid Johann Zápolya, the voivode of Transylvania. Joined by the burghers of Budapest, the nobility attacked and annihilated the army on the Rákos, after Száleresi and the burgher elements in the peasant force had gone over to the enemy. A host of prisoners was executed in the most cruel fashion, and the rest sent home minus their noses and ears.

Dózsa failed at Szegedin and marched on Csanád, which he captured on defeating an army of noblemen under István Batory and Bishop Csáky. He took bloody revenge on the prisoners, among them the bishop and the royal Chancellor Teleki, for the Rákos atrocities. In Csanád he proclaimed a republic, abolished the nobility, declared general equality and sovereignty of the people, and then marched against Temesvár,[a] to which Bátory had fled. But while he besieged this fortress for two months and was reinforced by a new army under Anton Hosszú, his two army columns in Upper Hungary were defeated by the nobility in several battles. Johann Zápolya with his Transylvanian army advanced against him, attacked and dispersed the peasants. Dózsa was taken prisoner and roasted alive on a red-hot throne. His flesh was eaten by his own people, this being the condition on which their lives were spared. The dispersed peasants, reassembled by Laurentius and Hosszú, were again defeated, and those who fell into enemy hands were either impaled or hanged. The peasants' corpses hung in thousands along the roads or on the edges of gutted villages. About 60,000, it is said, either fell in battle or were massacred. The nobility saw to it that at the next Diet serfdom was again recognised as the law of the land.

The peasant revolt in the "Wendish mark", that is, Carinthia, Carniola and Styria, which broke out at about the same time, reposed on a Bundschuh-like conspiracy that had taken shape and precipitated a rising in this region—wrung dry by the nobility and imperial officials, ravaged by Turkish invasions, and plagued by famines—as far back as 1503. Already in 1513, the Slovenian and German peasants of this region once more raised the battle standard of the *Stara Prawa* (The Old Rights). If they allowed themselves to be placated that year, and if in 1514, when they gathered anew in larger masses, they were again persuaded to go home by Emperor Maximilian's explicit promise to restore the Old Rights, the war of revenge of the perpetually deceived people broke out with redoubled vigour in the spring of 1515. Just as in Hungary, castles

[a] The Romanian name is Timişoara.—*Ed.*

and monasteries were destroyed everywhere, and the captured nobles were tried by peasant juries and decapitated. In Styria and Carinthia the Emperor's captain, Dietrichstein, soon succeeded in crushing the revolt. In Carniola it was only suppressed by a sudden onslaught on Rain (autumn of 1516) and the subsequent countless Austrian atrocities, which duplicated the infamies of the Hungarian nobility.

It is clear why, after this series of decisive defeats and the mass atrocities of the nobility, the German peasants long remained quiet. Yet conspiracies and local uprisings did not cease altogether. Already in 1516 most of the fugitives of the Bundschuh and the Poor Konrad returned to Swabia and the Upper Rhine, and in 1517 the Bundschuh was again in full action in the Black Forest. Joss Fritz himself, still hiding the old Bundschuh banner of 1513 on his chest, again travelled the length and breadth of the Black Forest and developed energetic activity. The conspiracy was revived. Just as four years before, gatherings were held on the Kniebis. However, the secret was discovered, the authorities learned of the matter, and took action. Many conspirators were captured and executed. The most active and intelligent were compelled to flee, among them Joss Fritz, who, though he again evaded capture, seems to have died soon thereafter in Switzerland, for he is not heard of again.

## IV

At the time when the fourth Bundschuh conspiracy was suppressed in the Black Forest, Luther in Wittenberg gave the signal for the movement that was to draw all the estates into the vortex and shake the whole Empire. The theses of the Augustinian from Thuringia[320] had the effect of a match held to a powder keg. The multifold and conflicting aspirations of the knights and burghers, peasants and plebeians, princes craving for sovereignty, and the lesser clergy, the clandestine mystic sects and the scholarly, satirical and burlesque[321] literary opposition, found in Luther's theses a momentarily general and common expression, and fell in with them with astounding rapidity. Formed overnight, this alliance of all the dissident elements, however brief its duration, suddenly revealed the enormous power of the movement, and drove it forward very rapidly.

However, precisely this rapid growth of the movement was also very quickly bound to develop the seeds of discord that lay concealed in it. At least, it was bound to tear asunder the constituent parts of that agitated mass which, by their very place in life, were directly opposed to each other, and to return them to their normal, hostile state. This polarisation of the motley opposition at two centres of attraction was observed in the very first years of the Reformation. The nobility and the burghers grouped themselves unconditionally around Luther. Peasants and plebeians, as yet failing to see in Luther a direct enemy, formed as before a separate revolutionary party of the opposition. Yet the movement became much more general, more far-reaching, than it had been before Luther, which made sharp contradictions and an open conflict between the two parties inevitable. This direct antithesis soon became apparent. While

Luther and Münzer attacked each other in the press and from the pulpit, the armies of princes, knights and towns that for the most part consisted of Lutherans or elements at least gravitating towards Lutherism, attacked the throngs of peasants and plebeians.

How strongly the interests and requirements of the various elements behind the Reformation diverged is seen from the attempt of the nobility to compel the princes and the clergy to meet their demands even before the Peasant War.

We have already examined the situation of the German nobility early in the sixteenth century. It was on the point of losing its independence to the ever more powerful lay and clerical princes. It saw at the same time that the decline of imperial power, the Empire breaking up into a number of sovereign principalities, was keeping pace with its own decline. It thought that its own collapse meant the collapse of the Germans as a nation. Furthermore, the nobility, and particularly that section of it which owed allegiance to the Empire, was the estate that by virtue of its military profession and its attitude towards the princes, directly represented the Empire and imperial rule. It was the most national of the estates, and the mightier the imperial power, the weaker and less numerous the princes and the stronger the unity of Germany, the more powerful became the nobility. This was the reason for the general discontent of the knighthood with Germany's pitiful political situation, with the weakness of the Empire in foreign affairs which increased as the imperial family added to the Empire one inherited province after another, with the intrigues of foreign powers inside Germany, and with the plots of German princes and foreign countries against imperial rule. The demands of the nobility, therefore, had to be above all concentrated on the demand for an imperial reform whose victims were to be the princes and the higher clergy. *Ulrich von Hutten*, the theorist of the German nobility, took it upon himself to formulate the demand for reforms together with *Franz von Sickingen*, the nobility's military and diplomatic representative.

The imperial reform demanded on behalf of the nobility was conceived by Hutten in very clear and radical terms. Hutten demanded nothing short of eliminating all princes, secularising all church principalities and estates, and establishing a *noblemen's democracy* headed by a monarch, much like the late Polish republic in its best days. Hutten and Sickingen hoped to make the Empire united, free and powerful again through the rule of the nobility, a predominantly military class, elimination of princes, those bearers of disunity, annihilation of the power of the priests, and Germany's liberation from the dominance of Rome.

Founded on serfdom, this noblemen's democracy as fashioned in Poland and, in somewhat modified form, in the early centuries of the states conquered by the Germanic tribes, is one of the most primitive forms of society and quite normally matures into a highly developed feudal hierarchy, a considerably higher stage. Such a pure type of noblemen's democracy was therefore impossible in the sixteenth century.[a] It was impossible if only because of the important and powerful German towns. On the other hand, an alliance of the lesser nobility and the towns that in England brought about the transformation of the monarchy of feudal estates into a bourgeois-constitutional monarchy, was also out of the question. In Germany the old nobility still survived, while in England it had been exterminated in the Wars of the Roses[322] down to twenty-eight families, and replaced by a new nobility of bourgeois extraction and with bourgeois tendencies; in Germany serfdom was still rampant and the nobility drew its income from *feudal* sources, while in England serfdom had been virtually abolished and the nobles had become ordinary bourgeois landowners with a *bourgeois* source of income—the rent. Finally, the centralisation of absolute monarchy which we saw in France and which continuously developed since Louis XI in the conflict between the nobility and the burghers was impossible in Germany if only because the conditions for national centralisation were totally absent or existed in a very rudimentary form.

Under the circumstances, the further Hutten went in putting his ideal into practice, the more concessions he was compelled to make, and the more indefinite became the outlines of his imperial reform. The nobility was not strong enough to carry out the reform on its own. This was evident from its increasing weakness as compared with the princes. Allies were needed, and these could only be found in the towns, among the peasants and the influential theorists of the Reformation movement. But the towns knew the nobility too well to trust it, and rejected every offer of alliance. The peasants rightly considered the nobility, which exploited and maltreated them, as their bitterest enemy, while the theorists of the Reformation held either with the burghers, the princes, or the peasants. What advantages, indeed, could the nobility promise the burghers and the peasants from an imperial reform that was mainly intended to aggrandise the nobility? Under the circumstances Hutten had no other choice but to say little or nothing in his propaganda about the future relations between the nobility, the towns and the peasants. He

[a] The 1850 edition has "in sixteenth-century Germany".—*Ed.*

put all blame on the princes, the priests, and the dependence upon Rome, and showed the burghers that it was in their interests to remain at least neutral in the coming struggle between the nobility and the princes. He said nothing of abolishing serfdom or the services imposed upon the peasants by the nobility.

The attitude of the German nobility towards the peasants was at that time exactly the same as that of the Polish nobility towards its peasants in the insurrections of 1830-46.[a] As in the modern Polish uprisings,[323] the movement in Germany could be sustained only through an alliance of all the opposition parties, particularly the nobility and the peasants. Yet it was just this alliance that was *impossible* in both cases. The nobility deemed it unnecessary to give up its political privileges and its feudal rights vis-à-vis the peasants, while the revolutionary peasants would not be drawn by vague and general prospects into an alliance with the nobility, the estate which oppressed them the most. The nobility could no more win over the peasants in Germany in 1522 than it could in Poland in 1830. Only total abolition of serfdom, bondage and all the privileges of the nobility could have induced the rural population to side with the nobility. But like every privileged estate the nobility had not the slightest desire voluntarily to give up its privileges, its highly exclusive position, and most of its sources of income.

Thus, when the struggle finally broke out the nobles had to face the princes alone. And it came as no surprise that the princes, who had for two centuries been cutting the ground from under the nobility, gained another easy victory.

The course[b] of the struggle is well known. In 1522 Hutten and Sickingen, who was already recognised as the political and military chief of the Middle-German nobility, organised in Landau a union of the Rhenish, Swabian and Franconian nobility for a term of six years, ostensibly for self-defence. Sickingen assembled an army, partly on his own, and partly with the neighbouring knights, organised recruitment and reinforcements in Franconia, along the Lower Rhine, in the Netherlands and Westphalia, and in September 1522 opened hostilities by declaring a feud against the Elector-Archbishop of Trier.[c] However, while he was stationed near Trier, his reinforcements were cut off by a swift intervention of the princes. The Landgrave of Hesse and the Elector Palatine[d] came to Trier's

[a] The 1850 and 1870 editions have *Insurrektionen seit 1830* (insurrections since 1830) instead of *Insurrektionen 1830-46* (insurrections of 1830-46).—*Ed.*

[b] The 1850 edition has *Versuch* (attempt) instead of *Verlauf* (course).—*Ed.*

[c] Richard.—*Ed.*

[d] Philip I and Ludwig V.—*Ed.*

aid and Sickingen was compelled to retreat to his castle of Landstuhl. In spite of all Hutten's efforts and those of his other friends, the united nobility, intimidated by the concerted and swift moves of the princes, left Sickingen in the lurch. Sickingen was mortally wounded, surrendered Landstuhl, and died soon after. Hutten had to flee to Switzerland, where he died a few months later on the Isle of Ufnau in the Lake of Zurich.

This defeat and the death of the two leaders broke the power of the nobility as a body independent of the princes. From then on the nobility acted only in the service and under the leadership of the princes. The Peasant War, which broke out soon after, compelled the nobles to seek the direct or indirect protection of the princes. Also, it proved that the German nobility would rather continue exploiting the peasants under the dominance of the princes than overthrow the princes and priests in an open alliance with *emancipated* peasants.

## V

Not a year passed since Luther's declaration of war against the Catholic hierarchy set in motion all the opposition elements in Germany without the peasants again and again bringing forward their demands. Between 1518 and 1523 one local peasant revolt followed another in the Black Forest and in Upper Swabia, and after the spring of 1524 revolts became systematic. In April 1524 the peasants of the Abbey of Marchthal refused to do statute labour and to pay tributes; in May the peasants of St. Blasien refused to make serf payments; in June the peasants of Steinheim, near Memmingen, announced that they would pay neither tithes nor other duties; in July and August the peasants of Thurgau revolted and were quelled partly by the mediation of Zurich and partly by the brutality of the Confederacy, which executed many of them. Finally, a more determined uprising, which may be regarded as the direct *beginning of the Peasant War*, took place in the Landgraviate of Stühlingen.

The peasants of Stühlingen suddenly refused to deliver anything to the Landgrave, assembled in strong numbers, and on August 24, 1524, moved towards Waldshut under the command of *Hans Müller of Bulgenbach*. Here they founded an evangelist fraternity jointly with the burghers. The latter joined the organisation the more willingly because they were at odds with the government of the Austrian Forelands[324] over the religious persecution of their preacher, Balthasar *Hubmaier*, Thomas Münzer's friend and disciple. A weekly tax of three kreutzers was imposed by the Union—an enormous figure, considering the value of money at that time. Emissaries were sent to Alsace, the Moselle, the entire Upper Rhine and Franconia to bring peasants everywhere into the Union. The Union announced that its purpose was to abolish feudal rule, destroy all castles and monasteries and to eliminate all lords except the Emperor. The *German tricolour*[325] was the banner of the Union.

The uprising gained momentum rapidly in all of what is now Upper Baden. Panic seized the nobility of Upper Swabia, whose armed forces were almost all in Italy, making war against Francis I of France. They had no choice but to drag out the affair by means of negotiations and, in the meanwhile, to collect money and recruit troops until strong enough to punish the peasants for their audacity with "fire and destruction, plunder and carnage".[a] There began that systematic betrayal, that continuous deceit and malice, which were typical of the nobility and the princes throughout the Peasant War and which were their strongest weapon against the decentralised peasants whom it was hard to organise. The Swabian League, consisting of the princes, the nobility and the imperial cities of South-West Germany, put itself between the warring forces, but did not guarantee the peasants any real concessions. The latter remained in motion. From September 30 to the middle of October Hans Müller of Bulgenbach marched through the Black Forest to Urach and Furtwangen, increased his troops to 3,500 men and took up positions near Ewattingen (in the vicinity of Stühlingen). The nobility had no more than 1,700 men at their disposal, and even those were divided. They had to seek an armistice, which was, indeed, concluded in the camp at Ewattingen. The peasants were promised an amicable settlement either directly between the parties concerned or through arbitrators, and an investigation of their grievances by the provincial court at Stockach. The troops of the nobility and of the peasants dispersed.

The peasants worked out sixteen articles which they would press for in the court at Stockach. The articles were very moderate, and went no further than abolition of hunting rights, statute labour, oppressive taxes and the privileges of lords in general, and protection against arbitrary imprisonment and biassed, arbitrary courts.

But no sooner had the peasants gone home than the nobility demanded the restoration of all controversial tributes pending the court decision. Naturally, the peasants refused and referred the lords to the court. The conflict flared up anew, the peasants reassembled and the princes and lords concentrated their troops. This time the movement spread farther beyond Breisgau and deep into Württemberg. The troops under *Georg Truchsess* of Waldburg, the Alba of the Peasant War, watched the manoeuvres of the

[a] Cited from the ultimatum tendered by Georg Truchsess, commander of the punitive army of the Swabian League, to the peasants of Hegau on February 15, 1525. (See W. Zimmermann, *Allgemeine Geschichte des grossen Bauernkrieges*, Th. 2, S. 33-34.)—*Ed.*

peasants, attacked their contingents one by one, but did not dare to attack the main force. In the meantime, Georg Truchsess negotiated with the peasant chiefs and reached agreements here and there.

By the end of December proceedings began at the Stockach provincial court. The peasants objected to the court being composed entirely of noblemen. An imperial edict[326] was read to them in reply. The proceedings were drawn out, and in the meantime the nobility, the princes and the Swabian League armed themselves. Archduke Ferdinand who ruled Württemberg,[a] the Black Forest of Baden and Southern Alsace in addition to the hereditary lands which still belong to Austria, called for the utmost severity against the rebel peasants. They were to be captured, tortured and mercilessly slain in whatever manner was the most convenient, their possessions were to be burned and devastated, and their wives and children driven off the land. This shows how the princes and lords observed the armistice and what they meant by amicable arbitration and investigation of grievances. Archduke Ferdinand, to whom the house of Welser, of Augsburg, advanced money,[327] armed himself in all haste. The Swabian League ordered money and a contingent of troops to be raised in three phases.

These above rebellions coincided with the five months of Thomas Münzer's presence in Upper Baden.[328] Although there are no direct proofs of the influence he had on the outbreak and course of the movement, it is completely established indirectly. The more resolute peasant revolutionaries were mostly his disciples, and put forward his ideas. The twelve articles and the *Letter of Articles* of Upper Baden peasants are ascribed to him by all his contemporaries, although beyond any doubt he had no part in composing at least the former. When still on his way back to Thuringia he addressed a decidedly revolutionary manifesto to the insurgent peasants.[329]

Duke Ulrich, exiled from Württemberg in 1519, conspired meanwhile to regain his land with the aid of the peasants. In fact, he had been trying to utilise the revolutionary party ever since he was exiled, and had supported it continuously. His name was associated with most of the local disturbances between 1520 and 1524 in the Black Forest and in Württemberg. Now he was arming for an attack on Württemberg from his castle, Hohentwiel. However, he too was only being used by the peasants, had no influence over them and, even less, their trust.

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[a] After Duke Ulrich was banished in 1519.—*Ed.*

The winter passed but nothing decisive was undertaken by either side. The princely masters went into hiding. The peasant revolt was gathering momentum. In January 1525 the entire country between the Danube, the Rhine and the Lech was in great ferment, and in February the storm broke.

While the *Black Forest and Hegau Troop* under Hans Müller of Bulgenbach was conspiring with Ulrich of Württemberg and shared in a part of his unsuccessful march on Stuttgart (February and March 1525), the peasants in Ried, above the Ulm, rose on February 9, assembled in a camp near Baltringen protected on all sides by marshes, hoisted the *red flag*, and formed the *Baltringen Troop* under the leadership of Ulrich Schmid. This troop was 10,000 to 12,000 strong.

On February 25, the 7,000-strong *Upper Allgäu Troop* assembled at Schussen, stimulated by the rumour that an armed force was marching against the discontented elements who had appeared in this locality as everywhere else. The people of Kempten, who had been at odds with their archbishop[a] all winter, assembled the next day and joined the peasants. The towns of Memmingen and Kaufbeuren joined the movement after laying down their conditions; yet the ambiguous attitude of the towns to this struggle was already apparent. On March 7 twelve articles were adopted in Memmingen for all the peasants of Upper Allgäu.

Tidings from the Allgäu peasants prompted the formation of a *Lake Troop* under Eitel Hans on Lake Constance. It also grew very quickly and established its headquarters in Bermatingen.

Similarly, early in March the peasants rose in Lower Allgäu, in the region of Ochsenhausen and Schellenberg, in Zeil and Waldburg, the estates of Truchsess. This *Lower Allgäu Troop*, which consisted of 7,000 men, had its camp near Wurzach.

These four troops accepted all the Memmingen articles, incidentally more moderate even than the Hegau articles because they showed a remarkable lack of determination in points relating to the attitude of the armed troops towards the nobility and the governments. Such determination as was shown appeared only in the course of the war, after the peasants had experienced the behaviour of their enemies.

At the same time, a sixth troop formed on the Danube. Peasants from the entire region, from Ulm to Donauwörth, from the valleys of the Iller, Roth and Biber, came to Leipheim and set up camp there. Every able-bodied man from fifteen localities had come, while

[a] Sebastian von Breitenstein.— *Ed.*

reinforcements were drawn from 117. The leader of the *Leipheim Troop* was Ulrich Schön, and its preacher was Jakob Wehe, the pastor of Leipheim.

Thus, in the beginning of March there were 30,000 to 40,000 insurgent Upper Swabian peasants under arms in six camps. The peasant troops were a mixed lot. Münzer's revolutionary party was in the minority everywhere. Yet it formed the backbone of all the peasant camps. The bulk of the peasants were always ready to come to terms with the lords wherever they were promised the concessions they had hoped to gain by their menacing attitude. As the uprising dragged on and the princes' armies drew nearer, they became war-weary and most of those who still had something to lose went home. Moreover, a vagabond mass of the lumpenproletariat had joined the troops and this undermined their discipline and demoralised the peasants, because the vagabonds came and went as they pleased. This alone explains why the peasants at first remained everywhere on the defensive, why their morale deteriorated in the camps and why, aside from their tactical shortcomings and the shortage of good leaders, they were no match for the armies of the princes.

While the troops were still assembling, Duke Ulrich invaded Württemberg from Hohentwiel with recruited detachments and a few Hegau peasants. The Swabian League would have been lost if the peasants had used the opportunity to attack the troops of Truchsess von Waldburg from the other flank. But because of the defensive attitude of the peasantry, Truchsess soon succeeded in concluding an armistice with the Baltringen, Allgäu and Lake peasants, starting negotiations and fixing Judica Sunday (April 2)[330] as the day on which the whole affair was to be settled. This gave him a chance to march against Duke Ulrich, to occupy Stuttgart and compel him to abandon Württemberg again on March 17. Then he turned against the peasants, but the mercenaries in his own army revolted and refused to march against them. Truchsess succeeded in placating the mutineers and moved towards Ulm, where new reinforcements were being formed. He left an observation post at Kirchheim near Teck.

The Swabian League, its hands at last free and its first contingents gathered, now threw off its mask, declaring itself

"determined to end with arms in hand and with the aid of God that which the peasants have wilfully undertaken".[a]

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[a] From the decision made at a conference of League authorities at Ulm in March 1525. (It is recorded in a document from the Ulm archive and quoted by Zimmermann, op. cit., Th. 2, S. 167.)—*Ed.*

The peasants had meanwhile faithfully observed the armistice. They had drawn up their demands, the famous *Twelve Articles*, for the negotiations on Judica Sunday. They demanded the right to elect and depose clergymen through the communities; abolition of the small tithe and utilisation of the great tithe,[351] after subtraction of the pastors' salaries, for public purposes; abolition of serfdom, death tolls, fishing and hunting rights; restriction of excessive statute labour, taxes and rents; restitution of forests, pastures and privileges forcibly withdrawn from communities and individuals, and an end to arbitrary justice and administration. Clearly, the moderate conciliatory party still had the upper hand among the peasant troops. The revolutionary party had formulated its programme earlier in the *Letter of Articles*. It was an open letter to all peasant communities, calling on them to join the "Christian Alliance and Brotherhood" for the purpose of removing all burdens either through goodwill, "which was unlikely", or by force, and threatening all shirkers with "lay excommunication", i. e. with expulsion from society and ostracism by members of the league. All castles, monasteries and priests' endowments were also to be placed under lay anathema, the letter said, unless the nobility, the priests and monks relinquished them of their own accord, moved into ordinary houses like other people, and joined the Christian Alliance.—This radical manifesto, obviously composed *before* the spring insurrection of 1525, thus speaks above all of revolution, of complete victory over the still reigning classes, while the "lay excommunication" is designed for the oppressors and traitors who were to be killed, for the castles that were to be burned, and the monasteries and endowments that were to be confiscated and whose treasures were to be turned into cash.

But before the peasants came to present their Twelve Articles to the appointed courts of arbitration, they learned that the Swabian League had violated the armistice and that its troops were approaching. Instantly, they took countermeasures. A general meeting of all Allgäu, Baltringen and Lake peasants was held at Gaisbeuren. The four troops were combined and reorganised into four new columns. A decision was taken to confiscate the church estates, to sell their treasures in favour of the war chest, and to burn the castles. Thus alongside the official Twelve Articles, the *Letter of Articles* became the statute of warfare, and Judica Sunday, the day designated for the conclusion of peace, became the date of a *general uprising*.

The mounting unrest everywhere, continuous local conflicts between peasants and nobility, tidings of the uprising in the Black Forest, which had been brewing in the preceding six months, and of

its spread to the Danube and the Lech, are enough to explain the rapid succession of peasant revolts in two-thirds of Germany. But that the individual[a] revolts broke out simultaneously proves that there were men at the head of the movement who organised them through Anabaptist and other emissaries. Already in the second half of March disorders broke out in Württemberg, in the lower reaches of the Neckar, in Odenwald, and in Lower and Middle Franconia. However, April 2, Judica Sunday, was named everywhere beforehand as the day of the general uprising, and everywhere the decisive blow, the revolt *en masse*, was delivered in the first week of April. The Allgäu, Hegau and Lake peasants also sounded the bells on April 1 and called mass meetings to summon all able-bodied men to their camp; they opened hostilities against the castles and monasteries simultaneously with the Baltringen peasants.

In *Franconia*, where the movement had six centres, the insurrection broke out everywhere in the first days of April. At about the same time two peasant camps were formed near *Nördlingen*, with whose aid the revolutionary party of the town under *Anton Forner* gained the upper hand, appointed Forner town mayor, and consummated a union between the town and the peasants. In the region of *Ansbach* the peasants revolted everywhere between April 1 and 7, and from here the uprising spread as far as Bavaria. In the region of *Rothenburg* the peasants had been under arms since March 22. In the town of Rothenburg the rule of the honourables was overthrown by the petty burghers and the plebeians under *Stephan von Menzingen* on March 27, but since peasant dues were the chief source of revenue for the town, the new government also vacillated and acted ambiguously towards the peasants. A general uprising of the peasants and the townships broke out early in April in the Grand Chapter of *Würzburg*,[332] and in the bishopric of *Bamberg* a general insurrection compelled the bishop[b] to yield in five days. And a strong *Bildhausen peasant camp* formed in the North, on the border of Thuringia.

In *Odenwald*, where *Wendel Hipler*, nobleman and former chancellor of the Counts von Hohenlohe, and *Georg Metzler*, an innkeeper from Ballenberg near Krautheim, headed the revolutionary party, the storm broke out already on March 26. The peasants marched from all directions towards the Tauber. The two thousand men of the Rothenburg camp joined them as well. Georg Metzler took

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[a] The 1850 and 1870 editions have *partiellen* (partial) instead of *einzelnen* (individual).—*Ed.*

[b] Weigand von Redwitz.—*Ed.*

command and after the arrival of all reinforcements marched on April 4 to the monastery of Schönthal on the Jagst, where he was joined by the *peasants of the Neckar valley.* The latter, led by *Jäcklein Rohrbach,* an innkeeper from Böckingen near Heilbronn, had begun their insurrection in Flein, Sontheim, etc., on Judica Sunday, while Wendel Hipler took Öhringen by surprise with a number of conspirators and drew the peasants in the vicinity into the movement. In Schönthal the two peasant columns combined into the *Gay Troop,* accepted the Twelve Articles and made a few raids on castles and monasteries. The Gay Troop was about 8,000 strong and had cannon and 3,000 muskets. *Florian Geyer,* a Franconian knight, joined the force and formed the Black Troop, a select corps recruited mainly from the Rothenburg and Öhringen army reserve.

The Württemberg magistrate in Neckarsulm, Count Ludwig von Helfenstein, opened the hostilities. He ordered all captured peasants to be executed on the spot. The Gay Troop marched to meet him. The peasants were embittered by the massacres and by news of the defeat of the Leipheim Troop, of Jakob Wehe's execution, and the Truchsess atrocities. Von Helfenstein, who had moved into Weinsberg, was attacked there. The castle was stormed by Florian Geyer, the town seized in a prolonged battle and Count Ludwig taken prisoner along with several knights. On the following day, April 17, Jäcklein Rohrbach and the most resolute members of the troop held court over the prisoners and made fourteen of them, with von Helfenstein at their head, run the gauntlet, this being the most humiliating death they could think of. The capture of Weinsberg and Jäcklein's terroristic revenge on von Helfenstein did not fail to have their effect on the nobility. The Counts von Löwenstein joined the peasant alliance. The Counts von Hohenlohe, who had joined previously but had given no aid, immediately sent the desired cannon and powder.

The chiefs debated among themselves whether they should make Götz von Berlichingen their commander, "since he could bring to them the nobility". The proposal found sympathy, but Florian Geyer, who saw the seeds of reaction in this mood of the peasants and their chiefs, separated from the Gay Troop and marched on his own with his Black Troop, first through the Neckar and then the Würzburg region, everywhere destroying castles and the lairs of the priesthood.

The rest of the troops marched first of all against Heilbronn. In this powerful free imperial town the patriciate was, as almost everywhere, confronted by a burgher and revolutionary opposition. In secret agreement with the peasants, the latter opened the gates to

Georg Metzler and Jäcklein Rohrbach on April 17 during a disturbance. The peasant chiefs and their people took possession of the town, which was then admitted to their brotherhood and delivered 1,200 guilders in cash and a squad of volunteers. Only the possessions of the clergy and the Teutonic Order[333] were pillaged. On April 22, the peasants moved out, leaving a small garrison. Heilbronn was to become the centre of the various troops, the latter actually sending delegates and conferring over joint actions and the common demands of the peasantry. But the burgher opposition and the patricians, who had joined forces after the peasant invasion, regained the upper hand in the town, preventing decisive steps and waiting only for the approach of the princes' troops to openly betray the peasants.

The peasants marched toward Odenwald. Götz von Berlichingen, who had a few days before offered himself to the Elector Palatine,[a] then to the peasantry, and then again to the Elector, was to join the Evangelist Fraternity on April 24 and assume supreme command of the Gay *Bright* Troop (as distinct from the *Black* Troop of Florian Geyer). At the same time, however, he was the prisoner of the peasants, who mistrusted him and bound him to a council of chiefs, without whose approval he could undertake nothing. Götz and Metzler marched with the bulk of the peasants across Buchen to Amorbach, where, during their stay from April 30 to May 5, they roused the entire Mainz region. The nobility was everywhere compelled to join in, and its castles were thus spared. Only the monasteries were burned and pillaged. The troop had become visibly demoralised. The most energetic men had gone away with Florian Geyer or with Jäcklein Rohrbach who, after the capture of Heilbronn, also separated from the troop, apparently because he, the judge of Count von Helfenstein, could no longer remain with a body that was inclined towards reconciliation with the nobility. This gravitation towards reaching an understanding with the nobility was in itself a sign of demoralisation. Soon Wendel Hipler proposed a very sound reorganisation of the troop. He suggested that the mercenaries, who had been offering their services daily, should be taken on. He also suggested that the troop should no longer be renewed monthly through the arrival of fresh contingents and the dismissal of old ones, and that the men under arms, who had received a certain amount of military training, should be retained. But a community meeting rejected both proposals. The peasants had already become volatile and viewed the war as little more than

[a] Ludwig V.—*Ed.*

pillage, where the competition of the mercenaries held no advantage for them and where they wanted to be free to go home as soon as their pockets were filled. In Amorbach matters came to a point where Hans Berlin, a Heilbronn councillor, induced the chiefs and troop councillors to accept a Declaration of the Twelve Articles,[334] a document wherein the remaining arrowheads of the Twelve Articles were blunted and words of humble supplication were put into the mouths of the peasants. But this was too much for the peasants; they rejected the Declaration with a display of vehemence and insisted upon the original Articles.

In the meantime, a decisive change had taken place in the Würzburg area. The bishop,[a] who had withdrawn to fortified Frauenberg near Würzburg after the first peasant uprising early in April and had vainly sent messages in all directions asking for aid, was finally compelled to make temporary concessions. On May 2 a Diet opened in which the peasants were represented, but letters proving the bishop's treacherous moves were intercepted before any results could be achieved. The Diet broke up at once, and hostilities began between the insurgent townsmen and peasants, on the one hand, and the bishop's forces, on the other. The bishop escaped to Heidelberg on May 5, and on the following day Florian Geyer with his Black Troop entered Würzburg, and with him came *the Franconian Tauber Troop*, which consisted of the peasants of Mergentheim, Rothenburg and Ansbach. On May 7 Götz von Berlichingen arrived with his Gay Bright Troop, and the siege of Frauenberg began.

In Limburg and the Ellwangen and Hall regions another contingent was formed by the end of March, and in early April that of Gaildorf, or the *Common Gay Troop*. It showed considerable violence, roused the entire region, burned down many monasteries and castles, including the castle of Hohenstaufen, compelled all the peasants to join it, and forced the nobles, and even the cup-bearers of Limburg, to enter the Christian Brotherhood. Early in May it invaded Württemberg, but was compelled to withdraw. As in 1848 the separatism of the German system of small states obstructed joint action by the revolutionaries of the various states. The Gaildorf Troop, restricted to a small area, was naturally bound to disperse when all resistance within that area was broken. It concluded an agreement with the town of Gmünd and went home, leaving only 500 under arms.

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[a] Konrad III.—*Ed.*

In the *Palatinate* peasant troops were formed on either bank of the Rhine by the end of April. They destroyed many castles and monasteries, and on May 1 took Neustadt on the Haardt after the Bruchrain peasants had crossed the river on the previous day and forced Speyer to conclude an agreement. Marshal von Habern at the head of the Elector's small force was powerless against them, and on May 10 the Elector was compelled to come to an agreement with the insurgent peasants, guaranteeing them redress of grievances through a Diet.

Finally, in *Württemberg* the revolt had already broken out early in some localities. The peasants of the Urach Jura formed a union against priests and lords already in February and the peasants of Blaubeuren, Urach, Münsingen, Balingen and Rosenfeld revolted at the end of March. The Württemberg region was invaded by the Gaildorf Troop at Göppingen, by Jäcklein Rohrbach at Brackenheim and by the remnants of the beaten Leipheim Troop at Pfullingen, inciting the rural population to revolt. There were also serious disturbances in other localities. Already on April 6 Pfullingen surrendered to the peasants. The Austrian Archduke's [a] government was driven to the wall. It had no money and only few troops. The cities and castles were in a bad state and had neither garrisons nor munition. Even Asperg was practically defenseless.

The government's attempt to call out the town reserves against the peasants caused its instant defeat. On April 16 the Bottwar [b] reserves refused to obey orders. Instead of marching to Stuttgart, they turned to Wunnenstein near Bottwar, where they formed the nucleus of a camp of burghers and peasants whose number increased rapidly. The rebellion in Zabergäu broke out on the same day. The Maulbronn monastery was pillaged and a few more monasteries and castles were laid waste. Reinforcements marched from neighbouring Bruchrain to join the local peasants.

The Wunnenstein troop was under the command of *Matern Feuerbacher*, a Bottwar town councillor. He was a leader of the burgher opposition, but was so strongly compromised that he was compelled to go with the peasants. However, he remained at all times very moderate, prevented the implementation of the *Letter of Articles* against the castles, and sought everywhere to reconcile the peasants with the moderate burgherdom. He prevented the amalgamation of the Württemberg peasants with the Gay Bright Troop, and later likewise prevailed on the Gaildorf Troop to withdraw from

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[a] Ferdinand I.— *Ed.*
[b] Or Grossbottwar.— *Ed.*

Württemberg. On April 19 he was deposed for his burgher tendencies but again made commander the next day. He was indispensable, and even when Jäcklein Rohrbach arrived with 200 determined men to join the Württemberg peasants on April 22, he had no choice but to leave Feuerbacher in command and confined himself to rigid supervision of his actions.

On April 18 the government attempted to negotiate with the peasants stationed at Wunnenstein. The peasants insisted on the Twelve Articles, but naturally the government's representatives could not accept them. The troop set itself in motion. On April 20 it reached Lauffen, where, for the last time, it turned down the proposals of the government delegates. On April 22 the troop, numbering 6,000, appeared in Bietigheim and threatened Stuttgart. Most members of the Stuttgart Council had fled and a citizens' committee took over the administration. Among the citizenry there was the same division as everywhere else into parties of the honourables, the burgher opposition, and the revolutionary plebeians. On April 25 the latter opened the gates to the peasants and Stuttgart was instantly taken. Here the organisation of the *Gay Christian Troop*, as the Württemberg insurgents now called themselves, was completed and the rules of pay, division of booty, maintenance, etc., were rigidly defined. A detachment of Stuttgarters under Theus Gerber joined the troop.

On April 29 Feuerbacher marched with all his men against the Gaildorfers who had entered Württemberg region at Schorndorf. He drew the entire area into his alliance and thereby prevailed on the Gaildorfers to withdraw. In this way he prevented Rohrbach's revolutionary element in his troop from joining hands with the reckless Gaildorfers and thus being dangerously strengthened. Upon receiving news of Truchsess' approach, he left Schorndorf to meet him, and on May 1 made camp near Kirchheim unter Teck.

We have herewith traced the origin and development of the uprising in the part of Germany that should be regarded as the territory of the first group of peasant armies. Before we proceed to the other groups (Thuringia and Hesse, Alsace, Austria and the Alps) we must give an account of the military operations of Truchsess, in which he, alone in the beginning and later supported by various princes and townships, annihilated this first group of insurgents.

We left Truchsess near Ulm, where he had come late in March after leaving an observation corps in Kirchheim unter Teck under the command of Dietrich Spät. Truchsess' corps, which, including the League reinforcements concentrated in Ulm, had not quite

10,000 men, of whom 7,200 were infantry, was the only army available for an offensive war against the peasants. Reinforcements came to Ulm very slowly, due partly to the difficulties of recruiting in insurgent localities, partly to the governments' lack of money, and partly to the fact that the few available troops were everywhere more than indispensable for manning the fortresses and castles. We have already taken note of the small number of troops at the disposal of the princes and towns outside the Swabian League. Everything therefore depended upon Georg Truchsess and his League army.

Truchsess turned first against the *Baltringen Troop*, which had in the meantime begun to destroy castles and monasteries in the vicinity of Ried. The peasants, who withdrew at the approach of the League troops, were outflanked and driven out of the marshes, crossed the Danube and plunged into the ravines and forests of the Swabian Jura. In this region the cannon and cavalry which formed the backbone of the League army were of little avail against them, and Truchsess did not pursue them farther. He marched against the Leipheim Troop which had 5,000 men stationed at Leipheim, 4,000 in the Mindel valley, and 6,000 at Illertissen. The Leipheim Troop was fomenting rebellion in the entire region, destroying monasteries and castles, and preparing to march against Ulm with all its three columns. It seems that a certain degree of demoralisation had set in among the peasants here as well, undermining their military morale, for Jakob Wehe tried at the very outset to negotiate with Truchsess. The latter, however, backed by a sufficient military force, declined to negotiate and on April 4 attacked and routed the main troop at Leipheim. Jakob Wehe, Ulrich Schön and two other peasant leaders were captured and beheaded; Leipheim capitulated, and several expeditions to the adjacent countryside subdued the entire region.

A new mutiny of mercenaries, who demanded plunder and additional pay, delayed Truchsess again until April 10, when he marched south-west against the *Baltringen Troop* which had, in the meantime, invaded his estates, Waldburg, Zeil and Wolfegg, and besieged his castles. Here, too, he found the peasants disunited, and defeated them on April 11 and 12 successively in several battles, which completely disrupted the Baltringen Troop. Its remnants withdrew under the command of priest Florian and joined the *Lake Troop*. Truchsess now turned against the latter. The Lake Troop, which had not merely roved through the countryside all this time, but had also drawn the towns of Buchhorn (Friedrichshafen) and Wollmatingen into the brotherhood, held a big military council in the monastery of Salem on April 13 and decided to move against Truchsess. Alarm bells were sounded at once, and 10,000 men

joined by the defeated Baltringen Troop assembled in the Bermatingen camp. On April 15 they stood their ground in a battle with Truchsess, who did not want to risk his army in a decisive battle and preferred to negotiate, strengthened in this purpose by news of the approach of the Allgäu and Hegau troops. On April 17 he therefore concluded an agreement with the Lake and Baltringen peasants in Weingarten. On the face of it, the agreement was quite favourable for the peasants, and they accepted it without hesitation. Ultimately, he also prevailed on the delegates of the Upper and Lower Allgäu peasants to accept this agreement, and marched towards Württemberg.

Here Truchsess' cunning saved him from certain defeat. Had he not succeeded in fooling the weak, dull-witted, and for the most part already demoralised peasants and their mostly incapable, timid and venal leaders, he and his small army would have been enveloped by four columns of at least 25,000 to 30,000 men, and would have faced inevitable disaster. It was his enemies' narrow-mindedness, always unavoidable when peasants gather in a mass, that enabled him to dispose of them at the very moment when they could have ended the war with one blow, at least in Swabia and Franconia. The Lake peasants observed the agreement, which naturally was turned against them in due course, so rigidly that they later took up arms against their allies, the Hegau peasants. Although the Allgäu peasants, drawn into the betrayal by their leaders, soon renounced the agreement, Truchsess was by then out of danger.

Though not bound by the Weingarten agreement, the Hegau peasants soon gave a new display of the infinite parochial bigotry and stubborn provincialism that proved the undoing of the entire Peasant War. When, after futile negotiations with them, Truchsess marched off to Württemberg, they followed him and were continually on his flank, but it did not occur to them to unite with the Württemberg Gay Christian Troop, and this because previously the peasants of Württemberg and the Neckar valley had refused them assistance. When Truchsess had marched far enough from their home country, they simply turned back and marched on Freiburg.

We left the Württemberg peasants under the command of Matern Feuerbacher at Kirchheim unter Teck, from where the observation corps left by Truchsess under the command of Dietrich Spät had withdrawn towards Urach. After an unsuccessful attempt to take Urach, Feuerbacher turned towards Nürtingen and sent messages to all insurgent troops in the vicinity to assist him in the decisive battle. And considerable reinforcements did come from both the Württem-

berg lowlands and from Gäu. The Gäu peasants, who had joined the remnants of the Leipheim Troop that had withdrawn to West Württemberg and roused the valleys of the Upper Neckar and Nagold up to Böblingen and Leonberg, came in two strong columns to join Feuerbacher at Nürtingen on May 5. Truchsess stumbled upon the united troop at Böblingen. Its number, its artillery and position perplexed him. As was his custom, he at once began to negotiate and concluded an armistice with the peasants. But no sooner had he thus secured his position than he attacked them on May 12 *during the armistice* and forced a decisive battle on them. The peasants offered long and courageous resistance until Böblingen finally surrendered to Truchsess owing to betrayal by the burghers. The peasants' left wing, deprived of its base of support, was forced back and outflanked. This decided the issue. The poorly disciplined peasants were thrown into confusion and fled in disorder; those who were not killed or captured by League horsemen threw away their weapons and hurried home. The Gay Christian Troop, and with it the whole Württemberg insurrection, were crushed. Theus Gerber fled to Esslingen and Feuerbacher to Switzerland, while Jäcklein Rohrbach was taken prisoner and dragged in chains to Neckargartach, where he was bound to a stake, surrounded with firewood and roasted to death on a slow fire, while Truchsess, carousing with his knights, gloated over this knightly spectacle.

From Neckargartach Truchsess supported the operations of the Elector Palatine by invading Kraichgau. On receiving word of Truchsess' success, the Elector, who meanwhile had gathered an army, immediately broke his agreement with the peasants, attacked Bruchrain on May 23, captured and burned Malsch in spite of its vigorous resistance, pillaged a number of villages, and garrisoned Bruchsal. At the same time Truchsess attacked Eppingen and captured the chief of the local movement, Anton Eisenhut, whom the Elector immediately executed along with a dozen other peasant leaders. Bruchrain and Kraichgau were thus subdued and compelled to pay an indemnity of about 40,000 guilders. Both armies, that of Truchsess—reduced to 6,000 men in the preceding battles—and that of the Elector (6,500 men), united and moved against the Odenwalders.

Word of the Böblingen defeat spread terror everywhere among the insurgents. The free imperial cities which had come under the heavy hand of the peasants, heaved a sigh of relief. The city of Heilbronn was the first to seek reconciliation with the Swabian League. In Heilbronn the peasants' chancellory and delegates of the various troops deliberated over the proposals they would make to the

Emperor[a] and the Empire in the name of all the insurgent peasants. These negotiations, whose outcome was to apply to all Germany, revealed again that none of the estates, including the peasants, was sufficiently developed to alter the situation in Germany according to its own lights. It was obvious at once that the support of the nobility and particularly of the burghers had to be gained for this purpose. *Wendel Hipler* took charge of the negotiations. Of all the leaders of the movement he had the best grasp on the existing situation. He was not a far-seeing revolutionary like Münzer, nor a peasant representative like Metzler or Rohrbach; his extensive experience and his practical knowledge of the attitude of the various estates towards each other prevented him from representing any one of the estates involved in the movement in opposition to the others. Just as Münzer, a representative of the budding proletariat, a class which then stood totally outside the official organisation of society, was driven to anticipate communism, Wendel Hipler, the representative of what may be described as the cross-section of the nation's progressive elements, anticipated *modern bourgeois society*. The principles he represented and the demands he made were not really immediately practicable. They were the somewhat idealised and inevitable result of the dissolution of feudal society. And the peasants, having set themselves to drafting legislation for the whole Empire, were compelled to accept them. In Heilbronn, therefore, the centralisation demanded by the peasants assumed a more definite form which was, however, worlds removed from the peasants' own idea. For instance, it was much more clearly expressed in the demands for a standard currency, standard weights and measures, abolition of internal customs, etc., that is, in demands that were far more in the interest of townsmen than in that of the peasants. Concessions were made to the nobility that substantially approached the modern system of redemption and that would in the long run transform feudal into bourgeois landownership. In short, since the peasants' demands were composed as an "imperial reform", they necessarily complied with the definitive interests rather than the immediate demands of the burghers.

While this imperial reform was still being debated in Heilbronn, the author of the Declaration of the Twelve Articles, Hans Berlin, was already on his way to meet Truchsess and negotiate the surrender of the township on behalf of the honourables and burghers. Reactionary movements within the town supported this betrayal, and Wendel Hipler was obliged to flee with the peasants.

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[a] Charles V.— *Ed.*

He went to Weinsberg, where he attempted to assemble the remnants of the Württemberg Troop and the small mobile unit of Gaildorfers. But the approach of the Elector Palatine and Truchsess drove him from there as well, and he was compelled to go to Würzburg to rouse the Gay Bright Troop into action. In the meantime, the armies of the League and the Elector subdued the entire Neckar region, compelled the peasants to renew their oath of allegiance, burned many villages, and slayed or hanged all runaway peasants who fell into their hands. Weinsberg was burned to avenge the execution of von Helfenstein.

The peasant troops assembled near Würzburg had in the meantime laid siege to Frauenberg, and on May 15, before even a breach was made in the wall of the fortress, they bravely but unsuccessfully attempted to storm it. Four hundred of the best men, mostly of Florian Geyer's Troop, were left behind in the ditches, dead or wounded. Two days later, on May 17, Wendel Hipler arrived and ordered a military council. He proposed to leave only 4,000 men at Frauenberg, and to encamp with the main force of about 20,000 men at Krautheim on the Jagst under the very nose of Truchsess, so that all reinforcements might be concentrated there. It was an excellent plan. Only by keeping the masses together and securing numerical superiority could the peasants hope to defeat the princely army, which now numbered about 13,000 men. The demoralisation and discouragement of the peasants, however, was too far gone to contemplate any energetic action. Besides, Götz von Berlichingen, who soon turned traitor, may have helped to hold the troop in check, and Hipler's plan was thus never executed. Instead, the forces were split up as usual. Not until May 23 did the Gay Bright Troop go into action after the Franconians promised to follow without delay. On May 26 the Ansbach detachments encamped in Würzburg were induced to return home on receiving word that their Margrave[a] had opened hostilities against the peasants. The rest of the besieging army, along with Florian Geyer's Black Troop, occupied positions at Heidingsfeld in the vicinity of Würzburg.

On May 24 the Gay Bright Troop, not really ready for battle, arrived in Krautheim. Many learned here that in their absence their villages had sworn allegiance to Truchsess, and used this as a pretext to go home. The troop moved on to Neckarsulm, and on May 28 started negotiations with Truchsess. At the same time messengers

[a] Casimir, Margrave of Brandenburg, who was in possession of Ansbach and Bayreuth.—*Ed.*

were sent to the peasants of Franconia, Alsace and Black Forest-Hegau to ask for reinforcements as quickly as possible. From Neckarsulm Götz [von Berlichingen] marched back to Öhringen. The troop steadily melted away. Götz von Berlichingen also disappeared during the march. He had gone home, having previously negotiated with Truchsess through his old brother-in-arms, Dietrich Spät, on going over to the other side. At Öhringen a false rumour of the enemy's approach threw the perplexed and discouraged peasantry into panic. The troop dispersed in utter confusion, and it was with difficulty that Metzler and Wendel Hipler succeeded in keeping together about 2,000 men, whom they again led toward Krautheim. In the meantime, the Franconian army of 5,000 men had come, but due to a side march through Löwenstein towards Öhringen, ordered by Götz with obviously treacherous intents, it missed the Gay Troop and moved towards Neckarsulm. This town, occupied by several detachments of the Gay Bright Troop, was besieged by Truchsess. The Franconians arrived at night and saw the fires of the League camp, but their leaders had not the courage to venture an attack and retreated to Krautheim where they at last found the remainder of the Gay Bright Troop. In the absence of aid, Neckarsulm surrendered to the League force on May 29. At once Truchsess had thirteen peasants executed and set out against the other peasant troops, burning and ravaging, pillaging and murdering along the way. His route through the valleys of the Neckar, Kocher and Jagst was marked with ruins and the corpses of peasants hanging on trees.

At Krautheim the League army encountered the peasants who had been forced by a flanking movement by Truchsess to withdraw towards Königshofen on the Tauber. Here they took up their position, 8,000 strong and with 32 cannon. Truchsess approached them behind the cover of hills and forests. He sent out columns to envelop them, and on June 2 attacked in such greatly superior force and with so much energy that they were defeated and dispersed in spite of the stubborn resistance of several of their troops that lasted into the night. As everywhere, it was the League horsemen, the "Peasants' Death", who were mainly instrumental in annihilating the insurgent army, charging down upon the peasants who were shaken by artillery and musket fire and lance attacks, breaking their ranks completely and slaying them one by one. The fate of 300 Königshofen burghers who had joined the peasant army serves as an illustration of the warfare led by Truchsess and his horsemen. All but fifteen of them were killed in the battle and four of the survivors were subsequently beheaded.

Having thus settled with the peasants of Odenwald, the Neckar valley and Lower Franconia, Truchsess subdued the whole region in a series of punitive expeditions, burning down whole villages and executing countless people. Then he marched against Würzburg. On the way he learned that the second Franconian Troop under Florian Geyer and Gregor von Burgbernheim was stationed at Sulzdorf, and instantly turned against it.

After his unsuccessful storming of Frauenberg, Florian Geyer had mainly devoted himself to negotiating with the princes and towns, especially with Rothenburg and Margrave Casimir of Ansbach, urging them to join the peasant brotherhood. But the negotiations were brought to an abrupt end by the news of the Königshofen defeat. His troop was joined by that of Ansbach under Gregor von Burgbernheim. The Ansbach troop had only recently been formed. Margrave Casimir had managed to keep in check the peasant revolt in his possessions in true Hohenzollern style, partly with promises and partly by means of a threatening mass of troops. He maintained complete neutrality towards all outside troops as long as they did not recruit Ansbach subjects, and tried to direct the hatred of the peasants mainly against the church endowments, through whose ultimate confiscation he hoped to enrich himself. In the meantime he kept arming and biding his time. As soon as he learned of the Böblingen battle he opened hostilities against his rebellious peasants, pillaging and burning their villages and hanging or otherwise killing many of them. But the peasants rallied quickly and defeated him at Windsheim under the command of Gregor von Burgbernheim on May 29. The call of the hard-pressed Odenwald peasants reached them as they were still pursuing him, and they headed at once for Heidingsfeld and from there, with Florian Geyer, again towards Würzburg (June 2). With no word arriving from the Odenwald troop, they left behind 5,000 peasants in Würzburg and with 4,000—the rest having deserted—they followed the others. Made complacent by false news of the outcome of the Königshofen battle, they were attacked by Truchsess at *Sulzdorf* and completely defeated. Truchsess' horsemen and mercenaries staged a terrible bloodbath. Florian Geyer rallied the remainder of his Black Troop, 600 in number, and fought his way to the village of Ingolstadt. Two hundred occupied the church and churchyard, and 400 took the castle. The Elector Palatine's forces pursued Geyer, and a column of 1,200 men captured the village and set fire to the church. Those who did not perish in the flames were slaughtered. The Elector's troops then breached the dilapidated castle wall and attempted to storm the fortress. Turned back twice by the peasants, who had taken cover

behind an inner wall, they shot up the inner wall as well, and tried a third assault, which was successful. Half of Geyer's men were massacred, but Geyer managed to escape with the other 200. Their hiding place, however, was discovered on the following day (Whit-Monday). The Elector Palatine's soldiers surrounded the woods in which they lay hidden, and slaughtered all of them. Only seventeen prisoners were taken during those two days. Again Florian Geyer fought his way out of the encirclement with a few of his most intrepid fighters and set out to join the Gaildorf peasants, who had again assembled a body of about 7,000 men. But upon his arrival he found them mostly dispersed by the crushing news from every side. He made a last attempt to assemble the peasants dispersed in the woods, but was surprised by enemy forces at Hall on June 9 and laid down his life fighting.

Truchsess, who had sent word to besieged Frauenberg on the heels of the Königshofen victory, now marched towards Würzburg. The Council came to a secret understanding with him, so that on the night of June 7 the League army was allowed to surround the city where 5,000 peasants were stationed, and the following morning marched with sheathed swords through the gates opened by the Council. This betrayal of the Würzburg "honourables" caused the last troop of the Franconian peasants to be disarmed and all its leaders to be arrested. Truchsess immediately ordered 81 of them decapitated. The various Franconian princes arrived in Würzburg one after the other, and among them the Bishop of Würzburg himself,[a] the Bishop of Bamberg[b] and the Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach. The gracious lords distributed the roles among themselves. Truchsess marched with the Bishop of Bamberg, who presently broke the agreement concluded with his peasants and opened his land to the fierce and murderous hordes of the League army. Margrave Casimir devastated his own land. Deiningen was burned and numerous villages were pillaged or gutted. In every town the Margrave held a bloodthirsty court. He ordered eighteen rebels beheaded in Neustadt on the Aisch and in Bergel forty-three suffered the same fate. From there he went to Rothenburg where the honourables had already made a counter-revolution and arrested Stephan von Menzingen. The Rothenburg petty burghers and plebeians now had to pay heavily for behaving so ambiguously towards the peasants, refusing them all help until the very last, insisting in their local narrow-minded egotism on the suppression of

[a] Konrad III.—*Ed.*
[b] Weigand von Redwitz.—*Ed.*

countryside crafts in favour of the city guilds, and only unwillingly giving up the city revenues flowing in from the feudal services of the peasants. The Margrave ordered sixteen of them executed, Menzingen naturally first of all.—The Bishop of Würzburg marched through his region in a similar manner, pillaging, ravaging and burning everything on his way. He had 256 rebels decapitated on this triumphal march, and upon returning to Würzburg crowned his handiwork by beheading another thirteen Würzburg rebels.

In the Mainz region the viceregent, Bishop Wilhelm von Strassburg, restored order without resistance. He executed only four men. Rheingau, which had also been in revolt but where everybody had long since come home, was eventually invaded by Frowin von Hutten, a cousin of Ulrich, and fully "pacified" by the execution of twelve ringleaders. Frankfurt, which also experienced considerable revolutionary unrest, was held in check first by the conciliatory attitude of the Council and later by recruited troops. In the Rhenish Palatinate about 8,000 peasants had assembled anew after the Elector's breach of faith, and had again burned monasteries and castles, but the Archbishop of Trier[a] came to the aid of Marshal von Habern and made short work of them on June 23 at Pfeddersheim. A series of atrocities (eighty-two were executed in Pfeddersheim alone) and the capture of Weissenburg on July 7 put an end to the insurrection.

Of all the peasant troops only two were still unvanquished: the Hegau-Black Forest Troop and that of Allgäu. Archduke Ferdinand had tried intriguing against both. Just as Margrave Casimir and other princes sought to utilise the insurrection to annex church lands and principalities, Ferdinand wished to use it for the aggrandisement of the House of Austria. He had negotiated with the Allgäu commander, Walter Bach, and with the Hegau commander, Hans Müller of Bulgenbach, in the hope of prevailing on the peasants to declare allegiance to Austria, but though both chiefs were venal they could not talk their troops into anything more than an armistice between the Allgäu Troop and the Archduke, and neutrality towards Austria.

Retreating from the Württemberg region, the *peasants of Hegau* destroyed a number of castles and gathered reinforcements in the provinces of the Margraviate of Baden. On May 13 they marched on Freiburg, bombarded it from May 18, and entered it triumphantly when the town surrendered on May 23. From there they moved

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[a] Richard von Greifenklau.—*Ed.*

towards Stockach and Radolfzell, and waged a long but unsuccessful small war against the garrisons of those towns. Together with the nobility and other surrounding towns, the latter appealed to the Lake peasants for help in accordance with the Weingarten agreement. The former rebels of the Lake Troop rose, 5,000 strong, against their confederates. These peasants were so narrow-minded and short-sighted that only 600 refused to fight, expressing their wish to join the Hegau peasants, for which they were massacred. Meanwhile, persuaded by Hans Müller of Bulgenbach, who had sold himself to the enemy, the Hegau peasants lifted their siege, and when thereupon Hans Müller ran away, most of them dispersed. The remainder entrenched themselves on the Hilzingen Steep, where they were beaten and annihilated on July 16 by troops that had in the meantime become available. The Swiss cities negotiated an agreement on behalf of the Hegau peasants, which, however, did not prevent the other side from capturing and beheading Hans Müller in Laufenburg, his betrayal notwithstanding. In Breisgau the town of Freiburg also deserted the peasant union (July 17) and sent troops against the peasants, but due to the weakness of the princely force an agreement was reached here as elsewhere, known as the agreement of Offenburg[335] (September 18), which also applied to Sundgau. The eight Black Forest groups and the Klettgau peasants, who were not as yet disarmed, were again compelled to rebel by the tyranny of Count von Sulz, and were defeated in October. On November 13 the Black Forest peasants were forced to conclude an agreement,[336] and Waldshut, the last bulwark of the insurrection in the Upper Rhine, fell on December 6.

After Truchsess' departure the *Allgäu peasants* renewed their campaign against the monasteries and castles and wreaked vengeance for the ravages caused by the League army. They were confronted by few troops, who risked only insignificant isolated skirmishes and never followed them into the woods. In June, a movement against the honourables broke out in Memmingen, which had hitherto been more or less neutral. This movement was defeated only due to the accidental presence in the vicinity of some League troops, who came in time to aid the honourables. Schappeler, preacher and leader of the plebeian movement, took refuge in St. Gallen. The peasants appeared before the town and were about to begin shooting breaches in its wall when they learned that Truchsess was approaching from Würzburg. On June 27 they set out against him in two columns across Babenhausen and Obergünzburg. Archduke Ferdinand again attempted to win the peasants for the House of Austria. On the strength of the armistice concluded with

them, he demanded of Truchsess to march no farther against them. The Swabian League, however, ordered Truchsess to attack, but to refrain from pillaging and burning. But Truchsess was too clever to relinquish his prime and most effective weapon even if he were able to hold in check the mercenaries whom he had led from Lake Constance to the Main, from one atrocity to another. The peasants, numbering about 23,000, took up battle positions across the Iller and Leubas. Truchsess opposed them with 11,000 men. The positions of both armies were very strong. The cavalry was ineffective due to the terrain, and if the Truchsess mercenaries were superior to the peasants in organisation, ammunition and discipline, the Allgäu peasants had in their ranks a host of former soldiers and experienced commanders, and many well-manned cannon. On July 19 the League army opened fire, which was continued on both sides through July 20, but with no result. On July 21 Georg von Frundsberg joined Truchsess with 3,000 mercenaries. He knew many of the peasant commanders, for they had served under him in the Italian military expeditions, and entered into negotiations with them. Treason succeeded where military resources proved insufficient. Walter Bach and several other commanders and artillerymen sold out. They set fire to the powder stores of the peasants and induced the troop to attempt an enveloping movement, but as soon as the peasants left their strong positions they ran into an ambush engineered by Truchsess in collusion with Bach and the other traitors. The peasants' ability to defend themselves was impaired since their traitorous commanders had left them under the pretext of reconnoitring and were already on their way to Switzerland. Thus, two of the peasant columns were routed, while a third, under Knopf of Leubas, was able to withdraw in good order. It resumed its position on the mountain of Kollen near Kempten, where it was surrounded by Truchsess. But the latter did not dare attack the peasants; he cut off their supply routes and tried to demoralise them by burning about 200 villages in the vicinity. Hunger and the sight of their burning homes finally brought the peasants to their knees (July 25). More than twenty were immediately executed. Knopf of Leubas, the only leader of this troop who did not betray his banner, fled to Bregenz. There he was captured and hanged after a long imprisonment.

This brought the Peasant War in Swabia and Franconia to an end.

VI

Directly after the outbreak of the first movement in Swabia, *Thomas Münzer* again hurried to *Thuringia*, and in late February or early March stayed in the free imperial town of *Mühlhausen*, where his party was stronger than elsewhere. He held the threads of the whole movement and knew that a storm was brewing in South Germany. So he set out to turn Thuringia into the centre of the movement in North Germany. He found the soil extremely fertile. Thuringia itself, the main scene of the Reformation movement, was in great ferment. The misery of the downtrodden peasants and the prevailing revolutionary, religious and political doctrines had also made a general uprising imminent in the neighbouring provinces of Hesse and Saxony, and in the Harz region. In Mühlhausen itself the bulk of the petty burgherdom was won over to Münzer's extreme standpoint and could hardly wait to assert its superiority over the arrogant honourables. To prevent premature action, Münzer was compelled to act as a moderator, but his disciple, Pfeifer, who held the reins of the movement there, had committed himself so greatly that he could not hold back the outbreak, and as early as March 17, 1525, before the general uprising in South Germany, Mühlhausen made its revolution. The old patrician Council was overthrown and the government handed over to the newly elected "eternal council", with Münzer as president.[337]

The worst thing that can befall the leader of an extreme party is to be compelled to assume power at a time when the movement is not yet ripe for the domination of the class he represents and for the measures this domination implies. What he *can* do depends not on his will but on the degree of antagonism between the various classes,

and on the level of development of the material means of existence, of the conditions of production and commerce upon which the degree of intensity of the class contradictions always reposes. What he *ought* to do, what his party demands of him, again depends not on him, but also not on the degree of development of the class struggle and its conditions. He is bound to the doctrines and demands hitherto propounded which, again, do not follow from the class relations of the moment, or from the more or less accidental level of production and commerce, but from his more or less penetrating insight into the general result of the social[a] and political movement. Thus, he necessarily finds himself in an unsolvable dilemma. What he *can* do contradicts all his previous actions and principles and the immediate interests of his party, and what he *ought* to do cannot be done. In a word, he is compelled to represent not his party or his class, but the class for whose domination the movement is then ripe. In the interests of the movement he is compelled to advance the interests of an alien class, and to feed his own class with talk and promises, and with the asseveration that the interests of that alien class are their own interests. He who is put into this awkward position is irrevocably lost. We have seen examples of this in recent times, and need only recall the position in the last French Provisional Government of the representatives of the proletariat,[338] though they themselves represented only a very low stage of development of the proletariat. He who can still speculate with official posts after the experiences of the February government—to say nothing of our own noble German provisional governments and imperial regencies[339]—is either foolish beyond measure or belongs to the extreme revolutionary party at best in word only.

Münzer's position at the head of the "eternal council" of Mühlhausen was indeed much more precarious than that of any modern revolutionary regent. Not only the movement of his time, but also the age, were not ripe for the ideas of which he himself had only a faint notion. The class which he represented was still in its birth throes. It was far from developed enough to assume leadership over, and to transform,[b] society. The social changes of his fancy had little root in the then existing economic conditions. What is more, these conditions were paving the way for a social system that was diametrically opposite to what he envisioned. Nevertheless, he was still committed to his early sermons of Christian equality and evangelical community of property, and was compelled at least to

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[a] The 1850 edition has "industrial" instead of "social".—*Ed.*

[b] The words "and to transform" are missing in the 1850 edition.—*Ed.*

attempt their realisation. Community of property, the equal obligation of all to work, and abolition of all authority were proclaimed. But in reality Mühlhausen remained a republican imperial city with a somewhat democratised constitution, a senate elected by universal suffrage and controlled by a forum, and with a hastily improvised system of care for the poor. The social upheaval that so horrified its Protestant burgher contemporaries actually never went beyond a feeble, unconscious and premature attempt to establish the bourgeois [*bürgerliche*] society of a later period.

Münzer himself seems to have sensed the chasm between his theories and the surrounding realities, a chasm that he must have felt the more keenly, the more his visionary aspirations were distorted in the crude minds of his mass of followers. He devoted himself to extending and organising the movement with a zeal rare even for him. He wrote letters and sent messengers and emissaries in all directions. His writings and sermons breathed a revolutionary fanaticism astonishing even when compared with his former works. The naive youthful humour of Münzer's revolutionary[a] pamphlets was totally gone. The placid explicative language of the thinker typical of his earlier years was gone too. Münzer became a positive prophet of the revolution. He untiringly fanned hatred against the ruling classes, he stimulated the wildest passions, and used only the forceful language that the religious and nationalist delirium had put into the mouths of the Old Testament prophets. The style he now had to adopt reflected the educational level of the public he sought to influence.

The example of Mühlhausen and Münzer's propaganda had a rapid and far-reaching effect. In *Thuringia*, *Eichsfeld*, the *Harz*, the *duchies of Saxony*, in *Hesse* and *Fulda*, in *Upper Franconia* and in *Vogtland*, the peasants arose, assembled in troops, and set fire to castles and monasteries. Münzer was recognised as the leader of more or less the entire movement, and Mühlhausen remained its centre, while a purely burgher movement won in Erfurt and the ruling party there kept acting ambiguously towards the peasants.

The princes in Thuringia were at first just as perplexed and helpless against the peasants as they had been in Franconia and Swabia. Only in the last days of April did the Landgrave of Hesse succeed in assembling a corps. It was the same Landgrave Philip whose piety is praised so much by the Protestant and bourgeois histories of the Reformation, and of whose infamies against the

[a] The 1850 edition has "prerevolutionary" instead of "revolutionary".—*Ed.*

peasants we shall presently have a word to say. By a series of swift movements and decisive actions, Landgrave Philip quickly subdued the major part of his land, called up new contingents, and then marched into the region belonging to the Abbot of Fulda,[a] who had hitherto been his feudal lord. On May 3 he defeated the Fulda peasant troop at Frauenberg, subdued the whole land, and seized the opportunity not only for freeing himself from the sovereignty of the Abbot, but also for making the Abbey of Fulda a vassalage of Hesse, naturally pending its subsequent secularisation. He then took Eisenach and Langensalza, and advanced against Mühlhausen, the headquarters of the rebellion, jointly with the ducal Saxon troops. Münzer assembled his forces, comprising some 8,000 men and several cannon, at Frankenhausen. The Thuringian troop had little of the fighting power which a part of the Upper Swabian and Franconian troops had developed in their struggle with Truchsess. It was poorly armed and badly disciplined; it had few ex-soldiers in its ranks and lacked sorely in leadership. It appears Münzer himself had not the slightest military knowledge. All the same, the princes thought it best to use the same tactics against him that so often helped Truchsess to victory: breach of faith. They launched negotiations on May 16, concluded an armistice, and then suddenly attacked the peasants before the armistice had elapsed.

Münzer had stationed his people on a mountain still called Schlachtberg,[b] behind a barricade of wagons. Discouragement was spreading rapidly among his men. The princes promised them indulgence if they delivered Münzer alive. Münzer called a general assembly to debate the princes' proposals. A knight and a priest spoke in favour of surrender. Münzer had them both brought inside the circle and decapitated. This act of terrorist energy, jubilantly received by resolute revolutionaries, instilled a certain order among the troop, but most of the men would still have gone away without resistance had it not been noticed that the princes' mercenaries, who had encircled the mountain, were approaching in closed columns in spite of the armistice. A front was hurriedly formed behind the wagons, but already shells and bullets were showering upon the half-defenseless peasants unaccustomed to battle, and the mercenaries had reached the barricade. After a brief resistance the line of wagons was breached, the peasant cannon captured, and the peasants dispersed. They fled in wild disorder to fall into the hands

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[a] Johann Henneberg.—*Ed.*
[b] Mount Battle.—*Ed.*

of the enveloping columns and the cavalry, who loosened an appalling massacre. Out of 8,000 peasants over 5,000 were slaughtered. The survivors went to Frankenhausen, and the princes' cavalry came hot on their heels. The city was captured. Münzer, wounded in the head, was discovered in a house and taken prisoner. On May 25 Mühlhausen also surrendered. Pfeifer, who had remained there, escaped, but was captured in the region of Eisenach.

Münzer was put on the rack in the presence of the princes, and then decapitated. He went to his death with the courage he had shown throughout his life. He was twenty-eight at the most when executed. Pfeifer was also beheaded, and many others besides. In Fulda Philip of Hesse, that holy man, opened his bloody court. He and the Saxon princes had many killed by the sword, among them in Eisenach, 24; in Langensalza, 41; after the battle of Frankenhausen, 300; in Mühlhausen, more than 100; at Görmar, 26; at Tüngeda, 50; at Sangerhausen, 12; in Leipzig, 8, not to speak of mutilations and more moderate measures, pillaging and burning of villages and towns.

Mühlhausen was compelled to give up its imperial liberty, and was incorporated in the Saxon lands just as the Abbey of Fulda was incorporated in the Landgraviate of Hesse.

The princes now marched through the forest of Thuringia, where Franconian peasants of the Bildhausen camp had joined the Thuringians and had burned many castles. A battle took place outside Meiningen. The peasants were beaten and withdrew towards the town, which suddenly closed its gates to them and threatened to attack them from the rear. Thrown into confusion by its allies' betrayal, the troop surrendered to the princes and ran off in all directions while the negotiations were still under way. The Bildhausen camp had long since dispersed, and after the troop's defeat the remaining insurgents in Saxony, Hesse, Thuringia and Upper Franconia were annihilated.

In *Alsace* the rebellion broke out later than on the right bank of the Rhine. The peasants of the Bishopric of Strassburg rose up as late as the middle of April. Soon after, there was an uprising of peasants in Upper Alsace and Sundgau. On April 18 a contingent of Lower Alsace peasants pillaged the monastery of Altdorf. Other troops formed near Ebersheim and Barr, as well as in the Willer and Urbis valleys. These soon amalgamated into a large Lower Alsace troop and seized towns and hamlets and destroyed monasteries. Everywhere, one out of every three men was called to serve in the troop. The troop's Twelve Articles were much more radical than those of the Swabians and Franconians.[340]

While early in May one column of Lower Alsatians concentrated near St. Hippolite and after a futile attempt to take that town occupied Bercken on May 10, Rappoltsweiler on May 13, and Reichenweier on May 14 by an understanding with their citizens, a second column under Erasmus Gerber moved in for a surprise attack on Strassburg. The attempt failed, and the column now turned towards the Vosges, destroyed the monastery of Mauersmünster and besieged Zabern, which surrendered on May 13. From here it moved towards the Lorraine frontier and roused the adjacent section of the duchy, and at the same time fortified the mountain passes. Big camps were formed at Herbitzheim on the Saar and at Neuburg. Nearly 4,000 German-Lorraine peasants entrenched themselves at Saargemünd. Finally, two advanced troops, the Kolben troop in the Vosges at Stürzelbronn and the Kleeburg troop at Weissenburg, covered the front and the right flank, while the left flank hugged the Upper Alsatians.

The latter, on the march since April 20, had forced Sulz into the peasant brotherhood on May 10, Gebweiler on May 12, and Sennheim and its vicinity on May 15. Though the Austrian Government and the surrounding imperial towns lost no time to join forces against them, they were too weak to offer serious resistance, not to speak of attacking. Thus, the whole of Alsace, with the exception of a few towns, fell into the hands of the insurgents by the middle of May.

But the army that was to break the mischievous spirit of the Alsatians was already approaching. It was the *French* who here restored the power of the nobility. On May 6 Duke Anton of Lorraine marched with an army of 30,000, among them the flower of the French nobility and Spanish, Piedmontese, Lombardic, Greek and Albanian auxiliaries. On May 16 at Lützelstein he engaged 4,000 peasants, whom he defeated without effort, and on May 17 he forced Zabern, which was occupied by the peasants, to surrender. But even while the Lorrainers were entering the city and the peasants were being disarmed, the terms of the surrender were violated. The defenseless peasants were attacked by the mercenaries and most of them slain. The remaining Lower Alsace columns disbanded, and Duke Anton marched on to engage the Upper Alsatians. The latter, who had refused to reinforce the Lower Alsatians at Zabern, were now attacked at Scherweiler by the entire force of Lorrainers. They put up a plucky fight, but the enormous numerical superiority of 30,000 against 7,000, and betrayal by a number of knights, especially that of the magistrate of Reichenweier, reduced their daring to nought. They were beaten and dispersed to the last man. The Duke

now proceeded to subdue the whole of Alsace with the usual cruelty. Only Sundgau was spared his presence. By threatening to call him into the land, the Austrian Government persuaded the peasants to conclude the Ensisheim agreement early in June. But it broke the agreement very soon and hanged the preachers and leaders of the movement *en masse*. The peasants rebelled anew, and Sundgau was finally drawn into the Offenburg agreement (September 18).

Now it only remains to describe the Peasant War in the *Alpine regions of Austria*. These regions and the adjoining *Archbishopric of Salzburg* had been in continuous opposition to the government and the nobility since the *Stara Prawa*.[a] As a result, the Reformation doctrines found a fertile soil there. Religious persecution and arbitrary oppressive taxation precipitated a rebellion.

The city of *Salzburg*, supported by peasants and pitmen, had been in conflict with the Archbishop[b] since 1522 over its city privileges and religious practices. Late in 1524 the Archbishop attacked the city with recruited mercenaries, terrorised it with the cannon of the castle, and persecuted the heretical preachers. At the same time he imposed new crushing taxes and thereby irritated the population to the extreme. In the spring of 1525, simultaneously with the Swabian-Franconian and Thuringian uprisings, the peasants and pitmen of the whole country suddenly rose up in arms, organised under the commanders *Prassler* and *Weitmoser*, liberated the city and besieged the castle of Salzburg. Like the West-German peasants, they organised a Christian Alliance and formulated their demands in articles, of which they had fourteen.[341]

In *Styria, Upper Austria, Carinthia* and *Carniola*, where new extortionate taxes, duties and edicts had severely injured the basic interests of the people, the peasants rose up in the spring of 1525. They took a number of castles and at Goyss defeated Dietrichstein, the old field commander and conqueror of the *Stara Prawa*. Although the government succeeded in placating some of the insurgents with false promises, the bulk of them stayed together and united with the Salzburg peasants, so that the entire region of Salzburg and the bigger portion of Upper Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola were in the hands of the peasants and pitmen.

In Tirol the Reformation doctrines had also found numerous adherents. Münzer's emissaries had been successfully active here, even more so than in the other Alpine regions of Austria. As elsewhere, Archduke Ferdinand persecuted the preachers of the

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[a] See this volume, p. 439.—*Ed.*

[b] Matthäus Lang.—*Ed.*

new doctrine and impinged on the rights of the population by means of new arbitrary financial regulations. The result, as everywhere, was an uprising that broke out in the spring of 1525. The insurgents commanded by Geismaier, a Münzer man who was the only one of the peasant chiefs to possess any military talent, took a great number of castles, and carried on energetically against the priests, particularly in the South, in the Etsch[a] region. The Vorarlberg peasants also rose up and joined the Allgäu peasants.

The Archduke, hard pressed from all sides, now began to make concession after concession to the rebels whom a short time before he had wished to annihilate by fire and destruction, plunder and carnage. He summoned the Diets of the hereditary lands and pending their opening concluded an armistice with the peasants. In the meantime he was arming for all he was worth, in order to be able to speak to the blasphemers in a different tongue in the nearest possible future.

Naturally, the armistice was not observed for long. Having run short of cash, Dietrichstein began to levy contributions in the duchies; besides, his Slavic and Magyar troops indulged in the most disgraceful brutalities against the population. This incited the Styrians to a new revolt. The peasants attacked Dietrichstein at Schladming in the night of July 3, and slaughtered everybody who did not speak German. Dietrichstein himself was captured. In the morning of July 3 the peasants called a jury and sentenced to death forty Czech and Croatian nobles among their prisoners. They were beheaded on the spot. That had its effect; the Archduke immediately consented to all the demands of the estates of the five duchies (Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola).

The demands of the Diet were also granted in Tirol, and thus the North was pacified. The South, however, stood firm on its original demands, scorning the much more moderate decisions of the Diet, and remained under arms. Only in December was the Archduke able to restore order by force. He did not fail to execute a great number of the instigators and leaders of the upheaval who fell into his hands.

Ten thousand Bavarians moved in August against Salzburg under Georg von Frundsberg. This impressive show of strength and the quarrels that broke out in their ranks persuaded the Salzburg peasants to conclude an agreement with the archbishop on September 1, which was also accepted by the Archduke. However, the two princes, who had meanwhile considerably strengthened their troops, soon violated the agreement and thereby compelled the

[a] The Italian name is Adige.— *Ed.*

Salzburg peasants to start a new uprising. The insurgents held their own throughout the winter. In the spring Geismaier came to them and launched a splendid campaign against the forces approaching from every side. In a series of brilliant battles in May and June 1526, he successively defeated the Bavarian, Austrian and Swabian League troops and the mercenaries of the Archbishop of Salzburg, and for a long time prevented the various corps from uniting. He also found time to besiege Radstadt. Surrounded finally by superior forces, he was compelled to withdraw and fought his way out of the encirclement, leading the remnants of his troop across the Austrian Alps into Venetian territory. The Republic of Venice and Switzerland served the indefatigable peasant chief as starting points for new intrigues. For a whole year he endeavoured to involve them in a war with Austria, which would have given him an opportunity to begin a new peasant uprising. The hand of an assassin struck him down, however, in the course of these negotiations. Archduke Ferdinand and the Archbishop of Salzburg could not rest as long as Geismaier was alive. They hired an assassin who succeeded in ending the life of the dangerous rebel in 1527.[a]

[a] According to more precise data Geismaier was assassinated on April 15, 1532.—*Ed.*

## VII

The epilogue of the Peasant War closed with Geismaier's withdrawal into Venetian territory. The peasants were everywhere brought back under the sway of their ecclesiastical, noble or patrician overlords. The agreements concluded with them here and there were violated and the heavy services augmented by the enormous indemnities imposed by the victors on the vanquished. The most magnificent revolutionary effort of the German people ended in ignominious defeat and, for the time being, in redoubled oppression. In the long run, however, the situation of the peasants was not made any worse by the suppression of the uprising. Whatever the nobility, princes and priests could wring out of the peasants year after year, had been wrung out even before the war. The German peasant of that time has this in common with the present-day proletarian, that his share in the products of his labour was limited to a subsistence minimum necessary for his maintenance and the propagation of the peasant race. On the whole, nothing more could be wrung out of the peasants. True, some of the better-off middle peasants were ruined, hosts of bondsmen were forced into serfdom, whole stretches of community land were confiscated, and a great many peasants were forced into vagabondage or became city plebeians due to the destruction of their homes, the devastation of their fields and the general dislocation. But war and devastation were everyday phenomena at that time and, in general, the peasant class was at too low a level for increased taxation to cause any lasting deterioration of its condition. The subsequent religious wars and, finally, the Thirty Years' War[342] with its recurrent general devastation and depopulation affected the peasants much more painfully than the Peasant War. Notably, it was the Thirty Years' War which

destroyed the most important part of the productive forces in agriculture, through which, as well as through the simultaneous destruction of many towns, the peasants, plebeians and ruined burghers were for a long time reduced to a state of Irish misery at its worst.

Those who suffered most from the Peasant War were the *clergy*. Their monasteries and endowments were burned, their treasures plundered, sold abroad or melted down, and their stores consumed. They were everywhere the least capable of resistance, and yet they were the main target of the people's wrath. The other estates—princes, nobles and burghers—even experienced a secret joy at the distress of the hated prelates. The Peasant War had made popular the idea of secularising the church estates in favour of the peasants. The lay princes, and partly the towns, determined to secularise the estates for their *own* benefit, and soon the possessions of the prelates in Protestant regions were in the hands of the princes or the honourables. But the power of the ecclesiastical princes, too, was impaired, and the lay princes knew how to exploit the people's hatred in this respect. We have seen, for instance, how the Abbot of Fulda[a] was relegated from feudal lord to vassal of Philip of Hesse. The town of Kempten forced its prince-abbot[b] to sell it a number of the precious privileges he had enjoyed in the town for a ridiculous trifle.

The *nobility* had also suffered considerably. Most of the noblemen's castles were destroyed and some of the most respected families were ruined and found a living only in the employ of the princes. Their weakness in face of the peasantry had been proved. They had been beaten everywhere and had been forced to surrender. Only the armies of the princes had saved them. The nobility was bound to lose more and more of its significance as an estate of the Empire, and to fall under the dominion of the princes.

The *towns*, too, generally gained nothing from the Peasant War. The rule of the honourables was almost everywhere re-established; the burgher opposition was broken for a long time. The old patrician routine dragged on in this way, tying up commerce and industry hand and foot up to the time of the French Revolution. Moreover, the towns were made responsible by the princes for the momentary successes the burgher or plebeian parties had gained within their borders during the struggle. The towns that had even previously belonged to princely estates had to pay heavy indemnities, to give up their privileges, and became defenceless prey to the avarice and

[a] Johann Henneberg.—*Ed.*
[b] Sebastian von Breitenstein.—*Ed.*

whims of the princes (Frankenhausen, Arnstadt, Schmalkalden, Würzburg, etc.). Towns of the Empire were incorporated into the territories of the princes (Mühlhausen, for example) or at least made morally dependent on the neighbouring princes, as was the case with many imperial towns in Franconia.

Under the circumstances, the *princes* alone had benefited from the Peasant War. We have seen at the very beginning of our account that the deficient development of industry, commerce and agriculture in Germany ruled out any centralisation of Germans into a *nation*, that it allowed only local and provincial centralisation, and that the princes, representatives of centralisation within disruption, were the only estate to profit from all the changes in the existing social and political conditions. The development of Germany in those days was at so low a level and at the same time so dissimilar in the various provinces that alongside the lay principalities there could still exist ecclesiastical sovereignties, city republics, and sovereign counts and barons. Simultaneously, however, this development was continually, though slowly and feebly, pressing for *provincial* centralisation, i.e. for the subordination of all the other imperial estates to the princes. That is why only the princes could have gained from the outcome of the Peasant War. And that is exactly what had happened. They gained not only relatively, from a weakening of their opponents—the clergy, nobility and the towns—but also absolutely, since they carried off the *spolia opima* (the main spoils) of all the other estates. The church estates were secularised in their favour; part of the nobility, fully or partly ruined, was obliged gradually to accept vassalage; the indemnities they received from the towns and peasant communities swelled their treasuries and, furthermore, the abolition of so many town privileges now afforded much greater scope to their favourite financial operations.

The chief result of the Peasant War, the deepening and consolidation of German disunity, was also the reason for its failure.

We have seen that Germany was split not only into countless independent, almost totally alien provinces, but that in every one of these provinces the nation was broken up into a multifold structure of estates and fractions of estates. Besides princes and priests we find nobles and peasants in the countryside, and in the towns we find patricians, burghers and plebeians, whose interests as estates differed radically even where they did not cross each other or come into conflict. Besides all these complicated interests there were still the interests of the Emperor and the Pope. We have seen how ponderously, imperfectly, and how differently in the various localities, all these interests finally gave shape to three major groups.

We have seen that in spite of this painful grouping each estate opposed the line indicated by circumstances for the national development, that each estate acted on its own, coming into conflict not only with all the conservative, but also with the other opposition estates, and that it was bound to fail in the end. That was the fate of the nobility in Sickingen's uprising, of the peasants in the Peasant War, and of the burghers in all of their insipid Reformation. Thus, even the peasants and plebeians in most parts of Germany failed to unite for joint action and stood in each other's way. We have also seen the causes of this fragmentation of the class struggle and the resulting total defeat of the revolutionary and partial defeat of the burgher movements.

How local and provincial disunity and the consequently inevitable local and provincial narrow-mindedness ruined the whole movement; how neither burghers, peasants nor plebeians could unite for concerted national action; how the peasants of every province acted only for themselves, as a rule refusing aid to the insurgent peasants of the neighbouring regions, and were consequently annihilated in separate battles one after another by armies which in most cases were hardly one-tenth the total number of the insurgent masses—all this should be sufficiently clear from this account. The various armistices and agreements concluded by individual troops with their adversaries represent just as many acts of betrayal of the common cause, and the fact that the only co-operation possible between the different troops was not according to the greater or lesser unity of their action, but to that of the particular enemy to whom they succumbed, is the most striking proof of the degree of the peasants' mutual alienation in the various provinces.

Here also the analogy with the movement of 1848-50 leaps to the eye. In 1848 as well, the interests of the opposition classes conflicted and each class acted on its own. The bourgeoisie, too developed to suffer any longer the feudal and bureaucratic absolutism, was, however, not as yet powerful enough at once to subordinate the claims of other classes to its own interests. The proletariat, much too weak to count on a rapid passage through the bourgeois period and on an early conquest of power, had already learned too well under absolutism the honeyed sweetness of the bourgeois regime and was generally much too developed to identify for even a moment its own emancipation with that of the bourgeoisie. The mass of the nation—petty burghers, their associates (artisans), and peasants—was left in the lurch by its as yet natural ally, the bourgeoisie, because it was too revolutionary, and partly by the proletariat, because it was not sufficiently advanced.

Divided against itself the mass achieved nothing and opposed fellow opponents on the Right and Left. As to provincial narrow-mindedness, it could hardly have been greater among the peasants in 1525 than it was among the classes participating in the movement of 1848. The hundred local revolutions as well as the consequent and unhindered hundred local reactions, survival of the separation of numerous small states, etc., etc.—all this is eloquent testimony indeed. *He who still dreams of a federated republic after the two German revolutions of 1525 and 1848 and their results, belongs nowhere else but in a lunatic asylum.*

Still the two revolutions, that of the sixteenth century and that of 1848-50, are, in spite of all analogies, essentially different. The Revolution of 1848 speaks for the progress of Europe, if not of Germany.

Who profited from the Revolution of 1525? The *princes*. Who profited from the Revolution of 1848? The *big* princes, Austria and Prussia. Behind the minor princes of 1525 stood the petty burghers, who chained the princes to themselves by taxes. Behind the big princes of 1850, behind Austria and Prussia, there stand the modern big bourgeois, rapidly getting them under their yoke by means of the national debt. And behind the big bourgeois stand the proletarians.

The Revolution of 1525 was a domestic German affair. The English, French, Bohemians and Hungarians had already had their peasant wars when the Germans began theirs. If Germany was disunited, Europe was much more so. The Revolution of 1848, on the other hand, was not a domestic German affair, and was an episode in a great European event. Its motive forces throughout its duration transcended the narrow limits of one country and even those of one part of the world. In fact, the countries which were the arena of revolution were the least active in producing it. They were more or less unconscious and hesitant raw material, moulded in the course of the movement in which the entire world participates today, a movement which under the existing social conditions may appear to us only as an alien power but which, in the end, is nothing but our own. This is why the Revolution of 1848-50 cannot end like the Revolution of 1525.

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [STATEMENT ON RESIGNATION FROM THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON][343]

To the Tuesday President of the Society in Great Windmill Street.
Sir,

The undersigned herewith give notice of their resignation from the Society.

London, September 17, 1850

*H. Bauer, K. Pfänder,*
*J. G. Eccarius, S. Seiler,*
*K. Marx, K. Schramm, F. Engels,*
*F. Wolff, W. Liebknecht,*
*Hain, Haupt, G. Klose*

First published in the *Anklageschrift gegen P. G. Roeser, J. H. G. Bürgers, P. Nothjung,...* [Köln, 1852]

Printed according to the manuscript in Engels' hand

Published in English for the first time

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## [A LETTER TO ADAM, BARTHÉLEMY AND VIDIL][344]

TO MESSRS. ADAM, BARTHÉLEMY AND VIDIL

Gentlemen,

We have the honour of informing you that we have, long since, considered the association you speak of as dissolved by fact. The only thing remaining to be done would be the destruction of the fundamental contract.[a] Perhaps Mr. Adam or Mr. Vidil will have the kindness to call on Sunday next October 13th at noon, on Mr. Engels at Nr. 6, Macclesfield Street Soho, in order to witness the burning of the same.

We have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

your most obedient servants,

*Engels, Marx, Harney*

London, October 9th, 1850

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Published in English for the first time

[a] See this volume, pp. 614-15.—*Ed.*

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

# [EDITORIAL COMMENT ON THE ARTICLE "TAILORING IN LONDON OR THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN BIG AND SMALL CAPITAL" BY J. G. ECCARIUS][345]

The author of this article is himself a *worker* in one of London's tailoring shops.[a] We ask the German bourgeoisie how many authors it numbers capable of grasping the real movement in a similar manner?

Before the proletariat fights out its victories on the barricades and in the battle lines it gives notice of its impending rule with a series of intellectual victories.

The reader will note how here, instead of the sentimental, moral and psychological criticism employed against existing conditions by Weitling and other workers who engage in authorship, a purely materialist understanding and a freer one, unspoilt by sentimental whims, confronts bourgeois society and its movement. Whereas craftsmen resist the collapse of their semi-medieval position and would like to unite *as craftsmen*, particularly in Germany and to a great extent also in France, the subjection of craft labour to large-scale industry is comprehended here as a step forward and celebrated, while at the same time, in the results and productions of large-scale industry, the real preconditions of the proletarian revolution, generated by history itself and daily generating themselves anew, are recognised and revealed.

Written in October 1850

Printed according to the journal

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 5-6, 1850, marked by the editors "Editorial Comment"

Published in English for the first time

[a] The word *Schneidershop* used in the original is a mixture of the German *Schneider* and the English "shop".—*Ed.*

## Frederick Engels

## [ON THE SLOGAN OF THE ABOLITION OF THE STATE AND THE GERMAN "FRIENDS OF ANARCHY"][346]

"The abolition of the state has meaning with the Communists, only as the necessary consequence of the abolition of classes, with which the need for the organised might of one class to keep the others down automatically disappears. In *bourgeois* countries the abolition of the state means that the power of the state is reduced to the level found in North America. There, the class contradictions are but incompletely developed; every clash between the classes is concealed by the outflow of the surplus proletarian population to the west; intervention by the power of the state, reduced to a minimum in the east, does not exist at all in the west. In *feudal* countries the abolition of the state means the abolition of feudalism and the creation of an ordinary bourgeois state. In *Germany* it conceals either a cowardly flight from the struggles that lie immediately ahead, a spurious inflating of *bourgeois* freedom into absolute independence and autonomy of the *individual*, or, finally, the indifference of the bourgeois towards all forms of state, provided the development of bourgeois interests is not obstructed. It is of course not the fault of the Berliners Stirner and Faucher that this abolition of the state 'in the higher sense' is being preached in so fatuous a way. *La plus belle fille de la France ne peut donner que ce qu'elle a.*"[a] (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 4, p. 58.[b])

The abolition of the state, *anarchy*, has meanwhile become a universal catchword in Germany. The scattered German disciples of Proudhon, the "higher" democracy of Berlin and even the "noblest minds of the nation" of the Stuttgart parliament and the Imperial

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[a] The most beautiful girl in France can only give what she has.—*Ed.*
[b] See this volume, pp. 333-34.—*Ed.*

Regency,[347] now altogether vanished, have appropriated to themselves, each in his own fashion, this savage-looking slogan.

All of these factions agree in the maintenance of existing *bourgeois society*. Along with bourgeois society they therefore necessarily advocate the rule of the bourgeoisie and in Germany even the conquest of[a] power by the bourgeoisie; they are distinguished from the true representatives of the bourgeoisie only by the strange form which gives them the appearance of "going further", of "going further than anybody". In all practical collisions this appearance vanished; confronted by the *real* anarchy of revolutionary crises,[b] where the masses[c] [and the state power] fought each other with 'brute force', these representatives of anarchy on each occasion did their best to control the anarchy. In the end the content of this much-vaunted "anarchy" amounted to the same thing as is expressed by the word "order" in more developed countries. The "Friends of Anarchy" in Germany are in complete *entente cordiale* with the "Friends of Order" in France.

Insofar as the friends of anarchy are independent of the Frenchmen Proudhon and Girardin, insofar as their way of viewing things is of German origin, they all have a common source: *Stirner*. The period of dissolution of German philosophy has in general supplied the democratic party in Germany with most of its rhetorical commonplaces. The notions and phrases of the last of the German scripturists, namely Feuerbach and Stirner, had already before February,[d] in a somewhat dissolute form, passed into the general literary awareness and journalistic writing, and these again formed the principal source for the post-March democratic spokesmen. Stirner's sermon on statelessness in particular is excellently suited to give the 'superior consecration' of German philosophy to Proudhon's anarchy and Girardin's abolition of the state. Stirner's book *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* is forgotten, it is true, but its manner of thinking, especially its criticism of the state, appears again in the friends of anarchy. Although we have already investigated the

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[a] Here the word "political" is crossed out in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[b] The words "where the state power disappeared before the might of the people" (wo die Staatsmacht vor der Macht der Massen verschwand) are crossed out in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

[c] In the manuscript the following words are crossed out here; "have taken power into their own hands" (sich der Gewalt bemächtigen); judging from the context it should be replaced by: "und die Staatsmacht" (and the state power) as is reproduced by the editors in square brackets.—*Ed.*

[d] i.e. before the February 1848 Revolution in France.—*Ed.*

sources of these gentlemen insofar as they are of French origin,[a] we are once more constrained to descend into the depths of antediluvian German philosophy to examine their German sources. If one must, for one reason or another, concern oneself with day-to-day German polemics, it is always more pleasant to deal with the original inventor of a conception than with its second-hand pedlars.

> Saddle me my Hippogryph once more, O Muse,
> For a ride into th' old, romantic land![b]

Before we take up Stirner's above-mentioned book we carry ourselves back into the "old, romantic land" and into the forgotten time in which this book appeared. The Prussian bourgeoisie, fastening upon the financial embarrassments of the government, began to conquer political power while simultaneously, alongside the bourgeois-constitutional movement, the communist movement of the proletariat was daily gaining ground. The bourgeois elements of society, still needing proletarian support to attain their own goals, had everywhere to affect a kind of socialism; the conservative and feudal party was similarly forced to make promises to the proletariat. Alongside the struggle of the bourgeois and the peasants against feudal aristocracy and bureaucracy, we had the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and in between these a series of intermediate stages of socialism, embracing all kinds of socialism, reactionary, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois socialism; all these struggles and endeavours held down, damped down in their expression by the pressure of the ruling power, by the censorship, by the prohibition of associations and assemblies—such was the situation of the parties in the period in which German philosophy celebrated its last meagre triumphs.

Right from the start the censorship forced the most abstract mode of expression upon all more or less unpopular elements; the German philosophical tradition, which had just reached the complete dissolution of the Hegelian school, provided this expression. The struggle against religion was still being pursued. The more difficult the political struggle against established power became in the press, the more eagerly it was carried on in the form of the religious and philosophical struggle. German philosophy in its most dissolute form became the common property of the "educated", and the more it became common property, the more dissolute, confused and stale the philosophers became, and this dissoluteness and staleness

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[a] See this volume, pp. 326-37.—*Ed.*
[b] From Wieland's poem "Oberon".—*Ed.*

again gave it a so much higher reputation in the eyes of the "educated" public.

The confusion in the heads of the "educated" was terrifying, and it increased with every moment. It was a real mongrelising of ideas of German, French, English, antique, medieval and modern origin. The confusion was so much the greater because all the ideas were only possessed at second, third and fourth hand, and thus circulated in a form distorted beyond recognition. This fate was not only shared by the thoughts of the French and English liberals and socialists, but also by the ideas of Germans, for instance of Hegel. The whole literature of this period, and especially, as we shall see, Stirner's book, provides countless proofs of this, and present-day German literature is still labouring under the consequences.

In this confusion, the philosophical shadow-boxing served as an image of the real struggles. Every "new turn" in philosophy excited the general attention of the "educated", who in Germany comprised a vast number of idle heads, articled clerks, aspirants to school posts, failed theologians, out-of-work medicos, literati, etc., etc. For these people a historical stage of development was superseded and done for for ever with every such "new turn". Bourgeois liberalism, for instance, as soon as any philosopher had criticised it in any way, was dead, erased from historical development and also annihilated as far as practice was concerned. Likewise republicanism, socialism and so on. How far these stages of development were "annihilated", "dissolved" and "done for" was subsequently shown in the revolution, when they played the most important part and when there was suddenly no more talk of their philosophical annihilators.

The slovenliness in form and content, the arrogant platitudes and inflated insipidity, the unfathomable triviality and dialectical poverty of these latest German philosophers exceed anything that has previously existed in this discipline. It is only equalled by the unbelievable gullibility of the public, which took all these things at face value, for brand new, for "never seen before". The German nation, the "thorough"...[a]

Written not later than October 1850

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[a] The manuscript breaks off here.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## REVIEW

May to October [1850][348]

The political turmoil of the last six months is fundamentally different from that which immediately preceded it. Everywhere the revolutionary party has been forced off the stage and the victors are quarrelling over the fruits of victory. Thus it is in France with the various factions of the bourgeoisie and in Germany with the various princes. The quarrel is being conducted with a great deal of noise, and it appears inevitable that there will be an open break and that the issue will be decided by force of arms; however what is inevitable is that the arms will remain unused and that peace treaties will time and again be used to conceal the indecision, so as to prepare for another sham war.

Let us first examine the underlying *reality* beneath this superficial turbulence.

The years 1843-45 were years of industrial and commercial prosperity, necessary consequences of the almost uninterrupted depression of industry in the period 1837-42. As always, prosperity very rapidly gave rise to speculation. Speculation regularly occurs at times when over-production is already in full swing. It provides channels by which this over-production may temporarily be diverted, whilst by this very process hastening the onset of the crisis and magnifying its impact. The crisis itself first breaks out in the field of speculation and only seizes hold of production later. Not over-production, but over-speculation, itself only a symptom of over-production, therefore appears to the superficial view as the cause of the crisis. The subsequent disruption of production appears not as a necessary consequence of its own previous exuberance, but merely as a repercussion of the collapse of speculation. However, as we cannot at the present moment give a complete history of the

crisis[a] [after] 1843-45, we shall simply list the most significant of these same *symptoms* of over-production.

In the years of prosperity from 1843 to 1845 the principal targets for speculation were railways, where it was based on a real need; corn, following the price rises of 1845 and the potato blight; cotton, after the bad harvest of 1846; and trade with East India and China, where it followed hard upon the opening up of the Chinese market by Great Britain.

The expansion of the British railway system had already begun in 1844 but did not develop fully until 1845. In that year alone the number of registered bills[b] for the setting up of railway companies amounted to 1,035. In February 1846, after a vast number of these registered projects had already been abandoned, the moneys which were required to be deposited with the government for the remaining projects still totalled the enormous sum of £14,000,000 and even in 1847 the sum total of moneys called for exceeded £42,000,000, of which over 36 million were for railways in Britain and later[c] $5^1/_2$ million for those abroad. This speculation had its heyday in the summer and autumn of 1845. Share prices rose continuously, and the speculators' profits soon drew every class of society into the whirlpool. Dukes and earls vied with merchants and manufacturers for the lucrative honour of sitting on the boards of the various lines; the members of the Lower House, the Bar and the Church were represented in strength on these bodies. Anybody who had a penny in savings, or who had the merest glimmer of credit to dispose of, speculated in railway shares. The number of railway newspapers rose from 3 to more than 20. Some large daily newspapers would often earn £14,000 in a week from railway advertisements and prospectuses. Engineers were simply not to be had in sufficient numbers and received enormous salaries. Printers, lithographers, bookbinders, stationers, etc., etc., who were set to preparing prospectuses, plans, maps, etc., etc., and furniture manufacturers who furnished the spate of offices of the countless new boards of management, provisional committees and the like, were paid munificently. Based on the real expansion of the British and continental railway systems and the speculation which was bound up with it, there gradually arose during this period a superstructure of fraud reminiscent of the time of Law and of the

[a] In a copy of the "Review" containing Engels' corrections the word "crisis" is replaced by the word "period".—*Ed.*

[b] The authors use the English word.—*Ed.*

[c] In a copy of the "Review" containing Engels' corrections the word *später* (later) is replaced by *über* (over).—*Ed.*

South Sea Company.[349] There were projects for hundreds of lines which had not the slightest chance of success, which their very authors never had any intention of really carrying out, and whose sole purpose indeed was to enable the directors to squander the deposits, and to make fraudulent profits from the sale of the shares.

In October 1845 the reaction set in and grew in intensity until it soon became complete panic. Even before February 1846, when the deposits had to be paid to the government, the least viable projects had gone bankrupt. In April 1846 the repercussion had already reached the continental share markets. In Paris, Hamburg, Frankfurt and Amsterdam there was forced selling at very reduced prices, which brought bankruptcies of bankers and brokers in its train. The railway crisis dragged on into the autumn of 1848, prolonged by successive bankruptcies even of less unsound projects, as these were gradually affected by the general pressure and as invested money was called in, and accentuated by the spreading of the crisis to the other areas of speculation, trade and industry, as well, which progressively depressed the price of the older and sounder shares until these reached their lowest level in October 1848.

It was in August 1845 that the public first became aware of the potato blight which was appearing not only in Great Britain and Ireland but on the Continent as well—the first symptom that the roots of existing society were rotten. At the same time reports were coming in which no longer left any room for doubt about the expected grave deficiency in the corn harvest too. The price of corn rose significantly on all European markets as a result of these two circumstances; in Ireland there was universal famine which forced the British Government to make a loan of £8 million to that province—exactly one pound sterling for each Irishman. In France, where the calamity was further aggravated by the floods which caused damage to the value of some £4 million, the harvest failure was unusually severe. No less so in Holland and Belgium. The poor harvest of 1845 was followed by a worse one in 1846, and the potato blight also reappeared, although on a smaller scale. Thus speculation in grain was given an entirely real basis and it developed all the more powerfully since the abundant harvests of 1842-44 had long held it down almost completely. In the years 1845-47 more grain was imported into Britain than ever before. The price of corn rose continuously until the spring of 1847, when varying reports from the different countries about the new harvest and the measures taken by various governments (opening of the ports to the free import of corn, etc., etc.) ushered in a period of fluctuation, and prices finally

reached their peak in May 1847. In that month the average price of a quarter of wheat in Great Britain rose to 102½ shillings and on some days to 115 and 124 shillings. But soon decidedly favourable reports came in about the weather and the ripening harvest; prices fell, and by mid-July the average price stood at only 74 shillings. Less favourable weather in some parts caused prices to rise again somewhat, until it was finally clear towards the middle of August that the 1847 harvest would be above average. The downward trend was now no longer to be contained; supplies to Great Britain increased beyond all expectation, and by September 18 the average price had been reduced to 49½ shillings. Within the space of 16 weeks the average price had thus fluctuated by no less than 53 shillings.

Throughout this period there had not only been a continuation of the railway crisis, but at the very moment when corn prices were at their highest, in April and May 1847, the credit system was also completely dislocated and the money market completely disrupted. The speculators in corn nevertheless withstood the fall in prices until August 2. On that day the Bank raised its lowest rate of discount to 5 per cent and for all bills of exchange at over two months to 6 per cent. There immediately followed a series of the most sensational bankruptcies on the Corn Exchange, headed by that of Mr. Robinson, Governor of the Bank of England. In London alone eight large corn companies failed, their liabilities together amounting to more than £1½ million. The provincial corn markets were completely paralysed; bankruptcies followed hard upon each other here, especially in Liverpool, with equal speed. The corresponding business failures on the Continent in this field occurred with greater or lesser rapidity, depending on the distance from London. By September 18, the date of the lowest corn prices, the corn crisis in England can however be regarded as over.

We now come to the commercial crisis proper, the money crisis. In the first four months of 1847 the general condition of trade and industry still appeared satisfactory, with the exception however of iron production and the cotton industry. Iron production, inflated to an enormous degree by the railway bubble of 1845, naturally suffered in proportion as the outlets diminished for the excess quantity of iron produced. In the cotton industry, the main branch of industry for the East Indian and Chinese markets, there had been over-production for these markets as early as 1845, and a relative recession had occurred very soon. The poor cotton harvest of 1846, the rise in the price both of the raw material and of the finished product, and the reduced consumption this entailed, increased the pressure on this industry. In the early months of 1847 production

was cut back considerably throughout Lancashire, and the cotton workers were already affected by the crisis.

On April 15, 1847, the Bank of England raised its lowest rate of discount on very short bills to 5 per cent; it restricted the total value of the bills to be discounted, and this without regard to the nature of the businesses on which the bills were drawn; finally it abruptly announced to the merchants to whom it had made advances that it would no longer renew these advances when they fell due, as it had usually done before, but [would] demand repayment. Two days later the publication of its weekly balance showed that the reserve fund of the Banking Department[a] had fallen to £2½ million. The Bank had thus taken the above measures to stem the outflow of gold from its vaults and increase its liquidity once more.

Various causes underlay the outflow of gold and silver from the Bank. Firstly, consumption and the significantly higher prices of almost all goods required an increase in circulation, especially of gold and silver, for retail trade. Then the continuing investment in railway construction, which in April alone had totalled £4,314,000, had made necessary the withdrawal of a mass of deposits from the Bank. A portion of the money called in, being destined for railways abroad, flowed directly overseas. The significant excess of imported sugar, coffee and other colonial products, whose consumption and whose prices had been pushed up even more by speculation,[b] of cotton following speculative buying now that a poor harvest had become a certainty, and especially of corn following the repeated crop failures, had to be paid for largely in cash or bullion, which also resulted in a significant outflow of gold and silver overseas. This outflow of precious metals from Great Britain incidentally continued until the end of August despite the above measures taken by the Bank.

The Bank's decisions and the news of the low level of its reserves immediately created pressure on the money market and panic throughout commerce in Great Britain of an intensity only seen in 1845. In the last weeks of April and the first four days of May almost all credit transactions were paralysed. There were, however, no abnormal bankruptcies; businesses survived by enormous interest payments and forced sales of stocks, government securities, etc., at ruinous prices. Even some of the sounder businesses merely prepared the ground for their later collapse by their escape from this first act of the crisis. The overcoming of the first, most menacing

[a] The authors use the English words "Banking Department".—*Ed.*

[b] In Engels' copy: "whose consumption and especially whose prices had been pushed up by speculation".—*Ed.*

danger contributed considerably to an increase of confidence; from May 5 the pressure on the money market slackened visibly, and towards the end of May the alarm was more or less over.

A few months later, however, at the beginning of August, there occurred the above-mentioned bankruptcies in the corn trade, which continued into September, and hardly had they run their course when the crisis broke out with redoubled fury throughout commerce, especially in the East Indian, West Indian and Mauritius trade, and indeed simultaneously in London, Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow. During September twenty businesses failed in London alone, their total liabilities amounting to between £9 and £10 million.

"There were uprootings of commercial dynasties in England not less striking than the fall of those political houses" on the Continent "of which we have lately heard so much," said Disraeli on August 30, 1848, in the Lower House.

The failures in the East Indian business continued without respite until the end of the year and began again in the early months of 1848 when the news came in of the bankruptcy of corresponding companies in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Mauritius.

This series of bankruptcies, unprecedented in the history of commerce, was caused by the general over-speculation and by the excessive importing of colonial products that this involved. The prices of these goods, which had long been kept artificially high, fell in some cases even before the panic of April 1847, but fell generally and significantly only *after* this panic, when the whole credit system collapsed and one business after another was driven to make massive forced sales. This downward trend was so steep, especially from June and July until November, that even the oldest and soundest businesses could not escape being ruined by it.

The bankruptcies in September were still confined exclusively to *actual commercial enterprises*. On October 1 the Bank raised its lowest discount for short bills to 5½ per cent and declared at the same time that henceforth it would make no more advances on any government securities of whatever kind. Now the *joint-stock banks* and *private bankers* could no longer withstand the pressure either. The Royal Bank of Liverpool, the Liverpool Banking Company, the North and South Wales Bank, the Newcastle Union Joint-Stock Bank, etc., etc., succumbed one after the other within a few days. At the same time declarations of insolvency were made by a number of minor private bankers in every corner of Great Britain.

Consequent upon this general closure of the banks which characterised October in particular, there followed in Liverpool, Manchester, Oldham, Halifax, Glasgow, etc., a significant number of

bankruptcies of stock-, bill-, share-, ship-, tea- and cotton-brokers, iron producers and iron-merchants, cotton and wool spinners, calico-printers, etc. According to Mr. Tooke these bankruptcies were unprecedented in the history of British commerce, both in terms of their number and the amount of capital involved, and far exceeded those of the 1825 crisis.[a] The crisis had reached its peak on October 23-25, and all commercial transactions had come to a complete standstill. At this point a deputation from the City obtained a suspension of the Bank Act of 1844, that brainchild of the late Sir Robert Peel.[350] This suspension temporarily put an end to the division of the Bank into two completely independent departments with two separate cash accounts; if the old system had continued for a few days longer, one of these departments, the Banking Department,[b] would inevitably have failed, whilst the Issue Department[b] had gold reserves of six million.

The first repercussions of the crisis appeared on the *Continent* as early as October. Major bankruptcies occurred simultaneously in Brussels, Hamburg, Bremen, Elberfeld, Genoa, Leghorn, Courtrai, St. Petersburg, Lisbon and Venice. As the crisis abated in intensity in Great Britain, so it increased on the Continent and affected places that it had not hitherto reached. In the worst period the exchange rate favoured Great Britain, which consequently attracted a constantly increasing flow of gold and silver from November onwards, not only from Russia and the Continent, but also from America. The immediate result of this was that as the money market eased in Great Britain, it contracted elsewhere in the commercial world and the crisis spread there to an equal extent. The number of bankruptcies outside Great Britain thus rose in November; major insolvencies now also occurred in New York, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Le Havre, Bayonne, Antwerp, Mons, Trieste, Madrid and Stockholm. In December the crisis also broke out in Marseilles and Algiers, and acquired renewed vigour in Germany.

We have now reached the point at which the February Revolution broke out in France. If one looks at the list of bankruptcies which Mr. D. M. Evans gives as an appendix to his *Commercial Crisis 1847-1848* (London, 1848),[c] one finds that in Britain ***not a single business of any note collapsed*** as a result of this revolution. The only insolvencies connected with it occurred on the stock market, as a result of the

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[a] Th. Tooke, *A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation, from 1839 to 1847 inclusive*, London, 1848, p. 316.— *Ed.*

[b] The names of the Bank departments are given in English in the original.— *Ed.*

[c] D. M. Evans, *The Commercial Crisis 1847-1848*, Appendix, pp. LXX-LXXX.— *Ed.*

sudden devaluation of all continental government stock. Similar bankruptcies of stock-brokers in Amsterdam, Hamburg, etc., as well, of course. British consols fell by 6 per cent, whereas they had fallen by 3 per cent after the July Revolution.[a] For stockjobbers therefore the Republic of February was only twice as dangerous as the July monarchy.

The panic which broke out in Paris after February and spread throughout the Continent at the same time as the revolutions, had a great deal of similarity to the London panic of April 1847. Credit suddenly vanished, and business transactions almost all came to a halt; in Paris, Brussels and Amsterdam everybody rushed to the Bank to exchange notes for gold; by and large, however, very few bankruptcies occurred outside the stock market, and even these few cannot easily be shown to be necessary consequences of the February Revolution. The Paris bank closures, which were mostly only of brief duration, were in part connected with the stock market, in part merely precautionary measures and certainly not the result of real insolvency, and finally in part the product of deliberate machinations to harass the Provisional Government and compel it to make concessions. In the case of failures of bankers and traders in other places on the Continent, it is impossible to decide to what extent they arose from the continuation and gradual spread of the commercial crisis, to what extent the conditions of the day were at the same time used by businesses which had long been on the road to ruin in order to effect a judicious exit, or to what extent they were really consequences of losses resulting from the revolution panic. However, this much at least is certain, that the commercial crisis contributed infinitely more to the revolutions of 1848 than the revolution to the commercial crisis. Already between March and May Britain derived direct advantage from the revolution, which brought her large amounts of continental capital. From this moment on the crisis there must be regarded as over; in every branch of business an improvement came about, and the new industrial cycle began with a marked tendency towards prosperity. Just how little the revolution on the Continent hindered this upsurge of industry and trade in Great Britain is demonstrated by the fact that the quantity of cotton manufactured there rose from £475 million (1847) to £713 million (1848).

This renewed prosperity made visible progress in *Great Britain* during the three years 1848, 1849 and 1850. For the eight months from January to August, Great Britain's total exports amounted to

[a] Of 1830.—*Ed.*

£31,633,214 in 1848; to £39,263,322 in 1849; to £43,851,568 in 1850. Besides this significant rise, which was manifest in all branches of business with the exception of iron production, there were also the universally good harvests of these three years. The average price of wheat for 1848-50 fell to 36 shillings per quarter in Great Britain and to 32 shillings in France. What distinguishes this period of prosperity is that three main outlets for speculation were blocked. Railway construction had reverted to the slow development of an ordinary industry; with a series of abundant harvests, grain offered no scope; the revolutions had deprived government stock of its characteristic reliability, which is a prerequisite for the large-scale speculative turnover of stock. In every period of prosperity, capital is increased. On the one hand, increased production creates new capital; on the other hand, existing capital which was lying dormant during the crisis, is brought out of its inactivity and cast on to the market. In the absence of outlets for speculation between 1848 and 1850, this *additional* capital was of necessity injected into industry itself, and thus increased production even more rapidly. How striking this is in Great Britain, although no one can explain it, is demonstrated by the naive observations of *The Economist* on October 19, 1850.

"It is remarked that the present prosperity differs substantially from that of all former periods, in all of which there was some baseless speculation exciting hopes that were destined not to be realised. At one time it was foreign mines, at another more railways than could be conveniently made in half a century. Even when such speculations were well founded, they contemplated a realisation of income, from raising metals or creating new conveniences and markets,[a] at the end of a considerable period, and afforded no immediate reward. But at present our prosperity is founded on the production of things immediately useful, and that go into consumption nearly as fast as they are brought to market, returning to the producers a fair remuneration and stimulating more production."

The most striking demonstration of the great increase in industrial production in 1848 and 1849 is provided by the most important sector of industry, cotton manufacturing. The cotton harvest of 1849 in the United States was more abundant than any previous one. It amounted to 2¾ million bales or approximately 1,200 million pounds. The expansion of the cotton industry kept pace with this increased supply to such an extent that at the end of 1849 stocks were lower than they had been even after years of bad harvest. In 1849 over 775 million pounds of cotton were spun, whereas in 1845,

[a] The words "and markets" were added by the authors.—*Ed.*

the year of the greatest prosperity hitherto, only 721 million had been manufactured. The expansion of the cotton industry is further demonstrated by the great rise in the price of cotton (55 per cent) as a result of a comparatively insignificant decline in the yield in 1850. At least equal progress is manifested in all the other branches, such as spinning and weaving of silk, wool, mixtures and linen. The export of the products of these industries rose so considerably, especially in 1850, that it brought about the great rise in overall exports of that year (12 million compared with 1848, 4 million compared with the first eight months of 1849), although the export of cotton goods decreased noticeably in 1850 as a result of the poor cotton harvest. Despite the significant rise in the price of wool, which speculation appeared to be causing as early as 1849 and which has nevertheless continued until the present, the woollen industry has been continuously expanding and new looms are brought into commission daily. In 1844, the year of the highest linen exports hitherto, exports of linen fabrics totalled 91 million yards, having a value of £2,800,000, and in 1849 they reached the level of 107 million yards, having a value of over £3,000,000.

Another demonstration of the growth of British industry is provided by the constantly increasing consumption of the main colonial products, especially of coffee, sugar and tea, at a time of continuously rising prices, at least of the first two items. This increase in consumption is all the more directly a consequence of the expansion of industry as the exceptional market since 1845, which was produced by the extraordinary investment in railways, has long been reduced to its normal dimensions, and the low corn prices of the last few years have not permitted any increased consumption in agricultural areas.

The great expansion in the cotton industry in 1849 led in the last few months of that year to a renewed attempt to make use of the East Indian and Chinese markets. But the quantity of old stocks that had not yet been disposed of in those areas soon imposed restraints on this attempt once more. At the same time, with the rising consumption of raw materials and colonial products, an attempt was made to speculate also in these articles, but that too was soon terminated by a temporary increase in supplies and by the memory of the still too recent wounds of 1847.

The prosperity of industry will be further increased by the recent opening up of the Dutch colonies, by the imminent establishment of new lines of communication in the Pacific Ocean, of which we shall have more to say, and by the great industrial exhibition of 1851. This exhibition had already been announced by the British bourgeoisie in

1849, with the most astounding sang-froid, when the dreams of the whole Continent were still haunted by revolution. Under its auspices the British bourgeoisie is summoning every one of its vassals from France to China to gather for a great examination at which they will have to show how they have used their time; and even the omnipotent Tsar of Russia[a] cannot but command his subjects to appear in large numbers at this great test. This great world congress of products and producers has an altogether different significance from the absolutist congresses of Bregenz and Warsaw,[351] which are putting our democratic philistines on the Continent into such a sweat, or the European democratic congresses which the various provisional governments *in partibus*[b] are constantly planning anew for the salvation of the world. This exhibition is a striking demonstration of the concentrated power with which modern large-scale industry is breaking down national barriers everywhere and increasingly blurring local peculiarities of production, social relations and the character of each individual nation. By displaying, narrowly confined within a small space, the whole mass of the productive forces of modern industry, precisely at a time when modern bourgeois relations have already been undermined from every side, it is at the same time exposing to view the material which has been produced amidst these conditions of decay and is still being produced each day for the building of a new society. By means of this exhibition the bourgeoisie of the world is erecting in the modern Rome its Pantheon in which to exhibit with proud self-satisfaction the gods it has made to itself. In so doing it is proving in practice that the "impotence and annoyance of the citizen", about which German ideologists have been preaching year in, year out, is only the impotence of these gentlemen themselves to comprehend the modern movement, and their own annoyance at this impotence. The bourgeoisie is celebrating this, its greatest festival, at a moment when the collapse of all its glory is at hand, a collapse which will demonstrate more conclusively than ever to it that the powers it has brought into being have grown beyond its control. At a future exhibition the bourgeois will perhaps no longer figure as owners of these productive forces but only as their ciceroni.

Just as the potato blight in 1845 and 1846, since the beginning of this year the deficiency of the cotton harvest is spreading universal terror amongst the bourgeoisie. This terror has been further

[a] Nicholas I.— *Ed.*

[b] Here governments *in partibus* means governments with nobody to govern, by analogy with Roman Catholic bishops *in partibus infidelium*, i. e. bishops appointed to dioceses in non-Christian countries.— *Ed.*

considerably intensified since it has become clear that the cotton harvest of 1851 will certainly not prove to be much more abundant than that of 1850 either. The deficiency, which would have been insignificant in former times, is of major proportions in view of the present size of the cotton industry and has already had a most restrictive effect on its activity. The bourgeoisie, which had scarcely recovered from the depressing discovery that one of the basic pillars of its whole social order, the potato, was in danger, now sees its second pillar, cotton, threatened as well. If but a single moderately poor cotton harvest and the prospect of a second one could provoke grave alarm amid the jubilation of prosperity, a few years in succession of outright failure in cotton will inevitably hurl the whole of civilised society temporarily back into barbarism. The golden age and the iron age are long past; it remained for the nineteenth century with its intelligence, its world market and its colossal productive forces to create the *cotton age*. The British bourgeoisie at the same time felt more than ever before what an oppressive domination the United States has over them through its as yet unbroken monopoly of cotton production. They at once set about the business of breaking this monopoly. Not only in East India but also in Natal and the northern parts of Australia and indeed in every part of the world where climate and conditions permit the cultivation of cotton, they have decided to promote it by every means. At the same time the British bourgeoisie who sympathise with the Negroes are discovering that "the prosperity of Manchester dependent on the treatment of slaves in Texas, Alabama and Louisiana, is as curious as it is alarming". (*The Economist*, September 21, 1850.[a]) The fact that the crucial sector of British industry is based on the existence of slavery in the southern states of the American Union and that a Negro revolt in those areas can ruin the whole present system of production is of course very depressing for the people who a few years ago spent £20 million on the emancipation of the Negroes in their own colonies.[352] This fact, however, at the same time leads to the only feasible solution to the slave question, which has now once more led to such long and heated debates in the American Congress. American cotton production is based on slavery. As soon as industry has developed to the point when the cotton monopoly of the United States has become intolerable to it, cotton will be successfully produced in vast quantities in other countries, which almost everywhere can now only be done through *free workers*.

[a] "Slavery in the United States. To the Editor of *The Economist*", *The Economist* No. 369, September 21, 1850.— *Ed.*

But as soon as the free labour of other countries provides industry with its cotton supplies in sufficient quantity and more cheaply than the slave labour of the United States, American slavery will have been broken at the same time as the American cotton monopoly, and the slaves will be emancipated because as slaves they will have become unusable. In exactly the same way wage labour will be abolished in Europe as soon as it not only ceases to be a necessary form of production, but has even become a hindrance to it.

If the new cycle of industrial development which began in 1848 follows the same course as that of 1843-47, the crisis would break out in 1852. As a symptom of the fact that the over-speculation which is produced by over-production, and which precedes every crisis, can no longer be far away, we would mention here that for two years the Bank of England's rate of discount has stood no higher than 3 per cent.[a] If however the Bank of England keeps its interest rate low in times of prosperity, the other money merchants must set theirs even lower, just as in times of crisis, when the Bank raises the interest rate significantly, they keep it above that of the Bank. The additional capital which, as we saw above, is regularly cast on to the loan market in times of prosperity, by itself depresses the rate of interest significantly, according to the laws of competition; this rate is however reduced to a much greater degree by the credit, which has been enormously swollen by the general prosperity, as this diminishes the demand for capital. In these periods the government is enabled to bring down the interest rate on its consolidated debts and the landowner to renew his mortgages on more favourable conditions. Thus, at a time when the income of all the other classes is rising, the capitalists of the loan market see their own diminished by a third or more. The longer this state of affairs lasts, the more they are compelled to look around for a more profitable investment for their capital. Over-production gives rise to numerous new projects, and the success of a few of them suffices to propel a whole series of capital investments in the same direction, until the bubble gradually becomes universal. At this moment there are, however, as we have seen, only two possible major outlets for speculation: cotton growing and the new world market links which have been created by the development of California and Australia. One can see that it will have vastly greater scope for its activity this time than it had in any previous period of prosperity.

Let us also take a look at the situation in the agricultural areas of Great Britain. Here the abolition of the duty on corn and the

[a] The text of the "Review" mistakenly has 2 per cent.—*Ed.*

simultaneous abundant harvests have made the general pressure chronic, though to some extent reduced by the significantly increased consumption resulting from prosperity. Furthermore, farm workers at least always find themselves in a relatively improved position when corn prices are low, although this improvement is less marked in Great Britain than in countries where fragmentation of landed property predominates. In these conditions the protectionists continue to agitate in the farming districts for restoration of the duty on corn, although less explicitly, more covertly than before. It is obvious that their agitation will have no significance at all as long as industrial prosperity and the relatively more tolerable situation of the farm workers last. However as soon as the crisis breaks out and has repercussions on the farming districts, the depression in agriculture will rouse feelings in the countryside to an unusually high degree. On this occasion for the first time the industrial and commercial crisis will coincide with a crisis in agriculture, and in all questions in which town and country, manufacturers and landowners are opposed to one another, both parties will be supported by two great armies; the manufacturers by the mass of industrial workers, the landowners by the mass of agricultural workers.

We now come to the *United States of North America.* The crisis of 1836, which had its first and most violent manifestations there, lasted almost without interruption until 1842 and resulted in a complete revolution in the American credit system. On this sounder basis, trade in the United States recovered, admittedly very slowly at first, until from 1844 and 1845 onwards prosperity grew there significantly too. Both the rise in prices and the revolutions in Europe were for America simply sources of profit. From 1845 to 1847 it profited from the enormous export of corn and from the increased price of cotton after 1846. It was only little affected by the crisis of 1847. The 1849 cotton harvest was its largest yet, and in 1850 it profited by about $20 million from the poor cotton harvest, which coincided with the new upsurge in the European cotton industry. The revolutions of 1848 resulted in a great outflow of European capital to the United States, which in part arrived with the immigrants themselves and in part was invested from Europe in American government stock. This increased demand for American consolidated stocks raised the price of the latter to such an extent that speculators in New York have recently been falling over themselves in pursuit of them. Despite all assurances to the contrary from the reactionary bourgeois press, we therefore persist in our opinion that the only form of state in which our European capitalists have confidence is the *bourgeois republic.* Indeed, bourgeois confidence in any form of state only

expresses itself in one way: by *its quotation on the Stock Exchange.*

The prosperity of the United States was increased even more however by other factors. The inhabited area, the *market* of the North American Union, was expanding in two directions with surprising rapidity. The growth of the population, both by natural increase and by the constant rise in immigration, led to the effective control[a] of whole states and territories. Wisconsin and Iowa became comparatively densely populated within a few years, and all the upper Mississippi states received immigrants in significantly larger numbers. The working of the mines on Lake Superior and the rising corn production in the whole area of the Lakes gave trade and shipping on this major inland waterway system a new impulse which will be further increased as a result of an act passed by the last session of Congress greatly facilitating trade with Canada and Nova Scotia. Whilst the north-western states have thus acquired importance of a quite new order, Oregon has been colonised within a few years, Texas and New Mexico annexed and California conquered. The discovery of the Californian gold-mines set the seal on the prosperity of America. In the second issue of this *Revue*[b] we have already pointed out, before any other European periodical, the importance of the discovery and the consequences it is bound to have for the whole of world trade. This importance lies not in the increase in the amount of gold through the discovery of new mines, although this increase in the means of exchange could certainly not fail to have a positive effect on trade in general either. It lies in the incentive which the mineral wealth of California gave to capital on the world market, in the activity which was generated throughout the west coast of America and the east coast of Asia, in the new market for goods which was created in California and in all the countries within California's influence. The Californian market is considerable enough by itself; a year ago there were 100,000 and now at least 300,000 people there producing scarcely anything but gold, and exchanging this gold for all their requirements from markets else where. But the Californian market is insignificant compared with the continuing expansion of all the markets of the Pacific Ocean, compared with the striking growth in trade in Chile and Peru, in Western Mexico and on the Sandwich Islands,[c] and compared with the sudden development of Asian and Australian traffic with

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[a] In Engels' copy of the "Review" the word *Überwachung* (control) is replaced by *Urbarmachung* (reclamation).— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 265-66.— *Ed.*

[c] Now the Hawaiian Islands.— *Ed.*

California. California has created a need for totally new lines of world communication, lines which are bound shortly to exceed all others in importance. The main trade route to the Pacific Ocean, which has only now really been opened up and which is becoming the most important ocean in the world, will henceforth cross the Isthmus of Panama. The establishment of communications on this isthmus by means of roads, railways and canals has now become the most urgent requirement of world trade and is already being tackled in some places. The railway from Chagres to Panama is already being built. An American company is having the area of the San Juan de Nicaragua River surveyed in order to connect the two oceans initially by an overland route and subsequently by a canal at this point. Other routes, such as that across the Isthmus of Darien, the Atrato route in New Granada[a] and that across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, are being discussed in British and American papers. In view of the whole civilised world's newly and suddenly revealed ignorance of the nature of the terrain in Central America, it is impossible to decide which route is the most advantageous for a large canal; to judge by the few facts that are known, the Atrato route and the route across Panama are the most promising. In connection with the communications across the isthmus, the rapid expansion of ocean steam navigation has become equally pressing. Steamships already ply between Southampton and Chagres, New York and Chagres, Valparaiso, Lima, Panama, Acapulco and San Francisco; but these few lines with their small number of steamers are far from adequate. It is becoming daily more necessary to supplement the steamship services between Europe and Chagres, and the growing traffic between Asia, Australia and America is demanding new, large-scale steamship services from Panama and San Francisco to Canton, Singapore, Sydney, New Zealand and the most important port-of-call in the Pacific Ocean, the Sandwich Islands. Of all areas of the Pacific Ocean, Australia and New Zealand in particular have made the greatest advance, both on account of the rapid progress of colonisation and on account of the influence of California, and will not stand a moment longer being isolated from the civilised world by a four- to six-month voyage by sail. The total population of the Australian colonies (not including New Zealand) rose from 170,676 (1839) to 333,764 in 1848, thus increasing by 95½ per cent in 9 years. Great Britain herself cannot leave these colonies without a steamer connection; the government is negotiating at this moment for a line to join up with the East Indian overland post, and whether

[a] Name changed to Colombia in 1863.—*Ed.*

this comes about or not, the need for a steamer connection with America and especially California, which was the destination of 3,500 emigrants from Australia last year, will soon take care of itself. One can really say that the earth has only begun to become round since this world-wide ocean steam navigation has become necessary.

This imminent expansion of steamship services will be further intensified by the above-mentioned opening up of the Dutch colonies and by the increased number of propeller-driven steamships which, it is becoming more and more evident, can transport emigrants faster, relatively more cheaply and more conveniently than sailing ships. In addition to the propeller-driven steamers which already go from Glasgow and Liverpool to New York, new ones are to be brought into service on this line, and a line is to be established between Rotterdam and New York. The extent indeed to which ocean steam navigation at present tends to be a target for capital is demonstrated by the continuing increase in the number of steamers competing on the run between Liverpool and New York, the establishment of quite new lines from Great Britain to the Cape and from New York to Le Havre, and a whole series of similar projects which are now being peddled about in New York.

With this flow of capital into overseas steamship services and the canalisation of the American isthmus, the foundation has already been laid for over-speculation in this field. The centre for this speculation is inevitably New York, which receives the bulk of the gold from California and which has already attracted most of the trade with California to itself and indeed plays the same role relative to the whole of America as London does relative to Europe. New York is already the centre for all the transatlantic steamship services; all the steamships in the Pacific Ocean belong to New York companies, and almost all new projects in this field emanate from New York. Speculation in overseas steamer services has already begun in New York. The Nicaragua Company, which originated in New York, likewise represents the beginning of speculation in the isthmus canals. Over-speculation will develop very soon, and even if British capital becomes involved on a large scale in all such undertakings, even if the London Stock Exchange is overwhelmed with similar projects of every kind, nevertheless this time New York will remain the centre of the whole swindle[a] and, as in 1836, will be the first to suffer when it collapses. Countless projects will be ruined, but like the British railway system in 1845, this time the *outline* at least of world-wide steam navigation will emerge from this

[a] Here Engels' copy has "1857" in the margin.—*Ed.*

over-speculation. However many companies go bankrupt, the steamships which are doubling traffic across the Atlantic, which are opening up the Pacific Ocean and are linking Australia, New Zealand, Singapore and China with America and reducing the length of a voyage round the world to four months—these will remain.

The prosperity of Great Britain and America soon had repercussions on the European continent. As early as the summer of 1849 factories in *Germany*, especially in the Rhine Province, were once more fairly busy, and from the end of 1849 the revival of business was general. This renewed prosperity, which our German burghers naively attribute to the establishment of peace and order, is in reality based solely on the renewed prosperity of Great Britain and the increased demand for industrial goods on the American and tropical markets. In 1850 industry and trade made yet further advances; exactly as in Great Britain there occurred a momentary surplus of capital and an extraordinary easing of the money market, and reports on the autumn fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig sound extremely satisfactory to those members of the bourgeoisie who have a stake in them. Not for an instant were the disturbances in Schleswig-Holstein and Hesse-Cassel, the disputes concerning the union and the threatening notes sent by Austria and Prussia[353] able to hold up the development of all these symptoms of prosperity, as *The Economist* indeed observed[a] in its supercilious cockney[b] way.

The same symptoms have shown themselves in *France* since 1849, and particularly since the beginning of 1850.[c] The Parisian industries are abundantly employed and the cotton factories of Rouen and Mulhouse are also doing pretty well, although here, as in England, the high prices of the raw material have exercised a retarding influence. The development of prosperity in France was, in addition, especially promoted by the comprehensive tariff reform in Spain and by the reduction of the duties on various luxury articles in Mexico; the export of French commodities to both markets has considerably increased. The growth of capital in France led to a series of speculations, for which the large-scale exploitation of the Californian gold-mines served as a pretext. A swarm of companies has sprung up, the low denomination of whose shares

[a] "Spirit of the Trade Circulars", *The Economist* No. 366, August 31, 1850.

[b] The authors use the English word.—*Ed.*

[c] In 1895 Engels included the section on the economic position of France up to the words "We now come to the political events..." in Chapter IV of Marx's *The Class Struggles in France* (see this volume, pp. 132-35).—*Ed.*

and whose socialist-coloured prospectuses appeal directly to the purses of the petty bourgeois and the workers, but which one and all result in that sheer swindling which is characteristic of the French and Chinese alone. One of these companies is even patronised directly by the government. The import duties in France during the first nine months of 1848 amounted to 63,000,000 francs, of 1849 to 95,000,000 francs and of 1850 to 93,000,000 francs. Moreover, in the month of September 1850, they again rose by more than a million compared with the same month of 1849. Exports also rose in 1849, and still more in 1850.

The most striking proof of restored prosperity is the bank's reintroduction of specie payment by the law of August 6, 1850. On March 15, 1848, the bank had been authorised to suspend specie payment. Its note circulation, including the provincial banks, amounted at that time to 373,000,000 francs (£14,920,000). On November 2, 1849, this circulation amounted to 482,000,000 francs, or £19,280,000, an increase of £4,360,000, and on September 2, 1850, to 496,000,000 francs, or £19,840,000, an increase of about £5,000,000. This was not accompanied by any devaluation of the notes; on the contrary, the increased circulation of the notes was accompanied by the steadily increasing accumulation of gold and silver in the vaults of the bank, so that in the summer of 1850 its metallic reserve amounted to about £14,000,000, an unprecedented sum in France. That the bank was thus placed in a position to increase its circulation and therewith its active capital by 123,000,000 francs, or £5,000,000, is striking proof of the correctness of our assertion in an earlier issue[a] that the finance aristocracy has not only not been overthrown by the revolution, but has even been strengthened. This result becomes still more evident from the following survey of French bank legislation during the last few years. On June 10, 1847, the bank was authorised to issue notes of 200 francs; hitherto the smallest denomination had been 500 francs. A decree of March 15, 1848, declared the notes of the Bank of France legal tender and relieved the bank of the obligation of redeeming them in specie. Its note issue was limited to 350,000,000 francs. It was simultaneously authorised to issue notes of 100 francs. A decree of April 27 prescribed the merging of the departmental banks in the Bank of France; another decree, of May 2, 1848, increased the latter's note issue to 452,000,000 francs. A decree of December 22, 1849, raised the maximum of the note issue to 525,000,000 francs.

[a] See pp. 114-18 (the reference is to the third issue of the *Revue*).—*Ed.*

Finally, the law of August 6, 1850, re-established the exchangeability of notes for specie. These facts, the continual increase in the circulation, the concentration of the whole of French credit in the hands of the bank and the accumulation of all French gold and silver in the bank's vaults, led M. Proudhon to the conclusion that the bank must now shed its old snakeskin and metamorphose itself into a Proudhonist people's bank.[354] He did not even need to know the history of the restriction on the English bank from 1797-1819[355]; he only needed to direct his glance across the Channel to see that this fact, for him unprecedented in the history of bourgeois society, was nothing more than a very normal bourgeois event, which now only occurred in France for the first time. One sees that the allegedly revolutionary theoreticians who, after the Provisional Government, talked big in Paris, were just as ignorant of the nature and the results of the measures taken as the gentlemen of the Provisional Government themselves.

In spite of the industrial and commercial prosperity that France momentarily enjoys, the mass of the people, the twenty-five million peasants, suffer from a great depression. The good harvests of the last few years have forced the prices of corn in France much lower even than in England, and the position of the peasants under such circumstances, in debt, sucked dry by usury and crushed by taxes, must be anything but splendid. The history of the last three years has, however, provided sufficient proof that this class of the population is absolutely incapable of any revolutionary initiative.

Just as the period of crisis occurs later on the Continent than in England, so does that of prosperity. The original process always takes place in England; it is the demiurge of the bourgeois cosmos. On the Continent, the different phases of the cycle through which bourgeois society is ever speeding anew occur in secondary and tertiary form. First, the Continent exported incomparably more to England than to any other country. This export to England, however, in turn depends on the position of England, particularly with regard to the overseas market. Then England exports to the overseas lands incomparably more than the entire Continent, so that the quantity of Continental exports to these lands is always dependent on England's overseas exports at the time. While, therefore, the crises first produce revolutions on the Continent, the foundation for these is, nevertheless, always laid in England. Violent outbreaks must naturally occur rather in the extremities of the bourgeois body than in its heart, since the possibility of adjustment is greater here than there. On the other hand, the degree to which Continental revolutions react on England is at the same time the

barometer which indicates how far these revolutions really call in question the bourgeois conditions of life, or how far they only hit their political formations.

With this general prosperity, in which the productive forces of bourgeois society develop as luxuriantly as is at all possible within bourgeois relationships, there can be no talk of a real revolution. Such a revolution is only possible in the periods when *both these factors,* the *modern* productive *forces* and the *bourgeois forms of production,* come *in collision* with each other. The various quarrels in which the representatives of the individual factions of the Continental party of Order now indulge and mutually compromise themselves, far from providing the occasion for new revolutions are, on the contrary, possible only because the basis of the relationships is momentarily so secure and, what the reaction does not know, so *bourgeois.* All reactionary attempts to hold up bourgeois development will rebound off it just as certainly as all moral indignation and all enthusiastic proclamations of the democrats. *A new revolution is possible only in consequence of a new crisis. It is, however, just as certain as this crisis.*

We now come to the political events of the last six months.

As far as Great Britain is concerned, each spell of prosperity is a time when Whiggery comes into its own, having its proper incarnation in Lord John Russell, the smallest man in the kingdom. The ministry brings before Parliament little hole-and-corner reform bills which it knows will be rejected by the Upper House or which it withdraws itself at the end of the session on the pretext of insufficient time. The lack of time however always arises because of the preceding superabundance of tedium and empty talk, which the Speaker terminates as late as possible with the observation that that is not the matter before the House. The struggle between Free-traders and Protectionists degenerates into pure humbug at such times. The majority of Free-traders are too busy with the material exploitation of free trade to have the time or inclination to fight more astutely[a] for its political implications; the Protectionists, faced with the upsurge of urban industry, are reduced to the most absurd cries of woe and threats. The parties continue their war simply for the sake of appearances, so that neither side shall ever forget the existence of the other. Before the last session the industrial bourgeoisie made a great noise in favour of financial reform; in Parliament itself they confined themselves to theoretical expostulations. Before the session Mr. Cobden repeated his declaration of war on the Tsar apropos of

[a] Engels in his copy replaced the word *weiser* (more astutely) by *weiter* (further).—*Ed.*

the Russian loan and could not find sarcasms enough to heap on the great pauper[a] of Petersburg; six months later he descended to the scandalous farce of the Peace Congress,[356] whose only outcome was that an Ojibway Indian[b] handed a pipe of peace to Mr. Jaup, to the great horror of Herr Haynau, who was present on the platform, and that the Yankee moderation-monger Elihu Burritt went to Schleswig-Holstein and Copenhagen to assure the governments concerned of his good intentions. As though the whole Schleswig-Holstein war could ever take a serious turn as long as Herr von Gagern is involved in it and Venedey is not!

In fact the great political issue of the past session was the *Greek debate.*[357] All the absolutist reactionaries on the Continent had formed a coalition with the British Tories to overthrow Palmerston. Louis Napoleon had even recalled the French Ambassador[c] from London, as much to flatter Tsar Nicholas as French national vanity. The whole National Assembly fanatically applauded this bold break with the traditional British alliance. The affair gave Mr. Palmerston the opportunity to present himself in the Lower House as the champion of civil liberty throughout Europe; he obtained a majority of 46 votes, and the result of the coalition, which was as powerless as it was silly, was the non-renewal of the Alien Bill.[358]

If in his display against Greece and in his speech in Parliament Palmerston adopted a bourgeois-liberal stand vis-à-vis the reactionaries of Europe, the British people used the presence of Herr *Haynau* in London for a striking display of *their* foreign policy.[359]

If the people harried Austria's military representative through the streets of London, Prussia experienced in the person of its diplomatic representative a misfortune equally appropriate to its position. One remembers how Britain's most comic figure, the loquacious littérateur Brougham, drove the littérateur *Bunsen* from the galleries of the Upper House for his tactlessly importunate behaviour, amid general laughter from all the ladies. Herr Bunsen, very much in the spirit of the Great Power he was representing, took this humiliation calmly. He refuses to leave Britain, come what may. All his private interests bind him to Great Britain; he will continue to exploit his diplomatic post for the purpose of speculation in English religion and to find a niche for his sons in the English Church and for his daughters in one of the echelons of the English gentry.

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[a] "Mr. Cobden and the Russian Loan", *The Times* No. 20390, January 19, 1850.— *Ed.*

[b] Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh.— *Ed.*

[c] Drouyn de Lhuys.— *Ed.*

The death of Sir Robert *Peel* significantly helped to hasten the dissolution of the old parties. The party which formed his main support since 1845, the so-called Peelites, has subsequently fallen apart completely. Since his death Peel himself has been most fulsomely apotheosised by almost all the parties as Britain's greatest statesman. It is true he has the advantage over the "statesmen" of the Continent of not being merely a job-hunter. Apart from that, the statesmanship of this son of the bourgeoisie who rose to be leader of the landed aristocracy consisted in the realisation that nowadays there remains only one real aristocracy, and that is the bourgeoisie. Having this in mind, he continually used his leadership of the landed aristocracy to force it to make concessions to the bourgeoisie. Thus it was with the Catholic emancipation and the police reform, by which he increased the political power of the bourgeoisie; with the bank laws of 1818 and 1844, which strengthened the finance aristocracy; with the tariff reform of 1842 and the free-trade laws of 1846, by which the landed aristocracy was positively sacrificed to the industrial bourgeoisie.[360] The second main pillar of the aristocracy, the "Iron Duke", the hero of Waterloo, stood like a disappointed Don Quixote loyally by the side of the cotton-knight Peel. From 1845 Peel was treated as a traitor by the Tory party. Peel's power over the Lower House was based on the unusual ***plausibility of his eloquence.*** If one reads his most famous speeches, one finds that they consist of a massive accumulation of commonplaces, skilfully interspersed with a number of statistical data. There is scarcely a town in England which does not want to set up a monument to the man who abolished customs duty on corn. A Chartist paper, alluding to the police force developed by Peel in 1829, observed: What need have we of all these monuments to Peel? Every policeman in Britain and Ireland is a living monument to him.[a]

The most recent event to have excited public interest in Great Britain is the appointment of Mr. *Wiseman* as *Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster* and the division of Britain into thirteen Catholic bishoprics by the Pope.[b] This act of Christ's vicar on earth, which caused the Church of England great astonishment, is a further demonstration of the illusion to which all the reactionaries on the Continent are prey, as though the victories which they have recently won in the service of the bourgeoisie would automatically entail the establishment of a whole feudal-absolutist social order with all its religious trappings. Catholicism's sole support in Britain is to be

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[a] "The Peel Monument", *The Red Republican* No. 9, August 17, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

found at the two extremes of society, the aristocracy and the lumpenproletariat. The lumpenproletariat, the riff-raff of Irish origin or descended from Irishmen, is Catholic by descent. The aristocracy has for so long, indulged in the fashionable flirtation with Puseyism[361] that ultimately actual conversion to the Catholic Church began to become the fashion. At a time when the struggle against the advancing bourgeoisie was increasingly driving the British aristocracy to display its feudal character, the struggle against the theologians of the bourgeois dissenting religion[362] was of course increasingly forcing the aristocracy's religious ideologists, the orthodox theologians of the High Church, inevitably to acknowledge the implications of their semi-Catholic dogma and rites, and actual conversions of individual reactionary Anglicans to that first Church which alone assures salvation inevitably became more and more common. These insignificant events generated the most sanguine hopes in the minds of Catholic priests in Britain that the whole of Great Britain would soon be converted. The recent Papal Bull[a] which already treats Great Britain once more as a province of Rome and which was intended to lend new impetus to this wave of conversions, is however producing precisely the contrary effect. The Puseyites, suddenly confronted with the grave consequences of their medieval dallyings, are starting back in horror, and the Puseyite bishop of London[b] has at once issued a declaration in which he recants all his errors and declares a war to the death on the papacy.[c]—As far as the bourgeoisie is concerned the whole farce is of interest only insofar as it provides an opportunity for new attacks on the High Church and its universities. The Commission of Enquiry which is to report on the state of the universities will provoke violent debates in the next session. The mass of the people has of course no feelings either for or against Cardinal Wiseman. The newspapers, on the other hand, find the material he is providing for long articles and violent diatribes against Pio Nono[d] most welcome, in view of the present dearth of news. *The Times* even demanded that by way of punishment for his presumption the government should incite an insurrection in the Papal States and let loose Mr. Mazzini and the Italian émigrés on him.[e] *The Globe*, Palmerston's paper, drew an extremely witty parallel between the Papal Bull and Mazzini's latest

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[a] Of September 29, 1850.—*Ed.*
[b] Charles James Blomfield.—*Ed.*
[c] *Reply of the Bishop of London to the Memorial from the Westminster Clergy.*—*Ed.*
[d] Pius IX.—*Ed.*
[e] *The Times* No. 20634, October 31, 1850.—*Ed.*

manifesto.[a] The Pope, it said, lays claim to spiritual supremacy over Great Britain and is appointing bishops *in partibus infidelium.* Here in London there is an Italian Government *in partibus infidelium,* with the Antipope, Mr. Mazzini, at its head. The supremacy which Mr.Mazzini not merely lays claim to but actually exercises in the Papal States, is at present likewise purely spiritual. The Papal Bulls are purely religious in content; Mazzini's manifestos likewise. They preach a religion, they appeal to faith, their motto is: *Dio ed il popolo,* God and the people. We would ask, is there any other difference between the claims of the two parties than this, that Mr. Mazzini at least represents the religion of the majority of the people he is addressing—for there is scarcely any other religion left in Italy now than that of *Dio ed il popolo*—whereas the Pope does not? Mazzini incidentally has used this opportunity to progress a step further. In conjunction with the other members of the Italian National Committee, he has in fact now announced from London the 10 million fr. loan, approved by the Constituent Assembly in Rome,[363] in the form of 100 fr. shares, for the express purpose of obtaining arms and military equipment. It cannot be denied that this loan has a greater chance of success than the Austrian Government's unsuccessful voluntary loan in Lombardy.[364]

A really serious blow which Great Britain has recently dealt Rome and Austria is its trade agreement with Sardinia. This agreement shatters Austria's project for an Italian customs union and ensures an important field of activity for British trade and Britain's bourgeois policies in Upper Italy.

The present organisation of the Chartist Party is similarly in a state of dissolution. The members of the petty bourgeoisie who still adhere to the party, together with the labour aristocracy, form a purely democratic faction whose programme is limited to the People's Charter and a number of other petty-bourgeois reforms. The mass of the workers who live in truly proletarian conditions belong to the revolutionary Chartist faction. The leader of the former faction is Feargus *O'Connor,* and the leaders of the latter are Julian *Harney* and Ernest *Jones.* The elderly O'Connor, an Irish squire and self-styled descendant of the old kings of Munster, is a true representative of Old England, despite his origin and his political tendencies. His whole nature is conservative and he most emphatically hates both industrial progress and revolution. All his ideals are patriarchal and petty-bourgeois to the core. He unites in

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[a] *The Globe and Traveller* No. 15318, October 26, 1850.—*Ed.*

himself countless contradictions which are resolved and harmonised in the form of a certain banal common sense[a] and which enable him year in, year out to write his endless weekly letters in *The Northern Star*, each of which is in open conflict with its predecessor. And that is precisely why O'Connor claims to be the most consistent man in the three kingdoms and to have predicted every event for the past twenty years. His shoulders, his bellowing voice, his enormous skill as a boxer, with which he is reputed to have once held his own against over twenty thousand people at Nottingham market, all make him a typical representative of Old England. It is obvious that a man like O'Connor is bound to be a great obstacle in a revolutionary movement; but such people are useful precisely because with them and against them a number of ingrained prejudices are frittered away, and because the movement, if it eventually prevails against these people, is once and for all rid also of the prejudices they represent. O'Connor's fate is sealed in the movement, but for that reason he will be able to lay claim to the title of a "martyr to the good cause" with as much right as Messrs. Lamartine and Marrast.

The main bone of contention between the two Chartist factions is the land question. O'Connor and his party want to use the Charter to accommodate some of the workers on small plots of land and eventually to parcel out all the land in Great Britain. We know how his attempt to organise this parcelling out on a small scale by means of a joint-stock company failed.[365] That propensity which every bourgeois revolution has to break up large landed estates gave the British workers the impression for a while that this parcelling out was something revolutionary, although its regular corollary is the unfailing tendency of small properties to become concentrated and succumb in the face of large-scale farming. The revolutionary faction of the Chartists opposes this demand for parcelling out with the demand for the confiscation of all landed property, and insists that it should not be distributed but remain national property.

Despite this split and their more extreme demands, the memory of the circumstances in which the abolition of the Corn Laws went through is responsible for the Chartists' persisting notion that in the next crisis they will once again have to ally themselves with the industrial bourgeoisie, the financial reformers, and help them to crush their enemies, in return for which they will have to extract concessions from them for themselves. This will in any case be the Chartists' position in the approaching crisis. The revolutionary movement proper cannot begin in Britain until the Charter has been

[a] The authors give the words "common sense" in English.—*Ed.*

carried through, just as in France the battle of June only became possible when the republic had been won.

Let us now turn to *France.*[a]

The victory that the people, in conjunction with the petty bourgeois, had won in the elections of March 10 was annulled by it itself when it provoked the new election of April 28. Vidal was elected not only in Paris, but also in the Lower Rhine. The Paris Committee, in which the *Montagne* and the petty bourgeoisie were strongly represented, induced him to accept for the Lower Rhine. The victory of March 10 ceased to be a decisive one; the date of the decision was once more postponed; the tension of the people was relaxed; it became accustomed to legal triumphs instead of revolutionary ones. The revolutionary meaning of March 10, the rehabilitation of the June insurrection, was finally completely annihilated by the candidature of Eugène Sue, the sentimental petty-bourgeois social-fantasist, which the proletariat could at best accept as a joke to amuse the grisettes. As against this well-meaning candidature, the party of Order, emboldened by the vacillating policy of its opponents, put up a candidate who was to represent the June *victory.* This comic candidate was the Spartan *pater familias* Leclerc,[366] from whose person, however, the heroic armour was torn piece by piece by the press, and who experienced a crushing defeat in the election. The new election victory on April 28 put the *Montagne* and the petty bourgeoisie in high feather. They already exulted in the thought of being able to arrive at the goal of their wishes in a purely legal way and without again pushing the proletariat into the foreground through a new revolution; they reckoned positively on bringing M. Ledru-Rollin into the presidential chair and a majority of *Montagnards* into the Assembly through universal suffrage in the new elections of 1852. The party of Order, rendered perfectly certain, by the prospective elections, by Sue's candidature and by the mood of the *Montagne* and the petty bourgeoisie, that the latter were resolved to remain quiet no matter what happened, answered the two election victories with an *election law* which abolished universal suffrage.

The government took good care not to make this legislative proposal on its own responsibility. It made an apparent concession to the majority by entrusting the drafting of the bill to the high dignitaries of this majority, to the seventeen burgraves.[367] Thus, it was not the government that proposed the repeal of universal suffrage to the Assembly; the majority of the Assembly proposed it to itself.

[a] In 1895 Engels included the passage relating to the events in France in Chapter IV of Marx's *The Class Struggles in France* (see pp. 135-45 of this volume).— *Ed.*

On May 8, the project was brought into the Chamber. The entire social-democratic press rose as one man in order to preach to the people dignified composure, *calme majestueux*,[a] passivity and trust in its representatives. Every article of these journals was a confession that a revolution would, above all, annihilate the so-called revolutionary press and that, therefore, it was now a question of its self-preservation. The allegedly revolutionary press betrayed its whole secret. It signed its own death warrant.

On May 21, the *Montagne* put the preliminary question to debate and moved the rejection of the whole project on the ground that it violated the constitution. The party of Order answered that the constitution would be violated if it were necessary; there was, however, no need for this at present, because the constitution was capable of every interpretation, and because the majority alone was competent to decide on the correct interpretation. To the unbridled, savage attacks of Thiers and Montalembert the *Montagne* opposed a decorous and refined humanism. It took its stand on the ground of law; the party of Order referred it to the ground on which the law grows, to bourgeois property. The *Montagne* whimpered: Did they really want, then, to conjure up revolutions by main force? The party of Order replied: One should await them.

On May 22, the preliminary question was settled by 462 votes to 227. The same men who had proved with such solemn profundity that the National Assembly and every individual deputy would be renouncing his mandate if he renounced the people, his mandator, stuck to their seats and now suddenly sought to let the country act, through petitions at that, instead of acting themselves; and still sat there unmoved when, on May 31, the law went through in splendid fashion.[368] They sought to revenge themselves by a protest in which they recorded their innocence of the rape of the constitution, a protest which they did not even submit openly, but smuggled into the President's[b] pocket behind his back.

An army of 150,000 men in Paris, the long deferment of the decision, the appeasing attitude of the press, the pusillanimity of the *Montagne* and of the newly elected representatives, the majestic calm of the petty bourgeois, but, above all, the commercial and industrial prosperity, prevented any attempt at revolution on the part of the proletariat.

Universal suffrage had fulfilled its mission. The majority of the people had passed through the school of development, which is all

[a] An allusion to Victor Hugo's appeal to keep "majestic calm", made in his speech in the Legislative Assembly on May 21, 1850.—*Ed.*

[b] The President of the Assembly.—*Ed.*

that universal suffrage can serve for in a revolutionary period. It had to be set aside by a revolution or by the reaction.

The *Montagne* developed a still greater display of energy on an occasion that arose soon afterwards. From the tribune War Minister d'Hautpoul had termed the February Revolution a baneful catastrophe.[a] The orators of the *Montagne,* who, as always, distinguished themselves by their morally indignant bluster, were not allowed by the President, Dupin, to speak. Girardin proposed to the *Montagne* that it should walk out at once *en masse.* Result: the *Montagne* remained seated, but Girardin was cast out from its midst as unworthy.

The election law still needed one thing to complete it, a new *press law.* This was not long in coming. A proposal of the government, made many times more drastic by amendments of the party of Order, increased the caution money, put an extra stamp on feuilleton novels (answer to the election of Eugène Sue), taxed all publications appearing weekly or monthly up to a certain number of sheets and finally provided that every article of a journal must bear the signature of the author. The provisions concerning the caution money killed the so-called revolutionary press; the people regarded its extinction as satisfaction for the abolition of universal suffrage. However, neither the tendency nor the effect of the new law extended only to this section of the press. As long as the newspaper press was anonymous, it appeared as the organ of a numberless and nameless public opinion; it was the third power in the state. Through the signature of every article, a newspaper became a mere collection of literary contributions from more or less known individuals. Every article sank to the level of an advertisement. Hitherto the newspapers had circulated as the paper money of public opinion; now they were resolved into more or less bad *solo* bills, whose worth and circulation depended on the credit not only of the drawer but also of the endorser. The press of the party of Order had agitated not only for the repeal of universal suffrage but also for the most extreme measures against the bad press. However, in its sinister anonymity even the good press was irksome to the party of Order and still more to its individual provincial representatives. As for itself, it demanded only the paid writer, with name, address and description. In vain the good press bemoaned the ingratitude with which its services were rewarded. The law went through; the specification of the names of authors hit it hardest of all. The names of republican journalists were pretty well known; but the

[a] This statement was made by the Minister of Justice Eugène Rouher.—*Ed.*

respectable firms of the *Journal des Débats*, the *Assemblée nationale*, the *Constitutionnel*, etc., etc., cut a sorry figure in their high protestations of state wisdom, when the mysterious company all at once disintegrated into purchasable penny-a-liners[a] of long practice, who had defended all possible causes for cash, like Granier de Cassagnac, or into old milksops who called themselves statesmen, like Capefigue, or into coquettish fops, like M. Lemoinne of the *Débats*.

In the debate on the press law the *Montagne* had already sunk to such a level of moral degeneracy that it had to confine itself to applauding the brilliant tirades of an old notability of Louis Philippe's time, M. Victor Hugo.

With the election law and the press law the revolutionary and democratic party exits from the official stage. Before their departure home, shortly after the end of the session, the two factions of the *Montagne*, the socialist democrats and the democratic Socialists, issued two manifestos, two *testimonia paupertatis*, in which they proved that while power and success were never on their side, they nonetheless had ever been on the side of eternal justice and all the other eternal truths.[b]

Let us now consider the party of Order. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had said (Heft 3, p. 16): "As against the hankering for restoration on the part of the united Orleanists and Legitimists, Bonaparte defends his title to his actual power, the republic; as against the hankering for restoration on the part of Bonaparte, the party of Order defends its title to its common rule, the republic. As against the Orleanists, the Legitimists, and as against the Legitimists, the Orleanists, defend the *status quo*, the republic. All these factions of the party of Order, each of which has its own king and its own restoration *in petto*, mutually enforce, as against their rivals' hankering for usurpation and revolt, the common rule of the bourgeoisie, the form in which the special claims remain neutralised and reserved—the republic.... And Thiers spoke more truly than he suspected when he said: 'We, the royalists, are the true pillars of the constitutional republic.'"[c]

This comedy of the *républicains malgré eux*,[d] the antipathy to the *status quo* and the constant consolidation of it; the incessant friction

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[a] This expression is given in English in the original.—*Ed.*

[b] "Compte-rendu de la Montagne au Peuple" and "Au Peuple!", published in the newspaper *Le Peuple de 1850* No. 6, August 11, and No. 7, August 14, 1850.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 113-14.—*Ed.*

[d] Republicans in spite of themselves. (Allusion to Molière's comedy *Le Médecin malgré lui.*)—*Ed.*

between Bonaparte and the National Assembly; the ever renewed threat of the party of Order to split into its separate component parts, and the ever repeated conjugation of its factions; the attempt of each faction to transform each victory over the common foe into a defeat for its temporary allies; the mutual petty jealousy, chicanery, harassment, the tireless drawing of swords that ever and again ends with a *baiser-Lamourette*[369]—this whole unedifying comedy of errors never developed more classically than during the last six months.

The party of Order regarded the election law at the same time as a victory over Bonaparte. Had not the government abdicated when it handed over the editing of and responsibility for its own proposal to the Commission of Seventeen? And did not the chief strength of Bonaparte as against the Assembly lie in the fact that he was the chosen of six millions?—Bonaparte, on his part, treated the election law as a concession to the Assembly, with which he claimed to have purchased harmony between the legislative and executive powers. As reward, the vulgar adventurer demanded an increase of three millions in his civil list. Dared the National Assembly enter into a conflict with the executive at a moment when it had excommunicated the great majority of Frenchmen? It was roused to anger: it appeared to want to go to extremes; its Commission rejected the motion; the Bonapartist press threatened, and referred to the disinherited people, deprived of its franchise; numerous noisy attempts at an arrangement took place, and the Assembly finally gave way in fact, but at the same time revenged itself in principle. Instead of increasing the civil list in principle by three millions per annum, it granted him an accommodation of 2,160,000 francs. Not satisfied with this, it made even this concession only after it had been supported by Changarnier, the general of the party of Order and the protector thrust upon Bonaparte. Therefore it really granted the two millions not to Bonaparte, but to Changarnier.

This sop, thrown to him *de mauvaise grâce*,[a] was accepted by Bonaparte quite in the spirit of the donor. The Bonapartist press blustered anew against the National Assembly. When, now in the debate on the press law, the amendment was passed on the signing of names, which, in turn, was directed especially against the less important papers, the representatives of the private interests of Bonaparte, the principal Bonapartist paper, the *Pouvoir*, published an open and vehement attack on the National Assembly. The ministers had to disavow the paper before the Assembly; the managing editor of the *Pouvoir* was summoned before the bar of the

[a] With a bad grace.—*Ed.*

National Assembly and sentenced to pay the highest fine, 5,000 francs.[a] Next day, the *Pouvoir* published a still more insolent article against the Assembly, and, as the government's revenge, the public prosecutor promptly prosecuted a number of Legitimist journals for violating the constitution.

Finally there came the question of proroguing the Chamber. Bonaparte desired this in order to be able to operate unhindered by the Assembly. The party of Order desired it, partly for the purpose of carrying on its factional intrigues, partly for the pursuit of the private interests of the individual deputies. Both needed it in order to consolidate and push further the victories of reaction in the provinces. The Assembly therefore adjourned from August 11 until November 11. Since, however, Bonaparte in no way concealed that his only concern was to get rid of the irksome surveillance of the National Assembly, the Assembly imprinted on the vote of confidence itself the stamp of want of confidence in the President. All Bonapartists were kept off the permanent commission of twenty-eight members, who stayed on during the recess as guardians of the virtue of the republic.[370] In their stead, even some republicans of the *Siècle* and the *National* were elected to it, in order to prove to the President the attachment of the majority to the constitutional republic.

Shortly before and, especially, immediately after the prorogation of the Chamber, the two big factions of the party of Order, the Orleanists and the Legitimists, appeared to want to be reconciled, and this by a fusion of the two royal houses under whose flags they were fighting. The papers were full of reconciliation proposals that were said to have been discussed at the sickbed of Louis Philippe at St. Leonards, when the death of Louis Philippe suddenly simplified the situation. Louis Philippe was the usurper; Henry V, the dispossessed; the Count of Paris,[b] on the other hand, owing to the childlessness of Henry V, his lawful heir to the throne. Every pretext for objecting to a fusion of the two dynastic interests was now removed. But now, precisely, the two factions of the bourgeoisie first discovered that it was not zeal for a definite royal house that divided them, but that it was rather their divided class interests that kept the two dynasties apart. The Legitimists, who had made a pilgrimage to the residence of Henry V at Wiesbaden just as their competitors had to St. Leonards, received there the news of Louis Philippe's death. Forthwith they formed a ministry *in partibus infidelium*, which con-

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[a] See this volume, pp. 39-40 and 140.—*Ed.*
[b] Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans.—*Ed.*

sisted mostly of members of that commission of guardians of the virtue of the republic[371] and which on the occasion of a squabble in the bosom of the party came out with the most outspoken proclamation of right by the grace of God. The Orleanists rejoiced over the compromising scandal that this manifesto[372] called forth in the press, and did not conceal for a moment their open enmity to the Legitimists.

During the adjournment of the National Assembly, the Councils of the Departments met. The majority of them declared for a more or less qualified revision of the constitution, that is, they declared for a not definitely specified monarchist restoration, for a "*solution*", and confessed at the same time that they were too incompetent and too cowardly to find this solution. The Bonapartist faction at once construed this desire for revision in the sense of a prolongation of Bonaparte's presidency.

The constitutional solution, the retirement of Bonaparte in May 1852, the simultaneous election of a new President by all the electors of the country, the revision of the constitution by a Chamber of Revision in the first months of the new presidency, is utterly inadmissible for the ruling class. The day of the new presidential election would be the day of *rendezvous* for all the hostile parties, the Legitimists, the Orleanists, the bourgeois republicans, the revolutionists. It would have to come to a violent decision between the different factions. Even if the party of Order should succeed in uniting round the candidature of a neutral person outside the dynastic families, he would still be opposed by Bonaparte. In its struggle with the people, the party of Order is compelled constantly to increase the power of the executive. Every increase of the executive's power increases the power of its bearer, Bonaparte. In the same measure, therefore, as the party of Order strengthens its joint might, it strengthens the fighting resources of Bonaparte's dynastic pretensions, it strengthens his chance of frustrating a constitutional solution by force on the day of the decision. He will then have, as against the party of Order, no more scruples about the one pillar of the constitution than that party had, as against the people, about the other pillar in the matter of the election law. He would, seemingly even against the Assembly, appeal to universal suffrage. In a word, the constitutional solution questions the entire political *status quo* and behind the jeopardising of the *status quo* the bourgeois sees chaos, anarchy, civil war. He sees his purchases and sales, his promissory notes, his marriages, his agreements, duly acknowledged before a notary, his mortgages, his ground rents, house rents, profits, all his contracts and sources of income called in

question on the first Sunday in May 1852,[373] and he cannot expose himself to this risk. Behind the jeopardising of the political *status quo* lurks the danger of the collapse of the entire bourgeois society. The only possible solution in the sense of the bourgeoisie is the postponement of the solution. It can save the constitutional republic only by a violation of the constitution, by the prolongation of the power of the President. This is also the last word of the press of Order, after the protracted and profound debates on the "solutions" in which it indulged after the session of the general councils. The high and mighty party of Order thus finds itself, to its shame, compelled to take seriously the ridiculous, commonplace and, to it, odious person of the pseudo-Bonaparte.

This dirty figure likewise deceived himself concerning the causes that clothed him more and more with the character of the indispensable man. While his party had sufficient insight to ascribe the growing importance of Bonaparte to circumstances, he believed that he owed it solely to the magic power of his name and his continual caricaturing of Napoleon. He became more enterprising every day. To offset the pilgrimages to St. Leonards and Wiesbaden, he made his round trips through France. The Bonapartists had so little faith in the magic effect of his personality that they sent with him everywhere as *claqueurs* people from the Society of December 10,[374] that organisation of the Paris *lumpenproletariat*, packed *en masse* into railway trains and post-chaises. They put speeches into the mouth of their marionette which, according to the reception in the different towns, proclaimed republican resignation or perennial tenacity as the keynote of the President's policy. In spite of all manoeuvres these journeys were anything but triumphal processions.

When Bonaparte believed he had thus enthused the people, he set out to win the army. He caused great reviews to be held on the plain of Satory, near Versailles, at which he sought to buy the soldiers with garlic sausages, champagne and cigars. Whereas the genuine Napoleon, amid the hardships of his campaigns of conquest, knew how to cheer up his weary soldiers with outbursts of patriarchal familiarity, the pseudo-Napoleon believed it was in gratitude that the troops shouted: *Vive Napoléon, vive le saucisson!* that is, hurrah for the sausage [*Wurst*], hurrah for the buffoon [*Hanswurst*]!

These reviews led to the outbreak of the long suppressed dissension between Bonaparte and his War Minister d'Hautpoul, on the one hand, and Changarnier, on the other. In Changarnier, the party of Order had found its real neutral man, in whose case there could be no question of his own dynastic claims. It had designated

him Bonaparte's successor. In addition, Changarnier had become the great general of the party of Order through his conduct on January 29 and June 13, 1849, the modern Alexander, whose brutal intervention had, in the eyes of the timid bourgeois, cut the Gordian knot of the revolution. At bottom just as ridiculous as Bonaparte, he had thus become a power in the very cheapest manner and was set up by the National Assembly to watch the President. He himself played the coquette, e. g., in the matter of the salary grant, with the protection that he gave Bonaparte, and rose up ever more overpoweringly against him and the ministers. When, on the occasion of the election law, an insurrection was expected, he forbade his officers to take any orders whatever from the War Minister or the President. The press was also instrumental in magnifying the figure of Changarnier. With the complete absence of great personalities, the party of Order naturally found itself compelled to endow a single individual with the strength lacking in its class as a whole and so puff up this individual to a prodigy. Thus arose the myth of Changarnier, the "*bulwark of society*". The arrogant charlatanry, the secretive air of importance with which Changarnier condescended to carry the world on his shoulders, forms the most ridiculous contrast to the events during and after the Satory review, which irrefutably proved that it needed only a stroke of the pen by Bonaparte, the infinitely little, to bring this fantastic offspring of bourgeois fear, the colossus Changarnier, back to the dimensions of mediocrity, and transform him, society's heroic saviour, into a pensioned-off general.

Bonaparte had for some time been revenging himself on Changarnier by provoking the War Minister to disputes in matters of discipline with the irksome protector. The last review of Satory finally brought the old animosity to a climax. The constitutional indignation of Changarnier knew no bounds when he saw the cavalry regiments file past with the unconstitutional cry: ***Vive l'Empereur!*** In order to forestall any unpleasant debate on this cry in the coming session of the Chamber, Bonaparte removed the War Minister d'Hautpoul by appointing him Governor of Algiers. In his place he put a reliable old general of the time of the empire,[a] one who was fully a match for Changarnier in brutality. But so that the dismissal of d'Hautpoul might not appear as a concession to Changarnier, he simultaneously transferred General Neumayer, the right hand of the great saviour of society, from Paris to Nantes. It

[a] J. P. Schramm.— *Ed.*

had been Neumayer who at the last review had induced the whole of the infantry to file past the successor of Napoleon in icy silence. Changarnier, himself hit in the person of Neumayer, protested and threatened. To no purpose. After two days' negotiations, the decree transferring Neumayer appeared in the *Moniteur*,[a] and there was nothing left for the hero of order but to submit to discipline or resign.

Bonaparte's struggle with Changarnier is the continuation of his struggle with the party of Order. The re-opening of the National Assembly on November 11 will, therefore, take place under threatening auspices. It will be a storm in a teacup. In essence the old game must go on. Meanwhile the majority of the party of Order will, despite the clamour of the sticklers for principle of its different factions, be compelled to prolong the power of the President. Similarly, Bonaparte, already humbled by lack of money, will, despite all preliminary protestations, accept this prolongation of power from the hands of the National Assembly as simply delegated to him. Thus the solution is postponed; the *status quo* continued; one faction of the party of Order compromised, weakened, made impossible by the other; the repression of the common enemy, the mass of the nation, extended and exhausted, until the economic relations themselves have again reached the point of development where a new explosion blows into the air all these squabbling parties with their constitutional republic.

For the peace of mind of the bourgeois it must be said, however, that the scandal between Bonaparte and the party of Order has the result of ruining a multitude of small capitalists on the Bourse and putting their assets into the pockets of the big wolves of the Bourse.

In *Germany* the political events of the last six months are epitomised by the spectacle of Prussia duping the liberals and Austria duping Prussia.

In 1849 it appeared to be Prussia's hegemony in Germany that was at issue; in 1850 it was a question of the division of power between Austria and Prussia; in 1851 it will only be a question of the form in which Prussia submits to Austria and returns as a penitent sinner to the fold of the totally restored *Federal Diet*. The Little Germany which the King of Prussia had hoped to negotiate as compensation for his disastrous imperial procession through Berlin on March 21, 1848,[375] has turned into Little Prussia; Prussia has had to take every humiliation meekly and has vanished from the ranks of the Great

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[a] *Le Moniteur universel* No. 303, October 30, 1850.—*Ed.*

Powers. Even the modest dream of the Union has been once more dispelled by the usual perfidious narrow-mindedness of her policies. She falsely claimed a liberal character for the Union and thus duped the wise men of the Gotha party[376] with constitutional phantasmagories that were never seriously meant; and yet she herself had become so bourgeois even by virtue of her whole industrial development, her permanent deficit and her national debt that for all her squirming and struggling her surrender to constitutionalism was becoming increasingly irrevocable. If the wise men of Gotha at length discovered how disgracefully Prussia had trampled on their honour and their ideas, if even men like Gagern and Brüggemann finally turned their backs in noble indignation on a government which played so contemptuously with the unity and freedom of the fatherland, Prussia herself found no greater joy in those little chicks she had gathered beneath her protecting wing, the small princes. The petty princes had only entrusted themselves at a moment of extreme distress and vulnerability to the avidly mediatising[377] talons of the Prussian eagle; Prussian interventions, threats and demonstrations to restore their subjects to their former obedience, had cost them dear in the form of oppressive military agreements, expensive quartering of troops and the prospect of imminent mediatisation by the constitution of the Union. But Prussia herself had taken care that they would once more escape this new danger. Everywhere Prussia had brought the forces of reaction back to power, and the greater the progress of the forces of reaction, the more the petty princes deserted Prussia and threw themselves into the arms of *Austria*. Once they were able to rule again as they had before March, they found absolutist Austria more congenial than a power which was as incapable of being absolutist as it was reluctant to be liberal. Furthermore, Austrian policy did not lead to the mediatisation of the small states but on the contrary to their maintenance as integral parts of a Federal Diet which was to be restored. Prussia thus watched herself being deserted by Saxony, whom Prussian troops had saved not many months before, by Hanover, by Hesse-Cassel, and now Baden too, despite her Prussian garrisons, was following the others. That Prussia's support for the forces of reaction in Hamburg, Mecklenburg, Dessau, etc., etc., was not to her advantage but to Austria's, she can now clearly see from the events in the two Hesses.[378] Thus the German Emperor *manqué* at least learnt that his is an age of disloyalty, and if he now has to tolerate the amputation of "his right arm, the Union", this arm had already been withered for some considerable time. Thus Austria has now already brought the whole of South Germany under her hegemony, and in North

Germany too the most important states are Prussia's opponents.

Austria had now advanced sufficiently to be able with Russia's support to challenge Prussia openly. She did so over two issues: Schleswig-Holstein and Hesse-Cassel.

In *Schleswig-Holstein* the "sword of Germany" had concluded a genuinely Prussian separate peace and delivered its allies into the hands of a more powerful enemy. Great Britain, Russia and France determined to put an end to the independence of the duchies and expressed this intention in a protocol, to which Austria also subscribed.[379] Whilst Austria and the German governments allied to her advocated Federal intervention in Holstein in Denmark's favour at the restored Federal Diet, in accordance with the London protocol,[380] Prussia sought to continue her double-dealing policy and to persuade the parties to submit to a Federal Arbitration Court which was as yet completely non-existent, indefinable and rejected by most of the governments, including the most important, and with all her manoeuvres managed only to incur the suspicion of the Great Powers that she was indulging in revolutionary intrigues and to be sent a series of threatening notes which will soon spoil her taste for an "independent" foreign policy. The people of Schleswig-Holstein will shortly get their lord and master back, and a people that allows itself to be governed by Messrs. Beseler and Reventlow, despite the fact that it has the whole army on its side, shows that it still needs the strictness of Danish tutelage for its education.

The movement in *Hesse-Cassel* provides us with a unique example of what a "rising" in a small German state can achieve. The virtuous burgher opposition to the fraud Hassenpflug had accomplished all that could be expected of such a display: the Chamber was unanimous, the country was unanimous, the civil service and the army were on the side of the citizenry, all recalcitrant elements had been removed, "Out with the Princes" had been realised of its own accord, the fraud Hassenpflug had disappeared with his whole ministry; everything went without a hitch, all the parties kept strictly within the bounds of the law, all excesses were avoided, and without lifting a finger the opposition had carried off the most splendid victory recorded in the annals of constitutional opposition. And now, when the burghers had all power in their hands, when their burghers' committee was encountering not the slightest resistance anywhere, only now were they really needed. Now they saw that instead of the Electoral troops, foreign troops were at the frontier, ready to move in and put an end within twenty-four hours to all this burgher glory. Only now did indecision and humiliation commence;

if they had previously been unable to retreat, now they were unable to advance. The tax refusal in Hesse-Cassel demonstrates more forcibly than any previous event that all conflicts within the small states terminate as pure farce, their only outcome in the end being foreign intervention and the elimination of the conflict by the elimination of both the ruling prince and the constitution. It demonstrates how absurd all those highly important battles are in which the petty bourgeoisie of the small states seek with patriotic loyalty to their ideals to save every little achievement of March from its inevitable ruin.

In Hesse-Cassel, a state which belonged to the Union and which was to be snatched from the Prussian embrace, Austria challenged her rival directly. It was Austria which positively incited the Elector[a] to attack the constitution and then immediately placed him under the protection of her Federal Diet. With the intention of giving this protection greater force, using the Hesse-Cassel affair to break Prussia's opposition to Austrian hegemony and blackmailing Prussia back into the Federal Diet, Austrian and South German troops were now mobilised in Franconia and Bohemia. Prussia is likewise arming. The newspapers are overflowing with reports of marches and countermarches of the army corps. None of this noise will lead to anything, any more than does the bickering of the French party of Order with Bonaparte. Neither the King of Prussia nor the Emperor of Austria is sovereign, but the Russian Tsar[b] alone. At his command rebellious Prussia will eventually submit without a drop of blood being shed and the parties will come together peaceably on the benches of the Federal Diet, without there being the slightest diminution in their petty mutual jealousies, nor in their dissensions with their subjects, nor in their irritation at Russian supremacy.

We now come to the land as such, to the people of Europe, to the *émigré* people. We shall say nothing of the individual groups of émigrés, the German, French, Hungarian, etc.; their *haute politique* amounts to no more than pure *chronique scandaleuse*. But the European people as a whole *in partibus infidelium* have recently acquired a provisional government in the shape of the *European Central Committee*, consisting of Giuseppe *Mazzini*, *Ledru-Rollin*, Albert *Darasz* (a Pole) and—Arnold *Ruge*, who, to justify his existence, modestly puts after his name: Member of the Frankfurt

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[a] Frederick William I.—*Ed.*
[b] Frederick William IV, Francis Joseph I, Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

National Assembly.[381] Though there is no saying what democratic council summoned these four evangelists to their office, it still cannot be denied that their manifesto represents the credo of the great mass of émigrés and provides a fitting summary of the intellectual achievements which this mass owes to the recent revolutions.[a]

The manifesto begins with a resounding enumeration of the strengths of democracy.

"What does democracy lack for victory? ... organisation.... We have sects but no Church, incomplete and contradictory philosophies, but no religion, no collective faith which rallies the faithful beneath a single banner and harmonises their labour.... The day on which we find ourselves all united, marching together beneath the gaze of the best of us ... will be the eve of the struggle. On that day we shall have counted our number, we shall know who we are, we shall have the consciousness of our strength."

Why has the revolution failed so far? Because the organisation of revolutionary power was weaker. That is the first decree of the provisional émigré government.

This deficiency is now to be remedied by the organisation of an army of faith and the foundation of a religion.

"But, for this, two great obstacles must be overcome, two great errors eradicated: exaggeration of the rights of individuality, and petty exclusivity in matters of theory.... We must not say: I; we must learn to say: we; ... Those who, following their individual susceptibilities, refuse the small sacrifice which organisation and discipline require, are denying, on account of the habits of the past, the all-embracing faith they preach... exclusivity in point of theory is the negation of our basic dogma. Whoever says: I have found the political truth, and whoever makes acceptance of his system a condition of acceptance of fraternal association, is denying the people, the only progressive interpreter of the world-law, solely in order to assert his own self. Whoever claims in these days to have discovered by the isolated application of his intellect, however powerful it may be, the ultimate solution to the problems which agitate the masses, is condemning himself to error by incompleteness, because he is leaving untapped one of the eternal springs of truth, the collective intuition of the people immersed in action. The ultimate solution is the secret of victory.... Our systems can for the most part be no more than the dissection of corpses, a discovery of evil, an analysis of death, powerless to apprehend or comprehend life. Life is the people in motion, it is the instinct of the masses, raised to an uncommon power by mutual contact, by the prophetic feeling of great things which are to be accomplished, by involuntary, sudden, electric association in the streets; it is action, exciting to the highest point all capacities for hope, self-sacrifice, love and enthusiasm which are now dormant and which reveal man in the unity of his nature, in the full power of his procreative potential. The hand-clasp of a worker in one of these historic moments which inaugurate an epoch will teach us more about the organisation of the future than could be taught today by the cold and unfeeling travail of the intellect or knowledge of the dead magnificence of the last two millennia—the old society."

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[a] "Aux Peuples! Organisation de la démocratie", July 22, 1850, *Le Proscrit* No. 2, August 6, 1850.—*Ed.*

All this pompous nonsense thus amounts in the end to the most ordinary philistine view that the revolution failed because of the ambition and jealousy of the individual leaders and the mutually hostile views of the various popular educators.

The struggles of the various classes and factions of the classes against each other, whose progress through their individual stages of development actually constitutes the revolution, are in the view of our evangelists only the unfortunate consequences of the existence of divergent systems, whilst in reality the reverse is true, the existence of various systems is the consequence of the existence of the class struggles. This itself shows that the authors of the manifesto deny the existence of the class struggles. Under the pretext of combating dogmatists, they do away with all specific content, every specific party point of view, and forbid the individual classes to formulate their interests and demands vis-à-vis the other classes. They expect them to forget their conflicting interests and to become reconciled under the flag of a vagueness as shallow as it is unblushing which only conceals beneath the apparent reconciliation of all party interests the domination of the interest of one party—the bourgeois party. After the experiences which these gentlemen must have acquired in France, Germany and Italy in the last two years, one cannot even say that the hypocrisy with which the bourgeois interest is here wrapped up in Lamartinesque clichés of fraternity is unconscious. The extent of these gentlemen's acquaintance with the "systems" incidentally emerges even from the fact that they imagine each of these systems is merely a fragment of the wisdom put together in the manifesto and has one-sidedly taken as its basis just a single one of the clichés liberty, equality, etc., which are here collected. Their ideas of social organisations are most strikingly expressed: a mass gathering in the streets, a riot, a hand-clasp, and it's all over. In their view indeed revolution consists merely in the overthrow of the existing government; once this aim has been achieved "*the* victory" has been won. Movement, development and struggle then cease, and under the aegis of the European Central Committee that would then be in control, there begins the golden age of the European republic and somnolence proclaimed for evermore. These gentlemen also abhor thinking, unfeeling thinking, just as they do development and struggle—as though any thinker, Hegel and Ricardo not excepted, had ever attained the degree of unfeelingness with which this sentimental drivel is poured over the heads of the public! The people shall have no thought for the morrow and must strike all ideas from its mind; come the great day of decision, and it will be electrified by mere contact, and the

riddle of the future will be solved by a miracle. This appeal to mindlessness is a direct attempt at duping precisely the most oppressed classes of the people.

"Are we thereby saying" (asks one member of the European Central Committee of another) "that we should march onward without a flag, are we saying that we intend to inscribe a mere negation on our banner? No such suspicion can fall on us. Being men of the people, long involved in its struggles, we have no intention of leading it into *vacancy*."

In order to demonstrate on the contrary their *plenitude*, these gentlemen parade before us a positively Leporellian register of eternal truth and the achievements of the whole of past history as the present common ground of "democracy". This register is summarised in the following edifying paternoster:

"We believe in the progressive development of human ability and powers towards the moral law which has been imposed on us. We believe in association as the only regular means which can attain this end. We believe that the interpretation of the moral law and of the rule of progress can be entrusted neither to a caste nor to an individual, but to the people, enlightened by national education and led by those from its midst whom virtue and genius show to it to be the best. We believe in the sanctity of both individuality and society, which may neither exclude nor conflict with each other, but harmonise for the betterment of all by all. We believe in liberty, without which there can be no human responsibility, in equality, without which liberty is only a sham, in fraternity, without which liberty and equality would be means without an end, in association, without which fraternity would only be an unrealisable programme, in *family, community* and *state* and *fatherland* as being a progression of as many spheres in which man must successively grow up in the recognition and practice of liberty, equality, fraternity and association. We believe in the sanctity of labour, in *property* which arises from it as its mark and fruit, in the duty of society to provide the element of material labour through credit and of intellectual and moral labour through education.... *To sum up, we believe in a social condition which has God and His law as its highest point and the people as its base....*"[a]

Thus: progress—association—moral law—liberty—equality—fraternity—association—family, community, state—sanctity of property—credit—education—God and the people—*Dio e Popolo*. These clichés figure in all the manifestos of the 1848 revolutions, from the French to the Wallachian, and for that very reason they figure here too [as] the common foundations of the *new revolution*. Nor did any of these revolutions dispense with the sanctity of property, which is here sanctified as the result of labour. To just what an extent all bourgeois property is "the fruit and mark of labour" Adam Smith already knew far better than our revolutionary initiators eighty years after him. Concerning the socialist concession

[a] The italics in this excerpt are by the authors of the "Review".—*Ed.*

that society shall through credit provide everyone with the material for his work, every manufacturer is accustomed to giving his worker credit for as much material as he can make up in one week, the credit system is as widespread nowadays as is compatible with the inviolability of property, and finally credit itself is only a form of bourgeois property.

The gist of this gospel is a social condition in which God represents the highest point and the people, or, as it is put later, *humanity*, the base. In other words, they believe in present society, in which as we all know God represents the highest point and the mob the base. If Mazzini's motto, God and the people, *Dio e Popolo*, may have meaning in Italy, where God is set against the Pope and the people against the princes, it is going rather far to present this plagiarism by Johannes Ronge, the shallowest scum of the German so-called enlightenment, as the dictum which is to solve the riddle of the century. Just how easily one becomes accustomed in this school of thinking, incidentally, to the little sacrifices which organisation and discipline require, just how obligingly one gives up petty exclusivity in matters of theory, is demonstrated by our Arnold Winkelried Ruge, who on this occasion, to Leo's great delight, is prepared to pay proper tribute to the distinction between divinity and humanity.[382]

The manifesto ends with the words:

"It is a question of the constitution of European democracy, the establishment of a budget, a treasury of the people. It is a question of the organisation of the army of initiators."

Ruge, setting out to be the first initiator of this people's budget, has turned to "de demokratische Jantjes[a] van Amsterdam" and explained to them their special vocation for paying out money. Holland beware!

London, November 1, 1850

First published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 5-6, 1850

Printed according to the journal

Published in English in full for the first time

[a] Nickname for the Dutch (from: Jan).—*Ed.*

# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## DRAFT STATEMENT BY HEINRICH BAUER AND KARL PFÄNDER ON THE FUNDS OF THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON[383]

1) The Society[a] has been totally changed in character by the emigration, caused by the political situation, of members who were for financial reasons readily accepted by Messrs. Schapper and Willich, and by honorary members accepted with the right to vote, who pay no contributions at all. The payment of moneys to the Society would only lead to their being used for purposes entirely contrary to the original intention.

2) We have taken over the moneys as Trustees of the Society. The position of trustees is laid down in English law. A trustee can use the money at his discretion provided he is able to pay it after the customary notice.

3) Concerning the present use of the moneys, Citizens Schapper and Willich, who now for private considerations insist on the repayment of the moneys, know very well that at all times the Society has been backed, without the prior knowledge of most members, by a secret committee with unlimited powers to dispose of the Society's funds. Herr Schapper knows this the better as he has more than once received money from the Society for personal purposes through the medium of the committee.

4) The money was nevertheless offered to the Society by us and as the Society, after seemingly accepting our proposals, suddenly took us to court—without success—we have deposited the money with a London citizen[b] in whose hands it will remain until the Society offers adequate guarantees for its use in accordance with the original intention.

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[a] The German Workers' Educational Society in London.—*Ed.*

[b] Probably with W. P. Roberts.—*Ed.*

5) Concerning the refusal to put things in writing, such writing would have no validity in law. Even a written declaration would not bind the signatories legally vis-à-vis a moral person. Such a written declaration would have no other purpose than to be put to a use contrary to contract.

The undersigned are workers and not used to live by exploiting the Society, like Herr Schapper, or by using the refugee fund like Herr von Willich.

Written at the end of 1850

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# Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

## STATEMENT[384]

In an article from London dated January 13 the *Bremer Tages-Chronik* of January 17 this year has imported a whole cargo of badly-written stupidities, of fabricated and misunderstood gossip, of clumsy insinuations and moral posturing against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and against the undersigned.

"Prominent and decided men"[a] of the calibre of this London correspondent have from time immemorial responded to superior criticism in the manner of apes. They bombard their enemy with their own excrement. *Chacun selon ses facultés.*[b]

We let this "decided and prominent" man off with his nicely fabricated little stories about the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* In answer to his well-meaning insinuations on our resignation from the Great Windmill Society[c] we declare:

Neither before nor after their resignation from this Society have Engels and Marx ever had the slightest connection with the management of its funds. They took part in the management of the refugee fund, and resigned only after their administration up to that point had been audited and found correct.[d] That the resignation occurred to avoid the payment of a monthly contribution of ninepence—this is the notion of a Reichs-Stüber[e] which has been thrown out of circulation! And for this purpose one of them is said to have moved to Manchester and the other to have wished to travel

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[a] Quoted from Ruge's article.—*Ed.*
[b] Each according to his capabilities.—*Ed.*
[c] German Workers' Educational Society in London.—*Ed.*
[d] See this volume, p. 632.—*Ed.*
[e] Small coin of the Lower Rhine, in circulation until 1824.—*Ed.*

overseas. What pure pearls rest in the depths of morally incensed souls!

The *real motives* for our resignation from the Society and for our parting with its leaders are known to our party comrades in Germany. They are approved and shared by them, they do not concern the general public. Under existing German conditions a more skilful *agent provocateur* would not have given us cause for further explanations, much less the bearishly[a] clumsy one of the *Bremer Tages-Chronik*.

It suffices in conclusion to indicate that the man besmirching the *Bremer Tages-Chronik* from London with his own guano is none other than that Pomeranian thinker to whom the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* has constantly returned with a kind of artistic preference, whom we have characterised elsewhere on the basis of his writings as "the gutter into which all the rhetorical refuse and all the contradictions of German democracy flow together", in a word, that the fellow in Bremen is no less a person than "*Arnold Winkelried Ruge*", the fifth wheel on the carriage of state of European central democracy.[385] Now one can understand the depravity of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

London, January 27, 1851

*Karl Marx, Frederick Engels*

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, first Russ. ed., Vol. VIII, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

[a] Allusion to Arnold Ruge, who was represented as a trained bear in Heinrich Heine's "Atta Troll".—*Ed.*

## Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

# INTRODUCTION TO THE LEAFLET OF L. A. BLANQUI'S TOAST SENT TO THE REFUGEE COMMITTEE[386]

Some wretched deceivers of the people, the so-called Central Committee of European Social-Democrats, in truth a committee of the European central mob, presided over by Messrs. Willich, Schapper, etc., celebrated in London the anniversary of the February Revolution. *Louis Blanc*, representative of sentimental phrase-socialism, joined this clique of second-rate pretenders in an *intrigue* against another traitor to the people, *Ledru-Rollin*. At their banquet they read out various addresses supposedly received by them. All their efforts notwithstanding, they had not succeeded in wheedling a single address from Germany. A propitious sign of the development of the German proletariat!

They wrote also to *Blanqui*, the noble martyr of revolutionary communism, requesting an address. He replied with the following toast:

### WARNING TO THE PEOPLE

What is the pitfall that menaces tomorrow's revolution? The same which caused the downfall of yesterday's, the deplorable popularity of bourgeois disguised as champions of the people.

Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Crémieux, Marie, Lamartine, Garnier-Pagès, Dupont (de l'Eure), Flocon, Albert, Arago, Marrast!

An ominous list! Sinister names written in letters of blood on all the streets of democratic Europe.

The Provisional Government has killed the Revolution! On its head rests the responsibility for all the disasters, for the blood of so many thousands of victims!

Reaction only did its job when it strangled democracy. The crime lies with the traitors whom the trusting people accepted as leaders and who delivered the people up to reaction.

Miserable government! In spite of all the entreaties and cries of anguish it hurls at the peasants the 45-centime tax and drives them to desperation and insurrection.

It kept in being the royalist general staffs, the royalist magistrates, and the royalist law. Treason!

It fell on the workers of Paris on April 16, it imprisoned those of Limoges, fired on those of Rouen on the 27th; it let loose all its hounds, it tracked down all true republicans. Treason! Treason!

It, and it alone, bears the terrible responsibility for all the calamities which have almost annihilated the 1848 Revolution!

Ah, they are very guilty men, but the guiltiest of all are those in whom the people, deceived by their fine phrases, saw its sword and shield; those whom it enthusiastically proclaimed the arbiters of its future.

Woe betide if on the day of the approaching triumph of the people the forgetful indulgence of the masses were to allow to regain power a single one of the men who have forfeited their mandate! That would be the end of the revolution for the second time!

May the workers always keep in mind this list of cursed names, and if a single one, yes, a single one were ever to appear again in a revolutionary government, let them all cry with one voice: Treason!

Speeches, sermons, programmes would again be nothing but lies and deceit; the same conjurers would only come back to produce the same tricks from the same bag; they would form the first link in a new chain of more ferocious reaction. Curse and vengeance upon them, should they ever dare to appear again! Shame and pity on the simple masses who would be caught in their nets again!

But it is not enough that the conjurers of February are for ever banned from the Hôtel de Ville; one must insure against new traitors.

Rulers would be traitors if, raised to power on the workers' shoulders,they did not at once put in practice:

1) the general disarming of the bourgeois guards;

2) the arming and military organisation of all the workers.

No doubt there are many other indispensable measures, but they naturally flow from this first act which is the preliminary guarantee, the sole pledge of security for the people.

Not a single weapon must remain in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Without that there is no salvation!

The various doctrines which today vie for the sympathy of the masses may well one day be able to keep their promises of improvements and well-being, but only on condition that they do not abandon the prize for the shadow.

They would lead to nothing but a miserable miscarriage if the people, exclusively preoccupied with theories, were to neglect the only practical element of security: force.

Arms and organisation are the decisive ingredients of progress, and the only serious means of putting an end to misery!

He who has arms has bread. One falls on one's knees before bayonets; unarmed crowds are swept away like chaff. France bristling with workers in arms, that is the coming of socialism.

In the face of armed proletarians all obstacles, all resistance, all impossibilities will disappear.

But proletarians who let themselves be amused by ridiculous promenades on the

streets, by the planting of "trees of liberty", by the ringing phrases of lawyers, must expect holy water to begin with, injuries to follow, eventually bullets, and always misery.

Let the people choose!

Prison of Belle-Île-en-Mer
February 10, 1851

First published as a leaflet:
*Trinkspruch gesandt durch den Bürger L. A. Blanqui an die Kommission der Flüchtlinge zu London für die Jahresfeier des 24. Februar 1851. Veröffentlicht durch die Freunde der Gleichheit*, Bern, 1851
(real place of publication: Cologne)

Printed according to the leaflet

The introduction is published in English for the first time

## Frederick Engels

## TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*[387]

Sir,

In your paper of to-day, I find a letter from M. Louis Blanc,[a] referring to the Banquet des Egaux, held in London on the 24th of February, and to a certain toast sent thither by M. Blanqui, the prisoner in Belle-Île-en-mer. Allow me to make a few observations upon this letter.

At the banquet the name of Blanqui was inscribed in large characters on the wall, amongst the names of other heroes and martyrs of democracy. At that same meeting, a toast was brought forward to "the martyrs to calumny": to Marat, Robespierre... and—Blanqui! All the toasts and speeches brought forward on this occasion, had to be submitted to the committee of the organisers of that beautiful and imposing manifestation as early as the 15th of February. M. Blanc was a member of that committee, he must, therefore, have approved beforehand of this toast to M. Blanqui. How can M. Blanc now make M. Blanqui again "a martyr to calumny" by calling him

> "one of those unhappy beings, who in their rage attempt violence against renown, and who would lose the best of causes if it were possible to lose them"?

M. Blanc states the toast not to be sent by the prisoners of Belle Île, but to be the exclusive work of M. Blanqui. Of course, M. Blanqui is to be presumed the author of toasts and documents put forward under his name. But the toast in question, as is well known in France, was adopted and published by the Société des amis de

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[a] *The Times* No. 20741, March 5, 1851.—*Ed.*

l'Egalité which society comprises those prisoners of Belle Île, who hold with M. Blanqui; for this gentleman has his friends amongst the prisoners quite as well as M. Barbès, the protector of M. Louis Blanc.

As to the "imposing and beautiful manifestation" and the "union of more than a thousand individuals belonging to different nations", it should not be forgotten that this touching scene was, as far as M. Blanc was concerned, nothing but a "*fraternal*" demonstration against M. Ledru-Rollin, in order to take vengeance—as he, M. Blanc, has publicly stated—for having been excluded from the Central European Democratic Committee of Messrs. Ledru-Rollin, Mazzini and others.

As respects the "renown" of M. Louis Blanc, it would be more prudent for him not to touch upon that delicate subject, until this "renown" had recovered from the terrible blows which M. Proudhon, some time ago, inflicted upon it.[388]

M. Blanc, it seems, would shelter himself from the attacks of M. Blanqui by blazoning forth his capacity of exile and proscribed. And are not the sons of Louis Philippe exiles too? And has M. Blanc restrained the violence of his attack against that same M. Proudhon, who was, not an exile living comfortably at 87 Piccadilly—an abode certainly far from being fit for Ovidian *Tristia* to be written in, but who was a prisoner in the hands of the law?[389]

M. Blanc seems to reproach M. Blanqui with having given publicity to his toast in "counter-revolutionary journals". M. Blanc knows well enough that since May 1850 a "revolutionary" press exists no longer in France. And pray, M. Louis Blanc, you who address yourself with all your "civilities" to the Editor of *The Times*, since when is *The Times*, in your eyes, a democratic, socialist and revolutionary paper?

In order, however, to enable the public to judge of that extraordinary document which so excites the indignation of M. Blanc, and which even now forms the general theme of the French press, I submit to you a translation in full and hope that it will be not without interest to the English public.

I am, Sir, your most ob-t servant
*Veritas*

Written on March 5, 1851

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Reprinted from Engels' rough draft

Published in English for the first time

# Frederick Engels

## [CONDITIONS AND PROSPECTS OF A WAR OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE AGAINST FRANCE IN 1852][390]

I take it for granted that any victorious Parisian revolution in 1852 will immediately result in a war of the Holy Alliance against France. This war will be quite different from that of 1792-94, and the events which occurred at that time can in no way serve as a parallel.

### I

The miracles of the Convention in the military defeat of the Coalition are much diminished on closer examination, and Napoleon's contempt for the fourteen armies of the Convention is comprehensible and in many respects even justified; Napoleon used to say that the chief part was played by the blunders of the Coalition, which is quite correct, and even when on St. Helena he still regarded Carnot as a mediocrity.

In August 1792, 90,000 Prussians and Austrians swooped down on France. The King of Prussia[a] wanted to march directly on Paris, but Brunswick and the Austrian generals did not want to. There was no unity of command; sometimes hesitation, sometimes rapid advance, plans always being changed. After the Allies had passed through the Argonne defiles, they were opposed by Dumouriez at Valmy and St. Menehould. They could have bypassed him and left him where he was; he would have had to follow them to Paris, and with any moderately sensible procedure he would not have been a danger to them even in the rear. But they could also have acted more safely and defeated him in battle, which was not difficult since they had more and better troops, as the French themselves admit. Instead

[a] Frederick William II.—*Ed.*

they unleashed the ridiculous cannonade of Valmy, where during the battle, indeed even during the attack by the columns, more than once the generals jumped from a more audacious to a more hesitant attitude. The two attacks themselves were pitiful as regards mass, vigour and spirit.[a] It was not the soldiers who were to blame, but the vacillations in the command; the attacks were hardly worthy of the name, they were at most demonstrations. A resolute advance along the whole line would certainly have overthrown the French volunteers and the demoralised regiments. After the battle, the Allies again remained where they were without knowing what to do, until the soldiers became ill.

In the Jemappes campaign, Dumouriez triumphed because he at first half instinctively counterposed a mass concentration of forces to the Austrian system of cordons and endlessly long fronts (from Ostende to the Maas).[391] In the following spring, however, he committed the same mistake—owing to his whim of wanting to conquer Holland; the Austrians, on the other hand, advanced in concentrated formation; the result was the battle of Neerwinden and the loss of Belgium.[392] At Neerwinden, and particularly also in the smaller engagements of this campaign, it was seen that when the French volunteers, these much vaunted heroes, were not constantly under the eye of Dumouriez they did not fight better than the South German "people's militia" of 1849.

Then, in addition, Dumouriez defected, Vendée revolted, the army was split and discouraged, and if the 130,000 Austrians and British had marched determinedly on Paris, the revolution would have been bankrupt and Paris conquered—exactly as in the previous year, if such stupidities had not taken place. Instead, these gentlemen laid siege to the fortresses and set about achieving the most minute advantages *en détail*, one after the other, with the greatest expenditure of strategic pedantry, and frittered away six whole months.

The French army, which still held together after Lafayette's defection, can be estimated at 120,000 men, and the volunteers of 1792 at 60,000. In March 1793, 300,000 men were conscripted. In August therefore, when the *levée en masse* was decreed, the French army must have been at least 300,000-350,000 strong. The *levée en masse* raised it by about 700,000. Taking into account all deductions, in the beginning of 1794 the French put about 750,000 men in the field against the Coalition, considerably more than the Coalition put against France.

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[a] This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

From April 1793 until October, the French were beaten everywhere, only the blows had no decisive effect thanks to the Coalition's systematic delays. From October onwards there were alternating successes. In winter the campaign was suspended, in the spring of 1794 the *levées en masse* came into the line of battle with full effect; the result was victories in all areas in May, until finally in June the victory of Fleurus decided the fate of the revolution.[393]

Therefore the Convention, and the Ministry of August 10[394] before it, had time enough for arming. From August 10, 1792, to March 1793 nothing happened—the volunteers hardly count. In March 1793, the 300,000 men were conscripted—from then until the following March the Convention had plenty of time and freedom for arming, a whole year, during ten months of which the revolutionary party was freed from all obstacles by the overthrow of the Girondists. And in a country of 25 million, which had the normal proportion of the population capable of bearing arms, when a whole year was available, it did not require a miracle to mobilise a million soldiers, 750,000 being active combatants (3 per cent of the population), against a foreign foe, however much of a novelty it was at that time.

With the exception of the Vendée, I consider the internal revolts of no account from the military point of view. Except Lyons and Toulon, they were quelled within six weeks without a blow being struck. Lyons was captured by the *levées en masse*, Toulon owing to Napoleon's striking incursion by means of a resolute storm and because of the mistakes of the defenders.

The 750,000 men who were led against the Coalition in 1794 included at least 100,000 old soldiers from the time of the monarchy and 150,000 other soldiers, derived partly from the volunteers and partly from the *levée* of 300,000, who had become accustomed to war in the continual fighting for eighteen or twelve months respectively. In addition, at least half of the 500,000 new recruits had already taken part in the fighting during September, October and November of 1793, and the youngest of them must have been at least three months in the battalions when they were led against the enemy. In his Spanish campaign, Napoleon estimated at 3-4 weeks the time required for training: the *école de bataillon*.[a] Not counting the subalterns and staff officers, who at that time were on the average certainly better among the Coalition forces, the French army of

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[a] Engels apparently refers to Napoleon's "Note sur la position actuelle de l'armée en Espagne", Bayonne, 1808, in the book: W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula...*, Vol. I.—*Ed.*

1794, thanks to the time allowed it for organisation, and thanks to the Allies' eternally inconclusive system of combat—a system which demoralises a well-tried, particularly aggressive army, and which disciplines that of the enemy, if it is a young army and on the defensive, and makes it accustomed to war—the French army of 1794 was therefore no raw, noisy, enthusiastic band of volunteers ready "to die for the Republic", but a very fair army,[a] certainly a match for the enemy. In 1794, the French generals were in any case much superior, although they made blunders enough; but the guillotine ensured unity of command and harmonious operations where the representatives [of the Convention] did not commit stupidities on their own account, which only exceptionally occurred. *Le noble Saint-Just en fit plusieurs.*[b]

Marginal notes on mass tactics:

1. The first crude notion of them arose from the successful manoeuvre at Jemappes, which was the result of instinct rather than military calculation. It arose from the chaotic state of the French army, which needed numerical superiority in order to have any degree of military self-confidence; mass had to take the place of discipline. Carnot's share in this discovery is not at all clear.

2. These mass tactics remained in the crudest of states and in 1794 at Tourcoing[395] and Fleurus, for example, were not applied at all (the French, and Carnot himself, committed the most flagrant blunders), until finally Napoleon in 1796 by the six days' Piedmont campaign and the actual annihilation *en détail* of a superior force[396] showed people the goal towards which they were moving without having previously had any clear idea of it.

3. As regards Carnot himself, he is a fellow about whom I am increasingly suspicious. Of course, I cannot make a definitive judgment, I do not have his dispatches to the generals. But from what is available his chief merit seems to have consisted in the boundless ignorance and incapacity of his predecessors Pache and Bouchotte, and in the total unfamiliarity with military matters of all the rest of the *Comité de salut public.*[397] *Dans le royaume des aveugles, le borgne est roi.*[c] Carnot, an old officer of the Engineers, who himself had been a representative [of the Convention] with the Northern Army, knew what a fortress or an army required in the way of material etc., and particularly what the French lacked. He had necessarily, too, a certain understanding of the way to mobilise the

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[a] Engels gives this phrase in English.— *Ed.*

[b] The noble Saint-Just committed several.— *Ed.*

[c] In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is king.— *Ed.*

military resources of a country like France, and since, in connection with a revolutionary *levée en masse*, where in any case there is considerable waste,[a] a certain amount of squandering of resources does not matter as long as the main aim, the speedy mobilisation of these resources, is achieved, it follows that there is no need to ascribe to Carnot any great degree of genius to explain his results. What makes me doubtful *pour sa part*[b] in the invention of mass warfare that is ascribed to him is, in particular, that his most far-reaching plans of 1793-94 were based on precisely the opposite mode of warfare; he *divided* the French armies instead of concentrating them, and he operated against the flanks of the enemy in such a way that the latter *himself* became *concentrated*. And then there is his later career, his display of knightly virtue under the Consulate, etc., his vaunted defence of Antwerp—the defence of a fortress is on the average the best post in which an officer who is mediocre, methodical but endowed with a certain tenacity can achieve distinction, and after all the siege of Antwerp in 1814 did not last three months, and finally his attempt to force the methods of 1793 on Napoleon in 1815 when confronted by the centralised 1,200,000 soldiers of the Coalition, and that under a totally altered system of warfare, and his philistinism in general; all that does not testify to Carnot's genius. And then, when has a decent fellow been known to have bluffed his way, as he did, through Thermidor, Fructidor, Brumaire,[398] etc.

*Summa summarum.* The Convention was saved solely and exclusively because the Coalition was *not centralised* and therefore the Convention was given a full year in which to arm. It was saved, as old Fritz[c] was saved in the Seven Years' War,[399] and as Wellington was saved in Spain in 1809, although the French were quantitatively and qualitatively at least three times as strong as all their opponents together, and their colossal power was paralysed only because in Napoleon's absence the marshals played all kinds of dirty tricks on one another.

## II

By now the Coalition has long ago got over the stupidities of 1793. It is splendidly centralised. It was centralised already in 1813. The Russian campaign of 1812 made Russia the centre of gravity of the entire Holy Alliance for a war on the Continent.

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[a] Engels uses the English "waste".— *Ed.*
[b] For his part.—*Ed.*
[c] Frederick II.— *Ed.*

Russian troops formed the main mass around which only later the Prussians, Austrians, etc., were grouped, and they continued to be the main mass all the way to Paris. Alexander was in fact the commander-in-chief of all the armies (that is to say, the Russian general staff behind Alexander). But since 1848 the Holy Alliance has been built on an even much more solid basis. The development of the counter-revolution in 1849-51 had reduced the Continent, apart from France, to the same position in relation to Russia as that of the Rhenish Federation[400] and Italy in relation to Napoleon, one of pure vassalage. Nicholas, i.e. Paskevich, is the inevitable dictator of the Holy Alliance *en cas de guerre*[a] just as Nesselrode is *en temps de paix*.[b]

Furthermore, as far as the modern art of war is concerned, it has been completely developed by Napoleon. Until certain conditions come into effect, which we shall deal with below, there remains no other course than to imitate Napoleon as far as conditions allow. This modern art of war, however, is universally known. In Prussia it has been drilled into every second lieutenant already before his ensign's examination, insofar as it can be drilled in. As for the Austrians, they came to know their bad, specifically Austrian, generals in the Hungarian campaign and got rid of them—such as Windischgrätz, Welden, Götz and other old women. On the other hand—since we no longer have any *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in which to write, we need no longer harbour any illusions—there are Radetzky's two campaigns in Italy, the first excellent, the second a masterly one.[401] Who helped him in this connection is of no consequence, in any case the old fellow has *bon sens*[c] enough to grasp the excellent ideas of other people. His defensive position in 1848 between the four fortresses of Peschiera, Mantua, Legnago and Verona, all four sides of the rectangle well protected, and his defence of this position until help arrived, in the midst of an insurgent country, would be a masterpiece if his ability to hold out had not been tremendously facilitated by the pitiful leadership, disunity and endless vacillation of the Italian generals, the intrigues of Charles Albert and the support of the reactionary aristocrats and clergy in the enemy camp. Nor should it be forgotten that he was sitting in the most fertile country in the world and had no worries over provisions for his army.

*For the Austrians*, however, the campaign of 1849 was *unprecedented*. The Piedmontese, instead of barring the road to Turin at Novara

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[a] In case of war.—*Ed.*
[b] In time of peace.—*Ed.*
[c] Common sense.—*Ed.*

and Mortara (a line three miles long) with a concentrated mass of troops, which would have been the best course, or of advancing from there on Milan in two or three columns, took up positions from Sesto to Piacenza—a line of twenty miles—with 70,000 men, only 3,500 men per German mile,[a] and involving 3 to 4 days' hard march from one wing to the other. A miserable concentric operation against Milan, for which they were everywhere too weak. Radetzky, seeing that the Italians were using the old Austrian system of 1792, operated against them exactly as Napoleon would have done. The Piedmontese line was cut into two pieces by the Po, a glaring blunder. Radetzky broke through the line close to the Po, separated the two southern from the three northern divisions by driving in between them a wedge of 60,000 men, swiftly attacked the three northern divisions (a concentration of scarcely 35,000 men) with his whole force, threw them back into the Alps, and separated the two corps of the Piedmontese army from each other and from Turin. This manoeuvre, which ended the campaign in three days, and was almost literally copied from that conducted by Napoleon in 1809 at Abensberg and Eggmühl,[402] the most brilliant of all Napoleon's manoeuvres, proves at any rate that the Austrians are far from continuing to act in accordance with the old motto "always slowly forward"[b]. It was precisely speed that decided everything here. The treacherous acts of the aristocrats and Ramorino made things easier, especially owing to accurate information about the position and plans of the Italians, and also because of the meanness of the Savoy brigade at Novara, which did not fight but plundered. But from the military aspect, the pitiful disposition of the Piedmontese forces and Radetzky's manoeuvre fully suffice to explain the latter's success. Under all circumstances, these two facts were bound to have this result.

Finally, by the very nature of their army, the Russians are compelled to adopt a system of warfare which comes very close to the modern one. The main strength of their army consists of massed, semi-barbaric, and therefore clumsy, infantry, and a numerous force of semi-barbaric, light, irregular cavalry (Cossacks). In decisive encounters, in large-scale battles, the Russians have never operated with other than massed forces; Suvorov understood that already when storming Ismail and Ochakov.[403] The mobility they lack is partly made up for by the irregular cavalry, which swarms around

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[a] 7,420 metres; 1 German mile equals 4.87 English miles.— *Ed.*

[b] From the refrain to a German song popular during the liberation war of 1813.— *Ed.*

them on all sides and masks any movement of the army. But it is precisely this ponderous massive character of the Russian army that makes it pre-eminently suited to form the core and backbone, the pivot, of a coalition army, the operations of which are always bound to be slower than those of a national army. This role the Russians played with distinction in 1813 and 1814 and in those years hardly any battle plan occurs in which the massive Russian columns do not at once stand out from all others by their depth and density.

Since 1812 the French can hardly be regarded as the pre-eminent bearers of the Napoleonic tradition. This tradition has more or less passed to all the big European armies; in each of them, for the most part already in the last years of the Empire, it has resulted in a revolution; each of these armies in its strategy and tactics has adopted the Napoleonic system, insofar as this is in harmony with the character of the army. The levelling influence of the bourgeois epoch is also apparent here; the old national peculiarities are disappearing in the armies as well, and the French, Austrian and Prussian armies, and even to a great extent the British army, are more or less equally well-organised machines for carrying out Napoleonic manoeuvres. This does not prevent them from having very diverse qualities in regard to fighting, and so on. Of all the (big) European armies, however, only the Russian, semi-barbaric, army is capable of having its own tactics and strategy, for it alone is not yet ripe for the completely developed modern system of warfare.

As for the French, owing to the little war in Algeria[404] they have interrupted even the continuity of the Napoleonic tradition of large-scale war. It remains to be seen whether in this predatory war the disadvantageous consequences for discipline are outweighed by the advantages of inuredness to war, whether the war accustoms men to hardship or breaks them by over-exertion; and finally, whether it does not also ruin the generals' *coup d'œil*[a] in a large-scale war. In any case, the French cavalry is being ruined in Algeria, it is forgetting what constitutes its force, the compact *choc*,[b] and it is becoming accustomed to a system of harassment in which the Cossacks, Hungarians, and Poles will always remain superior to it. Among the generals, Oudinot made a fool of himself before Rome, and only Cavaignac distinguished himself in June—but all that still does not amount to any *grandes épreuves*.[c]

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[a] Sure-sightedness.— *Ed.*
[b] Onslaught.— *Ed.*
[c] Great tests.— *Ed.*

On the whole, therefore, the chances of superiority in strategy and tactics are at least as much in favour of the Coalition as in favour of the revolution.

## III

But will not a new revolution which brings to power an entirely new class give rise, like the first one, to new means and ways of waging war, compared with which the present Napoleonic ones will appear just as obsolete and ineffective as those of the Seven Years' War compared with those of the first Revolution?

The modern warfare is the necessary product of the French Revolution. Its precondition is the social and political emancipation of *the bourgeoisie and small peasants.* The bourgeoisie provides the money, the small peasants supply the soldiers. The emancipation of both classes from feudal and guild fetters is required in order to provide the colossal armies of the present day; and the degree of wealth and education connected with this stage of social development is equally required in order to provide the material in the way of weapons, munitions, provisions, and so on, necessary for modern armies, and in order to provide the required number of trained officers and to give the soldier himself the required degree of intelligence.

I deal with the modern system of war as fully developed by Napoleon. Its two pivots are: the mass character of means of attack in men, horses and guns, and the mobility of these means of attack. Mobility is the essential consequence of massiveness. Modern armies cannot, like the small armies of the Seven Years' War, march to and fro for months on an area of twenty miles. They cannot bring in their train stores containing their total food requirements. They must swoop down on a region like a swarm of locusts, ravage all its food supplies within reach of the cavalry, and must depart when everything has been devoured. The stores are adequate if they suffice only for unforeseen contingencies; they are continually depleted and replenished; they have to follow the rapid march of the army and therefore seldom suffice to cover the needs of the army even for a single month. The modern system of war is, therefore, impossible for a long period in a poor, semi-barbaric, thinly populated country. Owing to this impossibility, the French perished slowly in Spain and rapidly in Russia. On the other hand, however, the Spaniards were also ruined owing to the French, their country was very largely sucked dry. Even in Poland the Russians cannot make use of their own clumsy system of mass warfare for a long

period, and in Russia itself they cannot make use of it at all as long as they have no railways. The defensive at the Dnieper and the Dvina would spell ruin for Russia.

But this degree of mobility requires also a certain degree of education of the soldier, who in many cases must know how to look after himself. The considerable extension of patrol and foraging expeditions, outpost duties, etc., the greater activity demanded of every soldier, the more frequent recurrence of cases in which the soldier has to act on his own and has to rely on his own intellectual resources, and, finally, the great importance of skirmish engagements in the fighting, the success of which depends on the intelligence, the *coup d'œil* and the energy of each individual soldier—all this presupposes a greater degree of education of the non-commissioned officer and rank-and-file soldier than was the case under old Fritz. A barbaric or semi-barbaric nation, however, is unable to offer a degree of education of the masses such that 500,000-600,000 men recruited at random could, on the one hand, become disciplined and trained to act like machines, and at the same time acquire or retain this *coup d'œil* for small-scale warfare. The barbarians, e.g. the Cossacks, are by nature gifted with this *coup d'œil* of the robber; but on the other hand, they are as much incapable of regular military duties as the Russian serf infantrymen, on the contrary, are proper skirmishing.

This universal average degree of education which the modern system of war requires in every soldier is to be found only in the most developed countries: in Britain, where the soldier, however raw a yokel he was, goes through the civilising school of the towns; in France, where the emancipated small peasants and the astute mob of the towns (*remplaçants*[a]) constitute the army; in North Germany, where feudalism likewise has either been destroyed or has assumed *plus ou moins*[b] bourgeois forms, and where the towns provide a considerable contingent for the army; finally, after the last wars, it seems to exist also in at least that part of the Austrian army which is recruited from the least feudal areas. Apart from Britain, small peasant farming is everywhere the basis of the army, and the army is the more fitted for the modern system of war the closer the position of the small peasant comes to that of the free owner.

But the mobility of the masses, as well as that of the individual soldier, presupposes the degree of civilisation of the bourgeois epoch. The sluggishness of the pre-revolutionary armies is closely

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[a] Substitutes for those who have bought exemption from military service.—*Ed.*
[b] More or less.—*Ed.*

bound up with feudalism. The mass of officers' conveyances was by itself a hindrance to all movement. The armies crawled along just as slowly as all movement. The rising bureaucracy of the absolute monarchies introduced rather more order into the management of army materials, but at the same time its alliance with *haute finance* led to organised fraud *en gros*, and where the bureaucracy was of some benefit to the armies it did them twice as much harm by infecting them with a spirit of schematism and pedantry. Witness[a] the All-Highest old Fritz himself. Even now Russia is suffering from all these evils; the Russian army, which is everywhere cheated and fleeced, is starving, and on the march the men die like flies. Only a bourgeois state feeds its troops tolerably and therefore can count on the mobility of its army.

As regards mobility, therefore, this is in every respect a characteristic of the bourgeois armies. But mobility is not only the necessary complement to the mass character of the army, it often replaces it (Napoleon in Piedmont, 1796).

Mass character, however, is just as much a special characteristic of modern civilised armies as is mobility.

However diverse the methods of recruitment may be—conscription, the Prussian army reserve, the Swiss militia, the *levée en masse*—the experience of the last sixty years proves that under the regime of the bourgeoisie and free small peasants not more than 7 per cent of the population can be put under arms in any people's war; hence about 5 per cent can be actively utilised. Accordingly France in the autumn of 1793, with an estimated population of 25 million, could have mustered 1,750,000 soldiers and 1,250,000 active combatants. At that time, these 1,250,000 were more or less present at the frontiers, before Toulon, and in the Vendée, taking both sides into account here. In Prussia—with at present 16 million inhabitants—7 per cent and 5 per cent would amount to 1,120,000 and 800,000 men respectively. But the entire Prussian forces, regular army and army reserve, hardly amount to 600,000 men. This example shows how much even 5 per cent involves for a nation.

*Eh bien*—whereas France and Prussia can easily call under arms 5 per cent of their population, and in case of need even 7 per cent, Austria in the most extreme case can call up at most 5 per cent, and Russia hardly 3 per cent. For Austria, 5 per cent would be 1,750,000, out of an estimated 35 million. In 1849, Austria strained itself to the utmost. It had about 550,000 men. The Hungarians, whose forces had been doubled as the result of the Kossuth notes, had perhaps

[a] This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

350,000. I calculate in addition 50,000 Lombards who had escaped conscription or were serving in the Piedmontese army—making a total of 950,000 men, consequently not even $2^2/_3$ per cent of the population; at the same time the Croat borderers,[405] who lived under exceptional conditions, furnished at least 15 per cent of *their* population. Russia, at a low estimate, has 72 million inhabitants; therefore at 5 per cent it should be able to raise 3,600,000 men. Instead of this, it has never been able to muster more than 1,500,000, including both regular and irregular troops, and in its own country it has been able to lead at most 1,000,000 of these against the enemy, i.e. its total force was never above $2^1/_{12}$ per cent, and its active force never above $1^7/_{18}$ or 1.39 per cent. The sparse population over an enormous area, the lack of communications and the small national production explain this easily enough.

Like mobility, the mass character of means of attack is necessarily the result of a higher stage of civilisation, and, in particular, the modern proportion of the armed mass to the total population is incompatible with any state of society inferior to that of the emancipated bourgeoisie.

Hence modern warfare presupposes the emancipation of the bourgeois and peasants; it is the *military expression* of this emancipation.

The emancipation of the proletariat, too, will have its particular military expression, it will give rise to a specific, new method of warfare. *Cela est clair.* It is even possible already to determine the kind of material basis this new warfare will have.

But just as the mere conquest of political power by the present ill-defined French and German proletariat, which partly forms the tail-end of other classes, is a long way from the real emancipation of the proletariat, which consists in the abolition of all class contradictions, so the initial warfare in the coming revolution is equally far removed from the warfare of the truly emancipated proletariat.

The real emancipation of the proletariat, the complete abolition of all class distinctions and the complete concentration of all the means of production, in Germany and France presupposes the co-operation of Britain and at least a doubling of the means of production now existing in Germany and France. But precisely that is the precondition also for a new form of warfare.

Napoleon's magnificent discoveries in the science of war cannot be wiped out by a miracle. The new science of war must be just as much a necessary product of the new social relations as the science of war created by the revolution and Napoleon was the necessary result of

the new relations brought about by the revolution. But just as in the proletarian revolution the question for industry is not one of abolishing steam machines but of multiplying them, so for warfare it is a question not of diminishing but of intensifying the mass character and mobility of armies.

Increased productive forces were the precondition for the Napoleonic warfare; new productive forces must likewise be the precondition for every new perfection in warfare. The railways and the electric telegraph will already today provide a talented general or Minister of War with an occasion for quite new combinations in a European war. The gradual increase of the productive forces, and of the population along with them, has likewise provided the opportunity for greater accumulation of masses. In France, with 36 instead of 25 million inhabitants, 5 per cent yields now not 1,250,000 but 1,800,000 men. In both cases the power of the civilised countries has increased compared with that of the barbaric countries. The former alone have large railway networks and their population has grown twice as fast as that of Russia, for example.

All these calculations prove, incidentally, that a *lasting* subjection of Western Europe to Russia is quite impossible and becomes more impossible every day.

The power of the new kind of warfare that will result from the abolition of classes cannot, however, lie in the fact that with the growth of the population the available 5 per cent constitute ever more considerable masses. It must lie in the fact that it will become possible to call under arms not 5 per cent or 7 per cent of the population, but 12-16 per cent, i.e. half or two-thirds of the male adults—healthy persons of from 18 to 30, or eventually 40 years of age. But just as Russia cannot increase its available force from 2-3 per cent to 5 per cent without a complete revolution of its entire internal social and political organisation, and, above all, of its production, so Germany and France cannot raise their available force from 5 per cent to 12 per cent without revolutionising their production and more than doubling it. Only if, by means of machinery, etc., the labour of each individual on the average becomes worth twice as much as at present, can the number of those who can be spared from production be doubled—even for a short time, for no country has ever kept the 5 per cent afoot for a long time.

If the necessary conditions for it are fulfilled, if national production has been sufficiently increased and centralised, if classes have been abolished, which is absolutely essential—owing to his social, aristocratic position, the Prussian one-year volunteer,[406] as long as he is not an N.C.O. or officer of the army reserve, will never

be a useful soldier alongside the peasants and workers—then the only restriction to the actual levy is the number of the population capable of bearing arms, that is to say, in an extreme emergency for a short time 15-20 per cent of the population can be armed and 12-15 per cent actually led against the enemy. These enormous masses, however, presuppose a degree of mobility quite different even from that of the present-day armies. Without a complete railway network, they can be neither concentrated nor fed, nor can they be kept supplied with munitions, or able to move. And without the electric telegraph it is quite impossible to direct them; and since in the case of such masses it is impossible for the strategist and the tactician (who is in command on the battlefield) to be one and the same person, division of labour comes into effect here. Strategic operations, the co-operation of the various corps, have to be directed from the central point of the telegraph lines; tactical operations have to be directed by the individual generals. It is clear that under these conditions, wars can and must be decided in a much shorter time than they were even by Napoleon. The expense factor requires it, the necessary decisive effect of each blow with such masses makes it inevitable.

In mass and strategic mobility, therefore, these armies must be quite unprecedentedly formidable. With such soldiers, tactical mobility (in patrolling, skirmishing, and on the battlefield) must likewise be considerably greater, they are more robust, agile and intelligent than anything that present-day society can offer.

Unfortunately, however, all this can be put into effect only after a long period of years and at a time when, owing to lack of an adequate enemy, such wars on a mass scale can no longer occur. The primary conditions for all this do not exist in the first period of the proletarian revolution, least of all in the year 1852.

The proletariat in France at present is certainly barely double the percentage of the population that it was in 1789. At that time—at least between 1792 and 1794—the proletariat was in such a state of ferment and tension as will only recur in the near future. At that time it already became evident that in revolutionary wars with violent internal convulsions *the mass of the proletariat is needed for use within the country*. The same thing will now be the case once again and probably more so than ever, since the chances of the immediate outbreak of civil wars increase as the Allies advance. Hence the proletariat will be able to send only a small contingent to the active army; the main source of the levy remains the mob and the peasants. That is to say, the revolution will have to wage war with the means and by the methods of the general modern warfare.

Only an ideological theorist could ask whether it would not be possible with these means, i.e. with an active army of 4-5 per cent of the population, to devise new combinations and discover new surprising methods of application. Just as it is impossible to increase the output of the loom fourfold without replacing the motive power, hand labour, by steam, without discovering a new means of production that has little in common with the old hand loom, so it is impossible in the art of war to produce new results by the old means. Only the production of new, more powerful means makes it possible to achieve new, more magnificent results. Every great general who marks an epoch in the history of war owing to new combinations, either himself invents new material means or first discovers the correct use of new material means invented before him. Between Turenne and the old Fritz lies the revolution in the use of infantry, the supersession of the pike and matchlock by the bayonet and flintlock—and old Fritz's epoch-making achievement in the science of war lies in the fact that in general, within the limits of the warfare of that time, he transformed and developed the old tactics in conformity with the new instruments. Just as Napoleon's epoch-making achievement lies in the fact that he found the sole correct tactical and strategic application for the more colossal army masses made possible by the revolution, and moreover developed this application so completely that on the whole modern generals, far from being able to go further than he did, in their most brilliant and cleverest operations only try to copy him.

*Summa summarum*, the revolution will have to fight with modern means of war and the modern art of war against modern means of war and the modern art of war. The chances of military talent are at least as great for the Coalition as they are for France: *Ce seront alors les gros bataillons qui l'emporteront.*[a]

## IV

Let us now see what battalions can be brought into the battle line, and how they can be used.

1. *Russia.* The Russian army on a peace footing consists nominally of 1,100,000 men; in reality about 750,000. Since 1848 the government has continually worked to attain a force of 1,500,000 men on a war footing, and Nicholas and Paskevich have themselves carried out a revision as far as possible throughout. At a low estimate, therefore, Russia has now actually attained its full peace time

[a] Then the big battalions will win.—*Ed.*

effective of 1,100,000 men. From this must be deducted, on a high estimate:

| | |
|---|---|
| For the Caucasus | 100,000 men |
| „ Russia proper | 150,000 „ |
| „ the Polish provinces | 150,000 „ |
| „ the sick, detached, etc. | 150,000 „ |
| | 550,000 men. |

There remain *550,000* men available for active service against external enemies. That is an estimate hardly greater than the number Russia actually sent across the frontiers in 1813.

2. *Prussia.* The splendid army, if the entire army reserve of the first and the second call-up, the supernumeraries, and everything are called up, amounts to a least 650,000 men. At the present moment, however, the government can mobilise at most 550,000 men. I put the figure at only 500,000. These need to detach only a little in excess of the second call-up (150,000 men) for garrisons, etc., since everywhere the gradual calling up of supernumeraries and of the new conscripts for next year—which Nicholas will already be taking steps to ensure—as well as the Russian troops continually on the march through the country, would form a sufficient reserve against any internal attempt at an uprising. Moreover, the Prussians have fewer sick, since they are concentrated in their own country and have a lesser distance to march to the Rhine than the Russians. Nevertheless, as in the case of the Russians, I deduct half, leaving available the other half, amounting to *250,000 men.*

3. *Austria.* At a low estimate, Austria has under arms and on leave, the latter being as quickly available for the army as the Prussian army reserve, 600,000 men. Here, too, I deduct half, since for at least two-thirds of the monarchy, until the formation of new reserves, the advancing Russians serve as a reserve within the country and keep the hotbeds of insurrection in check. There remain *300,000 men* available for use against the enemy.

4. *The German Confederation.* Since the gentlemen live close to the Rhine and the whole Coalition marches through their territory, they hardly require any garrison against the interior, all the less because with the first successes of the Coalition against France the reserve armies would take their stand right across Germany, from north to south. The German Confederation provides at least *120,000 men.*

5. The forces of the Italian governments, the Danes, Belgians, Dutch, Swedes, etc., I put for the time being at *80,000 men.*

Accordingly the total mass of the Coalition troops amounts to 1,300,000 men, who are either already under arms or can be immediately called up. All the estimates are intentionally put too low. The deductions for the sick alone are so considerable that merely from the convalescent, etc., two months after the beginning of operations a second army of 350,000 men can be formed at the French frontier. But as nowadays, no government is so imprudent as to begin a war without at the same time as it deploys the active army raising new levies, as strong as possible, and sending them in the wake of the first army, this second army should prove to be considerably stronger than the above figure.

The concentration of the first army (the 1,300,000 men) can be completed in about two months, as follows. That the Prussians and Austrians can have their above-mentioned contingents available within two months is no longer open to doubt after the arming carried out last November. As regards the Russians, their three definitive concentration points are, in the first place, Berlin, Breslau[a] and Cracow or Vienna (see below). From St. Petersburg to Berlin is approximately 45 days' march, and from Berlin to the Rhine 16 days, making a total of 61 days' march, at 5 German miles per day. From Moscow to Breslau is 48 days' march, from Breslau to Mainz 20, together 68 days. Kiev to Vienna requires 40 days, Vienna to Basle 22, together 62 days. Add to this the rest-days, which in the case of the Russian troops and the above strenuous marches must on no account be omitted, it is clear that even the troops stationed in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Kiev can comfortably reach the Rhine in *three* months, even supposing that the troops move exclusively on foot and that no use is made of railways or vehicles. But such means can be used in Germany almost everywhere, and in Russia and Poland at least partially, which would in total certainly shorten the transport of the troops by 15-20 days. The main mass of the Russian troops, however, are at present already concentrated in the Polish provinces, and as soon as the political conditions make a crisis probable, more troops will be sent there, so that the starting points of the line of march will not be St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev, but Riga, Vilna, Minsk, Dubno and Kamieniec, which means that the line of march will be shortened by about 60 miles—12 days' march plus 4 rest-days. Moreover, a large part of the infantry—especially that coming from the more remote stations—can be conveyed a distance of five miles on every third or rest-day at least, so that for this part of the infantry the rest-days will count as march-days. The railways

[a] The Polish name is Wrocław.—*Ed.*

would then be kept free for artillery material, munitions and stores, while the artillery gun-crews and servicing personnel would either march or be conveyed, and thus in any case would arrive earlier than in the way hitherto adopted.

In view of all the above, it seems to me that there is nothing to prevent the concentration of the Coalition army on the Rhine taking place two months after the outbreak of the revolution, as follows:

First army

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. First line on the Rhine and before Piedmont: | | |
| Prussians, Austrians, etc. | 750,000 men | 1,050,000 men |
| Russians | 300,000 men | |
| 2. Second line, reserve, 10 days' march behind, Russians | | 250,000 men |
| Total | | 1,300,000 men (as above) |

Second army

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Reserve of the smaller Coalition members, Prussians, Austrians, etc., included in the concentration | 200,000 men | 350,000 men |
| 2. Russian reserve on the march, 20 days' march behind | 150,000 men | |
| Total of both armies | | 1,650,000 men |

Basically, under present conditions hardly 5-6 weeks are needed to bring 300,000 Russians to the Rhine, and in the same period Prussia, Austria and the smaller Allies can bring their contingents as above mentioned to the Rhine; but in order to take due account of the unforeseen obstacles which occur in every coalition, I assume a full two months. At the moment when Napoleon came from Elba, the disposition of the Allied troops in relation to a march towards France was hardly as favourable as the present one, yet the Russians were at the Rhine when Napoleon was fighting the British and Prussians at Waterloo.[407]

What resources has *France* to oppose to those of the Allies?

1. The troops of the line amount to about 450,000 men, 50,000 of whom cannot be spared from Algeria. From the remaining 400,000 must be deducted the sick, the minimum necessary to garrison fortresses, and smaller detachments for doubtful areas of the interior, leaving available at most 250,000 men.

2. The favourite means adopted by the present reds, viz. to recall to the colours soldiers who have served their time, can successfully be

applied by force to at most six age classes, i.e. from 27 to 32 years of age. Each age group on conscription amounts to 80,000 men. The ravages of the Algerian war and climate, the normal death-rate during twelve years, the deduction of those who have become unfit or have emigrated, and those who in one way or another have succeeded in evading re-enlistment at a time when in any case the administration gets into a state of disorder, will reduce the 480,000 former recruits of these six age classes to at most 300,000 re-enlisting. From these must be deducted 150,000 to garrison fortresses, who will be drawn mainly from this class of older, mostly married men, leaving 150,000 men. Given any degree of skilled direction, these could be mobilised without difficulty in two months.

3. The people's militia, volunteers, *levée en masse*, or whatever other term is used to denote this subordinate cannon-fodder. With the exception of about 10,000 of the *Garde Mobile* who can be assembled, none of the above are more acquainted with weapons than any member of the German civic militia. The French are quicker at learning to handle weapons, but two months is a very short time, and if Napoleon could ensure that his recruits passed through the battalion school in four weeks, he achieved that only with outstanding cadres, whereas the first result of the coming revolution will be the disorganisation of the cadres in the line. Moreover, our French revolutionaries are known to follow tradition and their first cry will be: *Levée en masse! Deux millions d'hommes aux frontières!*[a] The two million men would be all very well if one could again expect from the Coalition such stupidities as those of 1792 and 1793 and if one had time for gradually training these two million men. But there is no question of that. One must be prepared to encounter a million active enemy soldiers on the frontier within two months, and it is a matter of opposing this million with a chance of success.

If the French comport themselves again as traditional imitators of 1793, they will be undertaking to repeat the experience with the two million, which means that they will undertake so much that the actual result in the short time available will come to nil. The training and organisation of 2,500,000 men in eight weeks without skilled cadres amounts in practice to a senseless squandering of all resources without strengthening the army by even a single usable battalion.

If, on the other hand, the French have a good Minister of War who has some knowledge of revolutionary warfare and the methods of

[a] Mass levy! Two million men to the frontiers!—*Ed.*

creating an army rapidly, and if no stupid obstacles due to ignorance and a craze for popularity are put in the way, then he will keep within the limits of the possible and can do a great deal. The outcome will have to be something more or less in accordance with the following plan:

The armed forces consist, to begin with, of two components: 1. The proletarian guard in the towns, the peasant guard in the countryside, insofar as the latter can be relied upon for service in the interior; 2. the regular army against invasion.

Fortress duty is performed by the proletarian and peasant guard; the army provides only the most essential detachments. Paris, Strasbourg, Lyons, Metz, Lille, Valenciennes, the most important fortresses, which are at the same time large towns, will require for their defence, besides their own guard and a few peasant detachments from the environs, only a few troops of the line. The proletarian guard available in the interior, insofar as they consist of unemployed workers, will be assembled in a training camp and trained by old officers and N. C. O.s who are unfit for service in the field, to fill gaps in the ranks of the active army. The camp could be situated near Orleans, where at the same time it would be a threat to the Legitimist areas.

The troops of the line, insofar as they are in France, must be tripled, being brought from 400,000 to 1,100,000 men. This is done as follows: each battalion is converted into a regiment—the unavoidable general promotion will be not less effective than the guillotine and courts martial in inspiring respect for the revolution among the officers and N. C. O.s. The unavoidable extension of cadres is at the same time carried out as gradually as possible and what can be gained as regards officers is gained. This is very important in view of the fact that it is impossible to produce officers by magic in two months. Moreover, so much national sentiment still prevails among the middle and lower grades of the French army that with a certain amount of promotion, energetic management of the war departments and some chance of success, these men at the start will turn out quite well, especially if a few examples are made of mutineers and deserters. The pupils of the military schools and the officials of the *ponts-et-chaussées*[a] make excellent artillery and engineer officers, and after a few actions those talented men among the lower ranks, so frequent among the French, who are capable of leading a company once they have been under fire, will begin to develop.

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[a] Administration of roads and bridges.—*Ed.*

As regards the soldiers themselves, there will be:

| | |
|---|---|
| the line | 400,000 men |
| those recalled to the army | 300,000 men |
| those still to be called up and trained | 500,000 men |
| Total | 1,200,000 men |
| deduct for the sick | 100,000 men |
| there remain | 1,100,000 men |

Of these are available for active service:

| | |
|---|---|
| the line | 250,000 men |
| those recalled to the army | 150,000 men |
| recruits | 400,000 men |
| | 800,000 men |

What can be achieved with these will be seen. But the training within two months of 400,000-500,000 men as recruits for the army of the line, men who will be fused with the already existing and recalled soldiers in the regiments and battalions, is not so excessively difficult if the work is taken in hand speedily, *le lendemain de la révolution.*[a] All these reinforcements would accrue to the infantry and artillery; in two months it is certainly possible to train an infantryman, or an artilleryman capable at least of simple gun duties, but not a cavalryman. Hence the increase of the cavalry would be very weak.

The whole plan for developing the army presupposes that there will be a good Minister of War, who is able to assess the political conditions, possesses strategic, tactical and detailed knowledge of all weapons, has the appropriate degree of energy, speed and decisiveness,[b] and is given a free hand by the asses who will rule along with him. But where has the "Red" party in France such a man? The odds are in favour of the opposite, that as usual an ignorant fellow, who is thought and thinks himself, of course, to be a *bon démocrate* competent to fill any part, will try to play the Carnot, decree mass levies, completely disorganise everything, and very soon be at his wit's end, whereupon he will leave everything to the routine of the old subordinate officials and allow the enemy armies to come

[a] On the morrow of the revolution.—*Ed.*
[b] Engels uses the English word.—*Ed.*

right up to Paris. Nowadays, however, to be able to withstand a European coalition, one would have to be, not Pache or Bouchotte, or even Carnot, but Napoleon, or to have terribly stupid enemies and a terribly large measure of luck.

It should not be overlooked that all these calculations of the armed forces of the Coalition assume a minimum figure for the total force and a maximum figure for the deductions, so that with merely tolerably good leadership, the available mass of troops will be greater, and the time required for their concentration less than the estimates given here. In the case of France, on the other hand, the opposite assumptions have been made; the time available has been assumed as long as possible, the total force that can possibly be organised has been put very high, and the deductions low, and therefore the available mass of troops is estimated at the highest possible figure. In short, leaving out of account unforeseen events and great blunders on the part of the Allies, all these calculations present the *most favourable case possible* for the revolution.

In addition, it is assumed that the revolution and invasion will not immediately give rise to a civil war in the interior of the country. At present, sixty years after the last civil war in France, it is impossible to determine to what extent the fanaticism of the Legitimists is capable of a more than ephemeral insurrection; it is clear, however, that in proportion as the Allies advance, the chances of an uprising like that of 1793 in Lyons, Toulon, etc., of a temporary alliance of all politically overthrown classes and factions, will also increase. Here, too, however, let us assume the most favourable case for the revolution, namely, that the revolutionary proletarian and peasant guard is capable of successfully disarming the rebellious *départements* and classes.

We shall deal presently with the prospects which the revolution could be given by uprisings in Germany, Italy, etc.

## V

We come now to the actual conduct of the war.

If one places one leg of a pair of compasses on the map on Paris and describes a circle round the city with the distance from Paris to Strasbourg as the radius, then in the south the circumference of this circle touches the French frontier between Grenoble and Chambéry at Pont de Beauvoisin, follows it in a northerly direction through Geneva, the Jura, Basle, Strasbourg and Hagenau, and then follows the course of the Rhine down to its estuary. If it is at a distance from

the Rhine at some points, this distance never exceeds the length of two days' march. If the Rhine were France's frontier, then from the point where the Alps cease to protect this frontier right up to the North Sea Paris would be at an equal distance from this frontier. The military system of France, with Paris at the centre, would have satisfied all the geographical conditions for it. This simple arc from Chambéry to Rotterdam, which reduces all points of France's only open frontier, and moreover of the frontier nearest to the capital, to an equal distance of about 70 German miles—14 days' march—from Paris, and at the same time protects the frontier by a broad river, this is the real military basis of the assertion that the Rhine is France's natural frontier.

The same peculiar configuration of its course, however, makes the Rhine also the starting point of all concentric operations against Paris, for in order that the various armies may arrive simultaneously in front of Paris and simultaneously threaten it from various sides, they must set out simultaneously from points equally distant from it. The operations of any counter-revolutionary coalition army against France must be concentric, however dangerous all concentric operations are in which the concentration point lies within the territory of the enemy or even forms the latter's basis of operations: 1. because with Paris the whole of France is conquered; 2. because no part of the frontier lying within the sphere of operations of French armies can be allowed to be exposed, as otherwise the French, by sending armed forces, could provoke insurrections in the territory of the Coalition, in the rear of the latter's armies; 3. because the mass forces which any coalition is bound to hurl against France require multiple lines of operation for their food supply.

For both armies, the frontier which has to be covered runs from Chambéry to Rotterdam. For the time being, the Spanish frontier can be disregarded. The Italian frontier from Var to the Isère is protected by the Alps and goes farther and farther away from Paris since it forms the tangent to the above-mentioned circle. It can only come into consideration: 1. if the fortified defiles of the Savoy Alps, particularly of Mont Cenis, are in the hands of the French; 2. if it is desired to make a diversion on the coast, for which there would have to be special reasons; 3. if the French armies, after the frontier has been safeguarded at all other points, want to launch an offensive as Napoleon did in 1796. In all other cases it is too far away.

Active operations, therefore, both for the Coalition and for France, are restricted to the line from Chambéry or the Isère up to the North Sea, and to the region lying between this line and Paris. And precisely this part of France offers a terrain which is, as it were,

created for defence, and possesses a mountain and river system which from a military point of view could hardly be improved upon.

From the Rhône to the Moselle, the frontier is protected by a long mountain range which is crossed with difficulty and only at certain points—the Jura, adjoining which are the Vosges, which in turn have their prolongation in the Hochwald and Idarwald. Both mountain ranges run parallel to the frontier and, in addition, the Vosges are protected by the Rhine. Between the Moselle and the Maas, the route to Paris is covered by the Ardennes, and on the other side of the Maas by the Argonnes. Only the region from the Sambre to the sea lies open, but here the position of any advancing army becomes more dangerous with every step forward—in the event of at all skilful operations by a strong French army, the enemy army risks being cut off from Belgium and driven into the sea. Furthermore, the whole line from the Rhône to the North Sea is dotted with fortresses, some of which, e.g. Strasbourg, command whole provinces.

From the junction of the Jura and the Vosges, in a south-westerly direction towards Auvergne, runs a mountain range forming the watershed between the North Sea and the ocean, on the one hand, and the Mediterranean, on the other. From it flows to the south the Saône, and to the north, parallel to one another, the Moselle, the Maas, the Marne, the Seine, and the Yonne. Between each two of these rivers, as between the Yonne and the Loire, long mountain chains branch off, separating the individual river valleys from one another and traversed by only a few roads. It is true that this whole mountainous territory for the most part is practicable for all arms, but it is very infertile and no great army can maintain itself long on it.

If these mountains, too, have been surmounted, as well as the equally infertile mountainous zones of Champagne which separate the region of the Maas from that of the Seine, the enemy army enters the Seine region. And it is only here that the striking military advantages of the position of Paris become fully evident.

The Seine basin downstream to the mouth of the Oise is formed by a number of rivers running in almost parallel arcs in a north-westerly direction—the Yonne, the Seine, the Marne, the Oise and the Aisne—each of which also has tributaries running in a similar direction. All these arc-shaped valleys join fairly closely with one another, and at the centre of these junctions is Paris. The main roads to Paris from all land frontiers between the Mediterranean Sea and the Scheldt run through these river valleys and join up with them concentrically in Paris. Hence the army which defends Paris can always be concentrated and moved from one threatened point to

another in a shorter time than the attacking army, because of two concentric circles the inner one has the smaller circumference. Admirable utilisation of these advantages, tireless movement along the circumference of the inner circle, enabled Napoleon in his brilliant campaign of 1814 to hold the entire Coalition in check in the Seine region with a handful of soldiers for two whole months.[a]

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[a] The manuscript breaks off here.— *Ed.*

# Karl Marx

## THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC ADOPTED NOVEMBER 4, 1848[408]

A rhetorical preamble introduces the Constitution, in which the following passages deserve notice:

1. France declares itself a republic. 2. The French republic is *democratic*, one and indivisible. 3. Its principles are Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and its foundations are Family, Labour, Property, and Public Order. 5. It respects the independence of other nations, and will make its own respected also. It will undertake no aggressive war, and will never employ its force against the liberty of any people. [*Rome*![409]]

Before the Insurrection of June, the National Assembly had drawn up a constitution, which contained among many other recognitions of the rights and duties of man, the following articles.

*Art.* 6. The right to education is the right possessed by all citizens to the means for the full development of their physical, moral, and intellectual faculties, by a *gratuitous* education at the hands of the state.

*Art.* 7. The right of labour is the right of every member of society to live by labour. Therefore it is the duty of society to supply with work all able-bodied persons who cannot otherwise obtain it.

*Art.* 9. *The Right to support* is the right of the orphan, the infirm and the aged to be maintained by the state.[a]

After the victories of June 1848 had given courage to the middle-class, they erased these three articles from

[a] See "Projet de constitution présenté à l'Assemblée nationale", *Le Moniteur universel* No. 172, June 20, 1848. The italics are by Marx.—*Ed.*

THE CONSTITUTION,

which now stands as follows:—

"*Cap.* I. [§ 1.] Sovereign power rests in the entirety of French citizens. It is inalienable and eternal. No individual, no fraction of the people has the right to its exercise."

"*Cap.* II. [§2.] *Rights guaranteed by the constitution:*—No one can be arrested or imprisoned, except as prescribed by the laws.

"§ 3. The residence of every one on French territory is inviolable—and it is not allowed to enter it otherwise than in the forms prescribed by law."

Observe here and throughout that the French constitution guarantees liberty, but always with the proviso *of exceptions made by law,* or which may *still be made*! and all the exceptions made by the Emperor Napoleon, by the restoration, and by Louis Philippe, have not only been retained, but, after the June Revolution, immeasurably multiplied. Thus, for instance, the law of the 9th August 1849, relative to the State of Siege, which the Assembly, and during its prorogation, the President can enact, and which gives to the military authorities the right of bringing all political offenders before a court-martial. It further grants them the power to enter and search any house by day or night, to seize all arms, and to remove all persons not having a domicile in the place declared under a state of siege.

As to *strangers,* the only "right" they enjoy on French soil, is to be arrested and driven out of it, as often as the police authorities think proper.

As to *Frenchmen,* any French citizen can be arrested, if a *single functionary* issues his mandate to that effect!

"§ 4. No one can be judged by others than his natural judges. Exceptional tribunals can be formed under no denomination or pretext."

We have already seen that, under "the state of siege", a military tribunal supersedes all others. Besides this, the Assembly established an "exceptional tribunal", called the "High Court", in 1848 for a portion of the political offenders; and, after the insurrection in June, transported 15,000 insurgents without any trial at all!

"§ 5. Capital punishment for political offences is annulled."

But they transport to fever-stricken settlements, where they are executed, only a little more slowly, and far more painfully.

"§ 8. Citizens have a right to associate, to meet peacefully and unarmed, to petition, and express their opinions through the press and elsewhere. The enjoyment of these rights has no other limit, than the equal rights of others, and the public safety."

That the limitation made by the "public safety", takes away the enjoyment of the right altogether, is clearly shewn by the following facts:—

1. *The liberty of the Press.*—By the laws of August 11, 1848, and of July 27, 1849, not only securities for newspapers were redemanded, but all the restrictions made by the Emperor Napoleon, and since, were renewed and made more stringent.

The law of July 23, 1850, *raises* the security-money! and extends the enactment of all weekly journals, magazines, periodicals, &c.[410] Besides which it demands that every article be signed by the name of the writer, and reintroduces the *stamp* for newspapers. Not contented with this, it imposes a stamp on the feuilleton roman, the mere literary pamphlet, as well; and enforces all this under the penalty of enormous fines! After the enactment of the last-named law, the revolutionary press disappeared altogether. It had long fought up against persecution: week by week, paper after paper and pamphlet after pamphlet, were accused, fined, suppressed. The middle-class sat in the jury-box, and they crushed the working-man's press.

The climax was put on the system by the law of July 30, 1850, which restored the censorship of the drama. Thus freedom of opinion was banished from its last literary refuge.

2. *The right of association and public meeting.*—By the decrees of July 28, to August 2, 1848, the clubs are subjected to a mass of police regulations, denying them almost every liberty. For instance, they are not allowed to pass resolutions in a legislative form, &c. By the same law, all *non*-political circles and *private* reunions are thrown entirely under the supervision and caprice of the police.

By the law of June 19-22, 1849, government is authorised, for the period of one year, to suppress all clubs and meetings of which it may not approve. By the law of June 6-12, 1850, this power is granted to government for another year, and actually extended to those reunions and meetings relative to the election of Deputies, that may displease the government! The result is that, virtually, since July, 1848, all clubs and public meetings have ceased, with the exception of the Royalist and Bonapartist *cercles.*

By the law of November 29, 1849, imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months, and a fine to an amount not exceeding 3,000 francs, is decreed against all working-men who may unite for a rise in wages. And, by the same law, these working-men are subjected to five years' *surveillance* of the police (which means beggary, ruin, and persecution) after the completion of their sentence.

So much for the right of association and of public meeting.

"§ 9. The right of tuition is free. The freedom of tuition shall be enjoyed on the conditions fixed by law, and under the supervision of the state."

Here the old joke is repeated. "Tuition is free", but "under the conditions fixed by law"; and these are precisely the conditions that take away the freedom altogether.

By the law of March 15, 1850, the whole system of tuition is placed under the supervision of the clergy.

At the head of this branch of government stands a *conseil superieur de l'instruction publique*, presided over by four French archbishops. It subjects all the provincial schoolmasters, although elected by the common councils or parochial councils, to the will of the *recteurs*, or rectors. The teachers are placed in a state similar to military subordination and discipline, under the rectors, mayors, and parsons, and the freedom of education consists according to the law already quoted, in this: that no one has the right to teach without the permission of the civil and clerical authorities.

"§ 11. The rights of property are inviolable."

"§ 14. The national debt is guaranteed."

"§ 15. Taxes are levied only for the public service. Every citizen contributes according to his property and ability."

CAP. III.—ON THE AUTHORISATION OF OFFICE

This Chapter affirms—

"1.[a] That all public authority is derived from the people, and cannot be made hereditary."

"2. That the division of powers is the primary condition of a free government."

Here we have the old constitutional folly. The condition of a "free government" is not the *division*, but the *unity* of power. The machinery of government cannot be too simple. It is always the craft of knaves to make it complicated and mysterious.

CAP. IV.—ON THE LEGISLATIVE POWER

The legislative power is vested in a single assembly of 750 representatives, including those of Algeria and the colonies. Any assemblies that may be called to revise the constitution must consist of 900 persons. The electoral system is based on the population. Four paragraphs now follow, which it will be requisite to give in full:

"§ 24. The electoral franchise is direct and universal, the form of voting, secret."

"§ 25. All Frenchmen, 21 years of age, in possession of their political and civil rights, are electors without reference to any electoral census."

[a] This and the next paragraph are numbered 18 and 19 in the Constitution.— *Ed.*

"§ 26. All electors, 25 years of age, are eligible to be elected as representatives, without domiciliary limitation."

"§ 27. The Electoral Law will ascertain the causes which can deprive a French citizen of the right to elect and to be elected."

The above articles are conceived in exactly the same spirit, as all the rest of the constitution. "All Frenchmen are electors, who enjoy their political rights"—but "the electoral law" is to decide what Frenchmen shall *not* enjoy their political rights!

The electoral law of March 15, 1849, reckoned under this category all criminals, but not political offenders. The electoral law of May 31, 1850, added not only the political offenders, all those who had been convicted of "offending against old-established opinions", and against the laws regulating the press, but it actually established domiciliary restrictions, by which two-thirds of the French people are incapable of voting!

That is what "the electoral franchise, direct and universal", means in France.

"§ 28. No paid public functionary can at the same time be a representative of the people. No representative can become the holder of a paid function dependent on the constitution during the continuance of the legislative assembly."

These two provisions have been limited by later decisions, and are, virtually, almost nullified.

"§ 30. The elections take place by departments, at the principal place of the district, and by means of voting tickets."

"§ 31. The National Assembly is elected for three years, when a new election must take place."

"§ 32. Its session is permanent, but it is empowered to adjourn, and must then name a commission as its representatives consisting of 25 Deputies, and the members of the *bureau* of the assembly. This commission is empowered to summon the assembly in cases of emergency."

§§ 33-38. The representatives are re-eligible. They are not to be bound by any fixed instructions, they are inviolable, and cannot be prosecuted or convicted for the opinions they may express in the assembly, and they receive a salary which they are not *permitted* to refuse.

As to the "inviolability of the representative", and his "freedom of expressing his opinions", the majority passed a new *règlement* after the 13th of June,[a] empowering the president of the National Assembly to decree the *censure* against a representative, to fine him, to deprive him of his salary, and temporarily *to expel him*—thus utterly annihilating the "freedom of opinion". In 1850 the assembly

[a] June 13, 1849 (see pp. 105-06 of this volume).—*Ed.*

passed a law by which representatives can be arrested for debt even during the session of the house, and if they do not pay within a given time, forfeit their functions as representatives.

Thus neither the freedom of debate nor the inviolability of the representative exists in France—but only the inviolability of the creditor.

§§ 39-42. The sittings of the assembly shall be public. Nevertheless, the assembly can resolve itself into a private committee, at the request of the requisite number of representatives. To make a law valid, it must be voted by one more than the half of the representatives. Except in pressing cases no bill can be passed that has not been read three times, with an interval of five days between each reading.

This form, borrowed from the English "constitution", is not observed in France on any important occasions—indeed, on those on which it might be supposed most requisite. For instance, the electoral law of May 31[a] was passed after one reading.

### CAP. V.—ON THE EXECUTIVE POWER

§§ 43-44. The executive power is entrusted to a president. The president must be a born Frenchman, at least 30 years of age, and must never have lost his qualification as a French citizen.

The first president of the French republic, L. N. Bonaparte, had not only lost his qualification as a French citizen, had not only been an English special constable,[411] but was a naturalised Swiss.

§§ 45-70. The president of the republic is elected for four years, and not re-eligible till after four years from the expiration of his term of office. The same restriction applies to his relatives to the 6th degree inclusive. The election is to take place on the second Sunday in May. Should the president have been elected at any other time, his powers cease on the second Sunday in May, in the fourth year after his election. He is elected by secret vote, and by an *absolute* majority. If no candidate has more than half the number of recorded votes, but at least two million, the national assembly may elect the president out of those five candidates who have polled the largest number.

The president must swear fealty to the constitution, may submit propositions to the assembly, through his ministers, can dispose of the army, without commanding it in person, is not allowed to cede

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[a] May 31, 1850 (see p. 136-44 of this volume).—*Ed.*

# THE CONSTITUTIONS OF EUROPE,

COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES; WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF LEADING CONTINENTAL DEMOCRATS.

## No. I. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC ADOPTED NOVEMBER, 4, 1848.

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Before the Insurrection of June, the National Assembly had drawn up a constitution, which contained among many other recognitions of the rights and duties of man, the following articles.

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After the victories of June 1848 had given courage to the middle-class, they erased these three articles from

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"§ 3. The residence of every one on French territory is inviolable—and it is not allowed to enter it otherwise than in the forms prescribed by law."

Observe here and throughout that the French constitution guarantees liberty, but always with the proviso *of exceptions made by law*, or which may STILL BE MADE! and all the exceptions made by the Emperor Napoleon, by the restoration, and by Louis Philippe, have not only been retained, but, after the June-Revolution, immeasurably multiplied. Thus, for instance, the law of the 9th August 1849, relative to the State of Siege, which the Assembly, and during its prorogation, the President can enact, and which gives to the military authorities the right of bringing all political offenders before a court-martial. It further grants them the power to enter and search any house by day or night, to seize all arms, and to remove all persons not having a domicile in the place declared under a state of siege.

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The law of July 23, 1850, *raises* the security-

The first page of Karl Marx's article "The Constitution of the French Republic", which appeared in *Notes to the People*

any portion of the French territory, nor to dissolve or prorogue the assembly, neither may he suspend the authority of the constitution. He negotiates and ratifies all treaties, which, however, do not become definitively binding till sanctioned by the assembly. He is not allowed to undertake any war without the consent of the assembly—may exercise the prerogative of pardoning, but is not allowed to grant an amnesty. Those condemned by the *Haute Cour* can be pardoned only by the national assembly. The president may postpone the promulgation of a law, and demand that the assembly deliberate thereon again. But such deliberation then becomes definitive. He appoints ambassadors and ministers, and may suspend, during three months, the mayors, departmental councils, national guards, etc., elected by the citizens. All his decrees must be countersigned by the ministers, with exception of the dismissal of the ministers themselves. The president, ministers, and public officers are severally answerable in their own departments for every act of the government. Every act whereby the president may influence, delay, or prevent the due exercise of the functions of the assembly, is an act of high treason. By such an act the president is at once deprived of his authority—it becomes the duty of every citizen to refuse obedience to his mandates, and the power of his office devolves forthwith on the assembly, the judges of the *Haute Cour de Justice* are to meet without loss of time, and to summon the juries to a given place, to judge the president and his accomplices.

The president has the use of an official residence, and an annual salary of 600,000 francs, or £24,000. [He now receives 2,160,000 francs, or £86,400.] The ministers have a seat ex officio in the national assembly, and may speak as often as they choose. The national assembly elects a vice-president of the republic, out of three candidates which the president may name within one month after his own election. The vice-president takes the same oath as the president, must not be a relation of the president, takes the president's place where the latter is prevented from acting, and officiates as president of the Council of State. If the presidential chair becomes vacated through death, or any other cause, a new election is to take place within one month.

### CAP. VI.—THE COUNCIL OF STATE

§§ 71-75. The Council of State is merely a deliberative body, for considering the propositions to be submitted by the cabinet—and those that may be forwarded from the assembly.

CAP. VII.—THE INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

This chapter deals with the clergy,[a] the principal magistrates, the common and provincial councils. The only article of consequence, and one that is made use of to the fullest possible extent, is the following:

§ 80. The general councils, the cantonal councils, and the common councils, may be dissolved by the President with sanction of the Council of State.

CAP. VIII.—ON THE JUDICIAL POWER

Generally speaking, this chapter merely reproduces the enactments of the Emperor Napoleon. The following additions are, however, deserving notice:

"§ 81. Justice is exercised gratuitously, in the name of the French people."

This is so little the case, that one is not even beheaded for nothing!

§§ 91-100, treat of the *Haute Cour de Justice*, which is alone empowered to judge the President, before which the ministers can be arraigned, and all political offenders the National Assembly may think proper to send before that tribunal.

This "High Court" consists of five judges that the court of Cassation (the highest tribunal of France) elects out of its own members, and of thirty-six jury-men taken from the general councils of the departments, by an entirely aristocratic body. The only individuals hitherto tried by this tribunal, are the accused of May 15, 1848—(here the names of *Barbès, Blanqui*, and others rise up in judgment![412]) and the deputies compromised on June 13, 1849.

By the law of August 7, 1848, all those who cannot read and write are erased from the jury list, thus disqualifying two-thirds of the adult population!

CAP. IX.—OF THE ARMED POWER

The entire of the old military law is left in existence. The crimes of the soldier are not cognisable before the civil tribunals. The following paragraph illustrates the spirit of this constitution.

"§ 102. Every Frenchman is liable to military service, and to serve in the national guard, with exception of those cases provided by the law."

Every man having money, can absolve himself from the obligation of service.

The working classes are entirely excluded from the ranks of the national guard, by the law now under consideration, the second

[a] Presumably a slip of the pen: "officials" rather than "clergy" would seem to be the right word here.— *Ed.*

reading of which has been already carried! Moreover the President has the right to suspend for one year the national guards of every parish—and, actually, throughout half France, the national guard has been dissolved!

CAP. X.—SPECIAL ENACTMENTS

"§ 110. The National Assembly confides the Constitution to the vigilance and patriotism of the entire people"

—and confides the "vigilant" and "patriotic" to the tender mercies of the *Haute Cour*!—June 13!

CAP. XI.—ON THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

"§ 111. Should the Assembly, at the close of its session, express a desire for a total or partial change in the Constitution, the revision shall be proceeded with in the following manner:—The wish expressed by the Assembly cannot become law till after three successive debates, which must take place after the interval of one month between each, and can be carried only by three-fourths of the votes, those voting being not less than 500 in number. The assembly called for the purpose of the revision is elected for only three months, and must not, except in very pressing cases, entertain any other question."

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Such is the "Constitution of the French Republic", and such is the manner in which it has been used. The reader will at once see that from beginning to end it is a mass of fine words, hiding a most treacherous design. From its very wording, it is rendered *impossible* to violate it, for every one of its provisions contains its own antithesis—utterly nullifies itself. For instance:—"the vote is direct and universal",—"*excepting* those cases which the *law* shall determine".

Therefore it cannot be said that the law of May 31, 1850 (disfranchising two-thirds of the people) at all violates the Constitution.

The Constitution constantly repeats the formula, that the regulation and limitation of the rights and liberties of the people (e. g., the right of association, of the Franchise, the Freedom of the Press, of Tuition, etc.) shall be determined by a subsequent *organic law*,—and these "organic laws" "determine" the promised freedom by destroying it. This trick of granting full liberty, of laying down the finest principles, and leaving their application, the *details*, to be decided by subsequent laws, the Austrian and Prussian middle-classes, have borrowed from their French prototypes, the same thing had been done in the French Constitution of 1830—and in those previously enacted.

People! Make up your minds as to *details*,[413] as well as to principles, before you come to power. Therefore the struggle was fought in the English convention on this very point!

The only clauses in the whole constitution that are positive and definite, are those on the election of the President (§ 45) and the Revision of the Constitution (§ 111). These are the only provisions that *can* be violated, for they are the only ones that do not carry their own contradiction with them.

They were aimed by the Constituent Assembly of 1848, directly against Bonaparte—whose intrigues for the presidential office alarmed the deputies.

The eternal contradictions of this Constitution of Humbug, show plainly enough, that the middle-class can be democratic in *words*, but will not be so in deeds—they will recognise the truth of a principle, but never carry it into practice—and the real "Constitution" of France is to be found, not in the Charter we have recorded, but in the *organic laws* enacted on its basis, an outline of which we have given to the reader. The *principles* were there—the *details* were left to the future, and in those details a shameless tyranny was re-enacted!

The excess of despotism reached in France will be apparent by the following regulations as to working men.

Every working man is supplied with a book by the police—the first page of which contains his name, age, birthplace, trade or calling, and a description of his person. He is therein obliged to enter the name of the master for whom he works, and the reasons why he leaves him. But this is not all: the book is placed in the master's hands, and deposited by him in the *bureau* of the police with the character of the man by the master. When a workman leaves his employment, he must go and fetch this book from the police office; and is not allowed to obtain another situation without producing it. Thus the workman's bread is utterly dependent on the police. But this again, is not all: this book serves the purpose of a passport. If he is obnoxious, the police write "*bon pour retourner chez lui*"[a] in it, and the workman is obliged to return to his parish! No comment is needed on this terrific revelation! Let the reader picture to himself its full working, and trace it to its actual consequences. No serfdom of the feudal ages—no pariahdom of India has its parallel. What wonder if the French people pant for the hour of insurrection. What wonder if their indignation take the aspect of a storm. They were merciful in 1830, they were merciful in 1848; but since then their

[a] "To be sent home".—*Ed.*

liberty has been trafficked away, their blood has been shed in torrents, every prison in France is crowded with life-long captives,—15,000 were transported in one mass and the dreadful despotism we have described rests on them now. What wonder that the middle-class should fear the people, and that they should strain their last nerve to keep the hour of retribution in abeyance. But they are divided among themselves. They have too many conflicting ambitions, and foremost on the cards stands

### THE GAME OF NAPOLEON.

The question now is, shall the presidential powers be prolonged, and shall the constitution be revised. Napoleon cannot be re-elected, without an open breach of the constitution for 1stly, he cannot be re-elected until after a period of four years from the expiration of his term of office; and, 2ndly, the constitution cannot be revised except by a majority of two-thirds. Such a majority in favour of that question does not exist, therefore, a constitutional re-election is not possible.

The only alternative for Bonaparte is, therefore, to defy the constitution, take up arms, and fight it out, or a legitimate surrender of his functions at the time prescribed. In the latter case Cavaignac will become President, and the *republic of the middle-class* will be perfected. In the former the issues are more complicated.

The game of Napoleon, therefore, now is, to work on the discontent of the people. The middle-class are the enemies of Napoleon,—the people know it, and there is one bond of sympathy between them. He, however, shares the odium of oppression jointly with the middle-class; if he can cast it off his shoulders entirely on theirs, one great obstacle will have been removed.

This he is endeavouring to do—as proved by his recent speech at Dijon, where he says:

"Every bad law has been enacted by the assembly, every good law that I proposed has been rejected or mutilated by that body. They have thwarted me in every attempt to better your condition, and raised obstacles against improvement where none existed."[414]

Thus he is endeavouring to guide the lightning, from his own head on to that of the assembly. Meanwhile, the army are more with him than with the latter body,—and such is the misery of the people that almost any change would be for the better in the estimation of the many, while the enlightened are but the minority.

Therefore, supposing the middle-class to risk the struggle under Cavaignac, on finding Bonaparte determined, the people would certainly fight against them—and Bonaparte would be fighting with the people. Combined, they would prove too strong for the assembly. But then would come the critical time; the assembly finding that the people were about to conquer, would prefer the lesser of two evils. They would prefer an Empire or a Dictatorship of Napoleon, to a Democratic and Social Republic, and would, therefore, come to terms with the President. The latter dreading, as much as they, the democratic power, would accept their aid. The army, or a portion of it at least, would have become still more attached to Napoleon by the excitement, peril, and "glory" of strife; and the struggle would then assume a new aspect, that of the army and the *bourgeoisie* against the People. The issue depends on the courage, sense, and union of the latter. The game of Napoleon, is, first to play off the People against the middle-class. Then to play off the middle-class against the people and to use the army against them both.

The future is pregnant with great events, and the present of France is one of the most interesting studies history affords.

Written between May 24 and June 8, 1851 Reprinted from the journal

First published in the *Notes to the People* No. 7, June 14, 1851

# FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

# Karl Marx

## [ON GERMANY]

### NOTE FOR THE "REVIEW" (MAY-OCTOBER 1850)[415]

1) Supremacy of Russia emerging openly. Hegemony divided between Prussia and Austria. The minor states formally secured once more thanks to their rivalry, true. But the princes of the minor states (e. g. Hesse,[416] Baden) disgraced in the eyes of most Germans, and thus the differences between the various houses and small townships, which were still being so keenly asserted as recently as 1848, smashed. Equally, in consequence of the results of the 1848 movement, the authority of all existing official powers diminished.

2) *Prussia.* Although excluded from the *government,* humiliated, sham Constitution, the bourgeoisie achieved everything and more than it dared demand in 1847.

3) *Austria*—hitherto the peasantry given preference, reaped the results of the revolution.

Protectionism.[417]

4) *Trade policy differences between Austria and Prussia.* Free trade; in Prussia nobility, as in England industrial bourgeoisie.

Written in September and October 1850

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# Karl Marx

## REFLECTIONS[418]

There is a division of trade into trade between dealers and dealers on the one hand, and between dealers and consumers on the other. Transfer of capital takes place in the former case, exchange of income for capital in the latter; the former has its own money, the latter its own coin. This distinction, which was made by Adam Smith, is very important and has been emphasised by Tooke, and even earlier by the Report of the Bullion Committee.[a 419] What is missing however is an examination of the relationship between these two kinds of trade and of money.

(1) All crises show in fact that the trade between dealers and dealers constantly exceeds the bounds set by the trade between dealers and consumers. All propositions advanced by economists to prove the impossibility of over-production, or at any rate universal over-production, deal only with trade between dealers and dealers, as already Sismondi rightly pointed out in his polemic against McCulloch.[b] This becomes even more evident when one considers that at least three-quarters of the exchange between dealers and consumers consists of exchange between workers on the one hand and retail traders and artisans on the other; this exchange however depends in turn on the exchange between workers and industrial capitalists, which in its turn is determined by the exchange between dealer and dealer—*cercle vicieux.*

(2) It is true that, as Adam Smith says, the exchange between dealers and dealers is bound to be circumscribed by the exchange

[a] *Report, together with Minutes of Evidence, and Accounts, from the Select Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Cause of the High Price of Gold Bullion. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 8 June 1810.—Ed.*

[b] Simonde de Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique ou de la richesse dans ses rapports avec la population*, T. IV, Paris, 1827.—*Ed.*

between dealers and consumers, since the prices at which the commodities are sold to the latter are the final prices, which must retrospectively balance the costs of production expended in the preceding transactions as well as the profits. However on the basis of Adam Smith's proposition, the whole economy has been inanely over-simplified by Proudhon[a] and others. The matter is not so simple. First, the trade between dealers and dealers in England, for example, is by no means circumscribed by the trade between dealers and consumers in England, but more or less by that between dealers and consumers on the world market as a whole. For instance, the India Company[420] or East India merchants send indigo to the London market. There it is auctioned. This is a transaction between dealers and dealers. The purchaser of the indigo sells part of it in France, Germany, etc., where it is bought by various dealers and manufacturers. Whether they will in the end recover the price of the indigo, will depend on how the final product is sold to the consumer, who lives perhaps on the Ionian Islands or in Afghanistan or in Adelaide. It would therefore be wrong to say that the trade between dealers and dealers in one country is limited by the trade between dealers and consumers in that country. If this trade is universal, it is limited by the trade between dealers and consumers on the world market, and this is all the more the case when the trade between dealers and dealers is conducted on a large scale and the country occupies a prominent position on the world market.

*Secondly.* Because the working class forms the largest section of consumers, one could say the fact that the income of the working class decreases—not in one country, as Proudhon thinks, but on the world market—leads to an imbalance between production and consumption, and hence over-production. This is largely correct. But it is modified by the growing extravagance of the propertied classes. It would be wrong to put forward this proposition unconditionally—as though the trade of the planter were determined by the consumption of his Negroes.

*Thirdly.* The trade between dealers and dealers largely creates the trade between dealers and consumers. For example, when manufacturers receive very large orders from speculators, workers are fully employed, their wages rise and so does their consumption. Speculative railway construction enterprises actually create large-scale consumption, which in the end proves to be entirely "unproductive". We also find that in fact the trade between dealers

[a] Probably a reference to Proudhon's book *Système des contradictions économiques, ou Philosophie de la misère*, T. 1-2, Paris, 1846. For a critical examination of this book see Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* in Vol. 6 (pp. 105-212) of the present edition.—*Ed.*

and consumers is in most cases ultimately thwarted by that between dealers and dealers. The crisis always begins in the former, often of course after the demand of the limited forces of consumption has been met, but often simply because supply exceeds ostensible estimates (e. g. in the case of speculations in corn).

*Fourthly.* Over-production must not be attributed solely to disproportionate production, but to the relationship between the class of capitalists and that of workers.

(3) As to the *currency* which is found in the two distinct forms of trade—the currency used in trade properly speaking and the currency used in the exchange of income for commodities, i. e. for particles of capital—it is insufficient to state that a division exists between the two currencies, it is also a question of their connection and interaction. The money of private individuals, of the consumers, that is in the first place of all political and ideological strata, secondly of those who live on the rent of land, thirdly of so-called (non-industrial) capitalists, of the public creditors, etc., even of the workers (in the savings-banks), in short the *surplus* of the receipts of the non-trading classes of the population over their everyday expenditure and over that part of their money which they themselves think they must always have at their disposal, that is which they keep (hoard) at home as a reserve—this surplus is the chief source of *deposits*, which in their turn form the main basis of *commercial money*. Transfers, credit operations, in short the entire monetary movement within this commercial world, depend on the deposits of that part of the population that consists mainly not of tradespeople. In [...][a] of credit failure the deposits are withdrawn from commerce. Capital becomes unproductive, because the means enabling the classes that direct production to use this capital are destroyed in their hands. On the other hand, since these classes need money for their transactions with one another and the banker no longer lends money to the grocer and the manufacturer, the income of the consumers diminishes and consequently also the amount of money in their hands, thus the complaints about lack of money move from the commercial world into the world of the consumers.

(4) It would be wrong to say that lack of credit is of paramount importance in times of crisis, and currency is of no importance. It is evident from the reasons mentioned earlier that the amount of currency is then at its lowest ebb precisely because on the one hand its velocity has decreased and secondly because cash is required in numerous transactions where it was not required previously. But it is

[a] Illegible in the manuscript, presumably "times".—*Ed.*

precisely this which accentuates the great difference between the amount of money and the value of the operations transacted with a relatively small quantity of currency. There is therefore in fact a lack of currency and not a lack of capital. Capital loses its value and cannot be turned to account. But what does cannot be turned to account mean in this context? It cannot be transformed into currency, and it is precisely its convertibility which constitutes its value. But in spite of all that, capital exists.

The thing shows itself primarily in the refusal to discount bills of exchange, even those based on *bona fide* transactions. And the bill of exchange is commercial money, its value represents commercial capital. The convertibility of *bank-notes into gold* is a minor matter, the failure of bank-notes merely aggravates the commercial crises. The real difficulty is the *inconvertibility of commodities*, i.e. of the *actual capital*, into gold and bank-notes. It is for this reason that when these phenomena appeared in 1793, 1825 and 1847,[421] it was possible to remedy them where capital actually existed, by issuing exchequer bills and bank-notes. Moreover, it cannot be asserted that these bills and bank-notes were capital. They were merely currency. The crisis did not end, but the currency crisis did. The convertibility of bank-notes, therefore, is based on the convertibility of securities, and not only in banking but also in commerce. But even securities which by their very nature are considered to be convertible, such as government securities and short bills, cease to be convertible. It seems that this is by no means a question of commodities, but of the convertibility of the tokens of value which represent them. Commodities cease to be money, they are not convertible into money. The blame for this is of course put on the monetary system, on a *particular* form of this system. It is due to the existence of the monetary system, just as the latter is based on the present mode of production. But the convertibility of bank-notes into gold is in the end necessary, because the convertibility of commodities into money is necessary, in other words because commodities have exchange value, and this requires a *special* equivalent distinct from the commodities, i.e. because in fact the system of private exchange prevails.

Actually the depreciation of money is even in inverse proportion to the depreciation of commodities. But bank-notes can depreciate in terms of gold only because commodities can depreciate in terms of bank-notes. In any case, what does depreciation of bank-notes mean? That at any particular moment, commodities, i.e. their value, cannot be transformed into gold or silver, and that each intermediate link between the commodities and gold, or each substitute remains only a

substitute and hence without value. The principal question therefore always remains the *inconvertibility of commodities*, of *capital* itself. It is rubbish if some say, there is no lack of currency but lack of capital. Currency is of no consequence. For what matters here is precisely the difference between capital, i.e. commodities, and currency. What matters is the fact that the former does not necessarily entail the latter as its representative, that is as its *price* in the commercial world; that capital ceases to be currency, that it can no longer circulate and has no longer value. When capital appears to be a *secondary matter*, it is ridiculous to present currency as a secondary matter. However there is even more nonsense on the other side. They acknowledge the inconvertibility of capital and make fun of the convertibility of bank-notes. But they want to offset this by some artifice or other and by modifying the *monetary system*. As if the inconvertibility of capital were not already contained in the existence of any monetary system, indeed as if it were not contained even in the existence of products in the form of capital. Trying to alter this on the existing basis means depriving money of its monetary qualities, without conferring on capital the quality of always being exchangeable, and moreover at its fair price.

The *existence of a monetary system* entails not only the possibility but even the reality of this separation, and the fact that this system exists proves that the inconvertibility of capital, because it is appropriate to money, is already entailed by the existence of capital, and therefore by the entire organisation of production. It would be just as wrong however to say that the pressure on the money market was simply caused by fraudulent credit operations. Money as such implies the credit system. Or both are produced by the same cause. The Birmingham men,[422] who want to do away with the inconveniences of money by putting large quantities of money into circulation, or by lowering the standard of money, are of course fools. Proudhon, Gray and others who want to retain money but in such a way that it should no longer have the properties of money, are also fools. Since it is in the money market that the entire crisis erupts and all the features of bourgeois production recur as symptoms, which, it is true, become incidental causes, nothing is simpler to understand than the fact that it is money that narrow-minded reformers who stick to the bourgeois standpoint want to reform. Because they want to retain value and private exchange, they retain the division between the product and its exchangeability. *But they want to modify the token of this division in such a way that it expresses identity.*[a]

[a] Marx marked the last two sentences with a vertical line in the margin.—*Ed.*

(5) The complete simpletons, i. e. the staunch ignorant democrats, are familiar only with *money* as used in the trade between dealers and consumers. They therefore do not know the sphere in which the collisions take place, the tempests of monetary crises and big financial transactions. Thus the problem, just as everything else, appears to these simpletons to be as simple and silly as they themselves are. They regard the trade between dealers and consumers as a straightforward exchange of values, in which the freedom of each individual receives its supreme practical confirmation. Class antagonism is in no way involved in this exchange. One trader confronts another, one moneyed individual confronts another. The precondition that every individual must be moneyed to be able to participate in the consumer goods trade, i. e. to be able to live, this precondition is of course automatically given by the fact that every individual must work and let his talent[a] act, as Stirner says.[b]

First of all it is a historical fact, which no one can deny, that in all hitherto existing social formations which were based on separation and contradiction between castes, tribes, social estates, classes, etc., money was an essential component of this organisation, and the monetary system was always symptomatic of the heyday or decline of this organisation. It is therefore not our task to prove that the monetary system is based on class contradictions, it is up to the simpletons to prove that, in spite of all previous historical experience, the monetary system can make sense even where there are no class contradictions, and that this particular element present in all social formations up to now will be able to survive in a situation that negates all hitherto existing social formations. To confront complete simpletons with such a task would be too simple. They deal with everything in monosyllables and this constitutes their specific talent. The monetary system and the entire present system are in their opinion as straightforward and as stupid as they themselves are.

But let us again visualise their beloved trade between consumers and dealers. They do not look beyond it, neither sideways nor forward and backward.

What does the free individual use to pay for his purchases at the grocer? He uses an equivalent—or token of value—of his income. The worker exchanges his wages, the manufacturer his profit, the

[a] To be understood both in the old sense of "money", "wealth", and in the modern sense of "ability, aptitude", etc., for the German word *Vermögen* used here means "ability", "capability" as well as "wealth", "fortune", "riches", "property".—*Ed.*

[b] Max Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*, Leipzig, 1845, p. 353. A critical analysis of Stirner's views is given in *The German Ideology* by Marx and Engels published in Vol. 5 of the present edition.—*Ed.*

capitalist his interest, the landowner his rent—transformed into gold and silver and bank-notes—at the grocer, the cobbler, the butcher, the baker, etc. And what does the cobbler, the grocer, and so on, exchange for the money which represents wages, rent, profit and interest? He exchanges his capital for it. He replaces his capital, reproduces it and expands it in this transaction.

Thus *to begin with* in this seemingly so simple transaction all class relations manifest themselves and are presupposed, [i. e.] the classes of workers, of landowners, and of industrial and non-industrial capitalists. On the other hand, it first and foremost presupposes the existence of these specific social relations, which give wealth the form of capital, and separate capital from revenue. The simplicity disappears with the transformation into money.

The fact that the worker receives his wages in money—and likewise the landowner his rent and the manufacturer his profit—and not as provisions in kind, payment in kind or by means of barter, merely shows that the monetary system presupposes a high level of development and greater differentiation and separation of classes than does the absence of a monetary system in the pre-monetary stages of society. There is no wage labour without money, and therefore also no profit and interest in the latter form, and accordingly no rent of land either as this is simply a part of profit.

It is true that income in the form of money, i. e. in the form of gold, silver or bank-notes, no longer shows that it appertains to an individual exclusively as a member of a definite class, as a class individual, unless someone has obtained it by begging or stealing, that is to say by misappropriating an income of this type, and thus represents a class individual as a result of rather drastic measures. The transformation into gold or silver blurs the class character and veils it. Hence the apparent equality—apart from money—in bourgeois society. Hence in a society with a completely developed monetary system, there is, on the other hand, actually real civil equality of individuals insofar as they have money, irrespective of their source of income. In such a society, as distinct from ancient society where only the privileged strata could exchange certain things, everything is available to any person, any kind of material exchange can be carried out by everybody, in accordance with the amount of money into which his income can be converted. Whores, science, patronage, decorations, rent of land, lickspittles, all these are objects of exchange, just as coffee, sugar and herrings are. In the case of the estate system, the consumption of the individual, his material exchange, depends on the particular division of labour to

which he is subordinated. In the class system it depends only on the universal medium of exchange which he is able to acquire. In the first case, he as a socially circumscribed person takes part in exchange operations which are circumscribed by his social position. In the second case he as an owner of the universal medium of exchange is able to obtain everything that society can offer in exchange for this token of everything. In the exchange of money for commodities, in this trade between dealers and consumers, the manufacturer, when he buys at the grocer, is just as much a consumer as his worker, and the servant obtains the same commodities for the same amount of money as his master. Thus the specific nature of the income which has been transformed into money disappears in this exchange and the class characteristics of all individuals are blurred and merge in the category of buyer, who in this transaction faces the seller. Hence the illusion of seeing not an individual member of a class in this act of buying and selling, but the purchasing individual as such without class characteristics.

Now let us disregard for the moment the specific nature of the income, which is not evident in gold and silver any more than is the smell of urine in the tax on brothels, of which the Roman Emperor Hadrian said: *non olet!*[a] This nature emerges however in the amount of money which is at the person's disposal. The range of the purchases is in the main determined by the nature of the income. The quantity and the kind of articles bought by the largest class of consumers, the workers, is indicated by the nature of their income. It is however true that the worker can squander his wages on liquor for himself instead of buying meat and bread for his children, a thing he cannot do when he is paid in kind. His personal freedom has thereby been extended, i. e. more latitude has been allowed to the rule of liquor. On the other hand, the money the workers are able to spare after paying for the most essential means of subsistence, can be used by them to buy books, lecturers and meetings, instead of meat and bread. They are in a better position to acquire the universal powers of society, such as the intellectual ones. Where the nature of the income is still determined by the type of occupation, not only as at present by the quantity of the universal medium of exchange, but also by the nature of his occupation, the ways in which the individual can enter into relations with society and appropriate it are extremely limited, and the social organisation for the interchange of the material and intellectual products of society is from the outset

[a] It doesn't smell! (These words are usually attributed to Emperor Vespasianus, who introduced a tax on public lavatories.)—*Ed.*

restricted to a definite method and a particular content. Money, which is the supreme expression of class contradiction, therefore also obscures religious, social, intellectual and individual differences. When confronting the bourgeoisie, the feudal barons for example made futile attempts, by means of luxury laws, politically to check or break this universal levelling power of money. Thus in the commercial transactions between consumers and dealers, the qualitative class differences are transformed into the *quantitative* difference of a larger or smaller amount of money at the disposal of the buyer; and within a single class it is the quantitative difference which constitutes the *qualitative* difference. Hence big bourgeoisie, middle bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie.

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Published in English for the first time

# APPENDICES

# PERMIT TO LEAVE SWITZERLAND ISSUED TO FREDERICK ENGELS[423]

*No. 1279*

| | |
|---|---|
| Surname | Engels, Writer |
| Christian names | Friedrich |
| Place of birth | Barmen (Prussia) |
| Age | 28 years |
| Height | 5 foot 9¾ inches, or 1 metre 79 centimetres |
| Hair | Light brown |
| Forehead | Broad |
| Eyebrows | Light brown |
| Eyes | Brown |
| Nose | Small |
| Mouth | Medium |
| Beard | Light brown |
| Chin | Round |
| Face | Oval |
| Complexion | Ruddy |
| Distinguishing marks | |

Issued for the period of one year on September 11, 1849. Going to England via Piedmont and Spain, to reside there.

(Authorised by Department of Justice and Supervision on September 11, 1849.)

Signature of bearer
*Fred. Engels*[a]

First published in Russian (*Voprosy istorii* No. 11, 1970)

Printed according to the original

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

[a] Signature in Engels' hand.—*Ed.*

# APPEAL FOR SUPPORT FOR GERMAN POLITICAL REFUGEES[424]

Ever since, accompanied by the savage din of war, "peace and order" have been re-established in Germany; ever since, atop the ruins of smouldering cities and amidst the murderous thunder of cannon, the "security of property and person" has been restored; ever since the court-martial has scarcely sufficed to consign one "rebel" after the other with smashed head to the grave; ever since the prisons have no longer proved large enough to accommodate all the "traitors"; ever since the only remaining form of justice has been martial law—since that time thousands upon thousands of people have been wandering without shelter in foreign lands.

From day to day their number grows and with it the misfortune of those without a homeland; turned away from one place to the next, they do not know in the morning where they will lay their heads that evening, nor in the evening where tomorrow's food is coming from.

There is an emigration of countless numbers filling Switzerland, France and England. Those wretched people have come from all the provinces of Germany.

Anyone who mounted the barricades in Vienna against the black and yellow[a] "league" and grappled with Jellachich's Serezhans[425]; anyone who fled from the soldiery of Wrangel and Brandenburg in Prussia; anyone who in Dresden took up the musket to defend the Imperial Constitution, and anyone who in Baden saw action as a republican soldier against the united crusading army of the princes—whether liberal, democrat, republican or socialist: supporters of the most varied political doctrines and interests, they are all united in the same exile and the same misery.

Dressed in rags, half a nation is begging at the doors of foreigners.

Our fugitive compatriots are also wandering on the cold pavement of the resplendent metropolis, London. Every ship that crosses the

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[a] Black and yellow were the official colours of the Austrian Empire.—*Ed.*

Channel brings from across the sea a new multitude of people without a homeland; in every street of the city one can hear the grief of an exile lamenting in our tongue.

This distress has deeply stirred many German friends of liberty in London. Therefore on September 18 of this year a general meeting was held of the German Workers' Educational Society and the refugees from our nation who had arrived here, in order to set up a Committee of Support for Democrats in Need. Those elected were:

Karl Marx, former editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*;

Karl Blind, former envoy in Paris of the Baden-Palatinate Government;

Anton Füster, former member of the Austrian Imperial Diet in Vienna;

Heinrich Bauer, master shoemaker in London; and

Karl Pfänder, a painter here.

This Committee will render a public account every month, both at the general meeting and in the form of extracts in German newspapers. In order to avoid any misinterpretation it has been decided that *no member of the Committee may draw any assistance whatsoever from the fund.* Should a member of the Committee ever be in need of assistance in the future, then he will cease to be a member of the Committee.

We ask you now, friends and brothers, to do whatever lies in your power. If you are concerned that liberty, crushed and enchained, should rise again, and if you have a feeling in your hearts for the sufferings of your best champions, then there will be no great need of exhortations from us.

All donations should be addressed to: "Heinrich Bauer, master shoemaker, 64 Dean Street, Soho Square, London." Whatever is enclosed should be marked "for the Refugee Committee".

London, September 20, 1849

The Committee of Support for German Political Refugees:

*Anton Füster, Karl Marx, Karl Blind,*
*Heinrich Bauer, Karl Pfänder*

Published in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 106, September 25, 1849; the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* No. 228, September 26, 1849; the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 238, September 28, 1849; the *Demokratische Zeitung* No. 220, September 30, 1849, and in other newspapers

Printed according to the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*

Published in English for the first time

# RECEIPT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SUPPORT FOR GERMAN POLITICAL REFUGEES IN LONDON

November 13, 1849

We acknowledge receipt through Herr G. Tichen in Stettin[a] of £11.14s. for which we express our gratitude on behalf of the needy German political refugees.

London, November 13, 1849

The Committee of Support for German Political Refugees

Signed: Dr. *Karl Marx, Henry Bauer, Karl Pfänder*

First published in the *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* No. 208, November 23, 1849

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] The Polish name is Szczecin.—*Ed.*

# ACCOUNTS OF THE COMMITTEE OF SUPPORT FOR GERMAN REFUGEES IN LONDON

On November 18 of this year the German Workers' Society in London held a general meeting, attended by the majority of the political refugees there, to adopt the accounts of the Committee of Support [for refugees] formed at an earlier meeting.[a]

Total receipts since September 22 of this year were:

| | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. From the Workers' Society in London | 2 | 8 | $4^1/_2$ |
| 2. From the German Readers' Society in London | 2 | 15 | — |
| 3. From the editorial board of *The Northern Star* in London | — | 5 | — |
| 4. From Citizen Eddäus in London | — | 1 | — |
| 5. Collected by Citizen Siefert in London | — | 9 | 6 |
| 6. From Citizen Görringer in London | 1 | 5 | 9 |
| 7. Collected by Citizen H. Bauer in London | 7 | 1 | 9 |
| 8. From German workers in Paris, through Citizen Heidecker | — | 12 | 1 |
| 9. From Huddersfield through Citizen Krepp | 3 | — | — |
| 10. From Stettin in Prussia | 18 | 14 | — |
| Total.... | 36 | 12 | $5^1/_2$ |

[a] See this volume, p. 597.— *Ed.*

Expenditures on refugees from September 22 to November 18 of this year were:

| | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kleiner | 3 | 17 | 2 |
| 2. Zschinski | 3 | 17 | 4 |
| 3. Fröhlich | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| 4. Henser | 3 | 7 | 6 |
| 5. Egener | 1 | 19 | — |
| 6. W. Töpffer | 1 | 11 | 7 |
| 7. J. Töpffer | 1 | 4 | 4 |
| 8. To the refugees Blei, Bergmann, Osoba, Wessely, Braulichy and Klein, together | 2 | 8 | 10 |
| 9. To the refugee merchant Schopp and family, against an I. O. U. | 4 | — | — |
| 10. Costs of printing and subscription lists | 1 | 15 | $2^1/_2$ |
| Total | 26 | 3 | $^1/_2$ |
| Total receipts | 36 | 12 | $5^1/_2$ |
| Total expenditure | 26 | 3 | $^1/_2$ |
| Cash in hand | 10 | 9 | 5 |

Clothing has also been received which has been distributed to the refugees.

The above accounts were adopted unanimously by the meeting. Receipts are to hand for all expenditures and the donors from Huddersfield and Stettin who were not represented have been requested to nominate representatives in London to inspect the receipts.

As the Committee had been depleted by the departure of two members, A. Füster and K. Blind, and as, moreover, an attempt is being made here to set up a counter-committee, independent of the Workers' Society and of the refugees of the social-democratic trend, the Committee returned its mandate to the Society.

The Society thereupon resolved:

1. That the German Workers' Society, acknowledging the work of the hitherto existing Committee, appoints a new committee of five of its members under the title "Social-Democratic Committee of Support for German Refugees".[426] This Committee takes over the balance of the former Committee.

2. The Committee will give priority to members of the social-democratic party but, as far as its funds allow, will not exclude refugees of other trends from its support.

3. The Committee will present monthly accounts to the Workers' Society and will thereupon be reappointed. The accounts will be published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung*, in *The Northern Star*, in the Frankfurt *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, in Cologne in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*, in the *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* in Hamburg, in the Berlin *Demokratische Zeitung*, in the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung*, in the *Schnellpost* and in the *Staatszeitung* in New York.[a]

4. Contributors will be entitled to be personally present at the monthly presentation of accounts, or, if they are not in London, to send a representative to check the books, receipts, and cash in hand.

5. The Workers' Society appoints as committee members Karl Marx, August Willich, Frederick Engels, Heinrich Bauer, Karl Pfänder.

In publishing the above accounts and the decisions of the Workers' Society, the undersigned Committee requests that contributions be sent to Heinrich Bauer, 64 Dean Street, Soho, London.

London, December 3, 1849

The Committee:
*Karl Marx, August Willich, Frederick Engels,*
*Heinrich Bauer, Karl Pfänder*

Published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 245, December 7, 1849; the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 173, December 12, 1849, and the *Demokratische Zeitung* No. 258, December 15, 1849

Printed according to the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*

Published in English for the first time

[a] *Deutsche Schnellpost* and *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*.—*Ed.*

# FROM THE INDICTMENT OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE UPRISING IN ELBERFELD IN MAY 1849[427]

Besides the above-named accused, the tailor Peter Nothjung is also accused of the main crime of the attempt,[a] although he was neither on the Army Reserve Committee nor on the Public Safety Committee. He was von *Mirbach*'s adjutant, and as such was close to the whole movement and, according to his own statement, knew its purpose. At the time of the uprising he went from Cologne, his place of residence, to Elberfeld, where he was asked by the newspaper[b] editor *Engels* and *Hühnerbein*, with whom he was already acquainted, to help the Military Committee[428] with the reception of the men and the writing out of billeting orders. On the same day von *Mirbach* appointed him his adjutant and provided him with a black, red and gold[c] sash as a mark of distinction. According to his own statement the aim of the whole movement was declared by the members of the Public Safety and Military Committees to be the recognition of the German Constitution, and for that reason the citizens should be armed. He fulfilled the functions of adjutant until von *Mirbach*'s departure; he was arrested in the neighbourhood of Ronsdorf....

Frederick *Engels*, a newspaper editor, is also said to have taken part in putting up barricades. Witness Heinrich *Meininghaus* states in particular that a young man with spectacles and a small moustache who was pointed out to him by an armed volunteer as the editor *Engels*, and who conducted himself as one of the leaders, gave the order to strengthen the barricade at the Wunderbau. The

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[a] The charge brought by the judicial authorities was worded: "attempt to overthrow the government".—*Ed.*

[b] The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

[c] Colours symbolising the unity of Germany.—*Ed.*

above-mentioned witnesses *Simon* and *Sauer* also speak of a young man with a small moustache and a check coat who took part in erecting the barricade in front of von der *Heydt*'s house....

The royal arsenal at Gräfrath was repeatedly attacked and looted by armed bands during the disorders in Elberfeld. The first marches of this kind took place on May 10 and 11 but were carried out not by the Elberfeld bands, but by inhabitants of Solingen and the neighbourhood for the purpose of arming those localities and then partly supporting the uprising in Elberfeld and partly spreading it further in the province. These marches on Gräfrath are the objects of a special charge in another investigation into the disorders which took place at the same time in Solingen and the neighbourhood,[429] whereas here it is mainly a matter of the looting of the arsenal which was carried out on May 15 and from Elberfeld. According to statements by several persons who took part in this march, on that day the accused *Karl Jansen* ordered part of his detachment, some 30-40 men, to make a sortie, as he said, against Wald to get weapons there. This detachment was headed by *Jansen* as a captain and *Wohlmeiner* as a lieutenant, and the editor *Engels* joined the two of them. *Engels* and *Jansen* procured themselves two cart-horses on the way at the copper works and rode on them at the head of the detachment as far as the estate of the merchant *Jung* at Hammerstein, where *Engels* exchanged his horse for *Jung*'s saddle-horse, and both he and *Jansen* had riding saddles given to them. After Hammerstein, according to the statement of another of the accused, Wilhelm *Rausch*, *Jansen* gave the order to proceed to Gräfrath to see whether weapons and uniforms which they could use were to be found in the arsenal there. According to the testimony of sergeant *Starke* to the local army reserve administration, and of non-commissioned officer *Steiniger*, 6-8 riflemen in the vanguard of the detachment arrived first at the arsenal and then the armed band of 30-40 men headed by *Engels* and *Jansen*, both on horseback and armed with sabres and pistols. The detachment immediately formed up in front of the arsenal and placed sentries at the doors. Then *Engels* went up to sergeant *Starke* with his pistol drawn, asked him whether any weapons were still available and, on receiving the answer that the weapons had already been taken by force by the Solingen and Wald detachments, ordered him to go into the arsenal with him. Personal resistance by the two army men to the armed band of 30-40 would have been useless, the more so as the doors of the arsenal could not be locked as a result of the earlier attacks by the Solingen detachment. The two army men therefore had to yield to force and allow the arsenal to be entered. There *Engels* chose several

items of armament and uniform and had them brought out into the yard. For these two receipts, not quite identical in wording, were written out over the signature of Captain Karl *Jansen*....

According to these, the items taken out of the arsenal consisted of haversacks, helmets, trousers, cartridge-pouches, pistols, sabres, drums, footwear, and one rifle. On *Jansen*'s order each man of the band took from these the items of clothing which fitted him and the necessary weapons. *Jansen* himself does not deny that he led part of his armed detachment, 36-37[a] strong, to Gräfrath for the above-mentioned purpose; he only asserts that he did so on the basis of a written order which he received from von *Mirbach* on the morning of May 15 for the requisition of equipment on the way to Wald via Gräfrath. He also confirms that *Engels* placed himself with him at the head of the detachment and, on arriving at Gräfrath, posted sentries at the arsenal doors and entered with the sergeant. He maintains that while *Engels* was busy in the arsenal, he himself, leaving Lieutenant *Wohlmeiner* with the detachment, made a reconnaissance of the terrain in the neighbourhood of the arsenal and on his return saw some of the various items of equipment already lying in the square.

... accordingly accused, namely:

... 7. Frederick Engels, Johann Gottfried Wohlmeiner and Karl Jansen

a) of having in May 1849 in Elberfeld placed themselves at the head of an armed band, or having made the relevant arrangements, plundering the state-owned arsenal in Gräfrath; or

b) of having in May 1849 with a band and with open use of force plundered various articles of equipment from the royal arsenal in Gräfrath....

First published in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* Nos. 93 and 95 (supplements), April 19 and 21, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] The *Westdeutsche Zeitung* says "39-40".—*Ed.*

# PRELIMINARIES TO ISSUE OF SHARES IN THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG. POLITISCH-ÖKONOMISCHE REVUE*, EDITED BY KARL MARX

As is generally known, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appeared from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849, under the editorship of *Karl Marx* as a daily newspaper in *Cologne on the Rhine*. It represented the most resolute democratic trend in Germany with such success that in spite of all suspensions and states of siege, in spite of all press trials and persecutions, hostility and obstacles of all kinds it numbered 5,600 subscribers after appearing for only eleven months. After the editorial board was twice acquitted by a jury, the Prussian Government had no other means of suppressing this dreaded paper than the use of force: When the partial uprisings in Rhenish Prussia were suppressed in May last year, the temporary rule of the sabre was used to remove the editorial board from Prussia by force and thus to make the continued appearance of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* impossible.

After taking part in the revolutionary movements of last summer, either in South Germany or in Paris, the majority of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* assembled again in London and decided to continue the paper from there.[a] At first the paper can only appear as a review in monthly issues of approximately five sheets. But it will only fully serve its purpose of exercising an uninterrupted and lasting influence on public opinion, and create new opportunities also from the financial point of view, when the editorial board is in a position to produce issues in more rapid succession. It is therefore intended that, as soon as funds allow, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* should appear as a fortnightly of five sheets or, if possible, as a big weekly journal like the American and English weeklies and, as soon

[a] See this volume, pp. 5-6.— *Ed.*

as conditions permit its return to Germany, at once to transform it again from a weekly journal into a daily newspaper.

A provisional estimate shows that with only fortnightly issues and a sale of 3,000 copies the Revue will yield an annual net profit of 1,900 talers.

To put the enterprise on a secure basis and to enable the Revue to appear fortnightly or weekly, a capital of £500 is needed, and an issue of shares for this amount is hereby opened on the following conditions:

1. Every share is worth 50 francs and will be paid up at once against a provisional receipt later exchangeable for the original share.

2. Every shareholder is liable only for the amount of his share.

3. Shareholders have the right to nominate representatives in London to inspect the conduct of the business.

4. A quarterly general meeting will be called to receive a report on the progress of the enterprise and the accounts and to take decisions on the future control of the conduct of the business. A lithographed business report will be sent to individual shareholders.

5. Profits accruing from the business will be added to the capital until the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* can appear weekly. When the enterprise has prospered thus far, the profit will be divided into three equal parts, one remaining in a reserve fund, one distributed to shareholders as dividend, and the last going to the editorial board.

London, January 1, 1850

*K. Schramm,*
Manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*

Written with the participation of Marx and Engels

Printed according to the manuscript

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, first Russ. ed., Vol. VIII, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930

Published in English for the first time

# ABOUT ENGELS' SPEECH AT A BANQUET HELD ON FEBRUARY 25, 1850, IN HONOUR OF THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

## (From a Newspaper Report)[430]

Citizen Engels, editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, made a speech in French which he ended, amidst thunderous applause, with a toast to the June insurgents.

First published in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 51, March 1, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# ACCOUNTS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC REFUGEE COMMITTEE IN LONDON

1. *Expenditure*

| | | | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| November 1849 | 16 | grants | @ 7s | 5 | 12 | — |
| December " | 29 | " | " 7s | 10 | 3 | — |
| | 3 | " | " 4s | — | 12 | — |
| | 1 | " | " 6s | — | 6 | — |
| | 1 | " | " 3s | — | 3 | — |
| | 2 | " | " 5s | — | 10 | — |
| | 1 | " | " 5s 6d | — | 5 | 6 |
| | 1 | " | " 8s | — | 8 | — |
| | 1 | " | " 12s | — | 12 | — |
| | 4 | " | " 10s | 2 | — | — |
| January 1850 | 20 | " | " 7s | 7 | — | — |
| | 1 | " | " 2s 6d | — | 2 | 6 |
| | 3 | " | " 4s | — | 12 | — |
| February 1 to 23 | 18 | " | " 7s | 6 | 6 | — |
| | 2 | " | " 5s | — | 10 | — |
| | 1 | " | " 2s | — | 2 | — |
| | 5 | " | " 10s | 2 | 10 | — |
| | 1 | " | " 3s | — | 3 | — |
| | 1 | " | " 13s | — | 13 | — |
| | 2 | " | " 1s 3d | — | 2 | 6 |
| | 1 | " | " 1s | — | 1 | — |
| | 114 | grants | totalling | 38 | 13 | 6 |
| Postage, stamp duty, bank charges and writing materials | | | | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| | | | Total | 39 | 18 | 7 |

The expenses include £26 advances to various refugees, who in the meantime have found work, for the purchase of tools, chothing, etc., which they have promised to repay later.

2. *Receipts*

| | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| November 19 | Balance | 10 | 9 | 5 |
| December 1 | From the Workers' Society | — | 3 | 6 |
| " 10 | Through the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* in Cologne 30 talers minus costs | 4 | 1 | — |
| " 15 | From German workers in Paris | 2 | 5 | 10 |
| " 17 | Through Professor Türk in Rostock | 16 | 12 | 6 |
| February 11 | From the Cincinnati Aid Committee | 20 | 18 | — |
| " 20 | From workers in Schwerin | 3 | — | — |
| | Total | 57 | 10 | 3 |
| | Minus the above expenditures | 39 | 18 | 7 |
| | Cash in hand | 17 | 11 | 8 |

The above accounts were presented to the meeting of the local German Workers' Society of March 4 and were found correct. The receipts and the books of the Committee are ready at the Treasurer's for inspection by the donors or their representatives.

Since these accounts were balanced two more items have been received from Cologne and New York, which will be entered in the next account. On the other hand, the number of refugees here needing support has been greatly increased by the constant expulsions from Switzerland and France. New refugees are arriving here almost daily, most of them in a state in which they need not only the usual scanty aid but also urgent outlays for clothes. In these circumstances the funds of the undersigned Committee are used all the more the less successful the attempts to procure means to support the refugees here from other sources appear to have been, and the more often, therefore, all the refugees arriving here are at once directed to the Committee. The efforts of the German workers here and of the refugees themselves have succeeded in finding work for many of these. But a large number of jobs which are available to refugees elsewhere are for various reasons closed to them here, in particular because of the fierce competition in overcrowded London.

Moreover, the rush of new arrivals is so great that in spite of these efforts the list of persons needing support is swelling every week.

Although the greatest economy has been observed in spending the money contributed to the Committee, and regular aid can only cover the most urgent needs, because of the high prices of the necessaries of life prevailing here, the funds of the Committee were bound to shrink very rapidly in these circumstances. We must even fear that we may soon be unable to protect the local unemployed refugees from homelessness and the most extreme misery.

We are therefore appealing once more to the party in Germany itself for funds. We cry out to it that as the number and hence the need of the refugees in Switzerland and France declines, it increases in the same degree in London, and we hope that it will not come to such a pass that people who fought arms in hand for the freedom and honour of the German nation will have to beg for their bread on the street corners of London.

All contributions are requested at the address of

Mr. Henry Bauer
64 Dean Street, Soho
London

London, beginning of March 1850

The Social-Democratic Refugee Committee:
*Karl Marx, Fr. Engels, H. Bauer,*
*A. Willich, Karl Pfänder*

Published in *Die Hornisse* No. 67, March 20, 1850 (abridged) and in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 68, March 21, 1850

Printed according to the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*

Published in English in full for the first time

# ABOUT ENGELS' SPEECH AT A MEETING OF FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS ON APRIL 5, 1850, COMMEMORATING ROBESPIERRE'S BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY

(From a Newspaper Report)[431]

Frederick Engels did justice to the revolutionary spirit of the English. He pointed out that a party of Levellers[432] had already existed at the time of the English Revolution, and ended with the health of the English workers.

First published in *Die Hornisse* No. 89, April 17, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

## MEETING OF REFUGEE COMMITTEE ON APRIL 8, 1850[433]

Citizen Kleiner declares that Citizen R. Schramm has assured him that he does not belong to a refugee committee, but has merely received a number of lottery tickets from Galeer in Geneva with instructions to send the money to Geneva. The other committee meets at Hillmann's, is merely posing as a committee and, he believes, has no money.

Read, approved and signed

*W. Kleiner*
*Beyerle*

Citizen Gnam: Citizen Struve declares that he has no money for refugees. He has received a hundred lottery tickets from Galeer but has not yet disposed of them. Should he receive the money for them, he will either pay the money in to some committee that might be set up, or use his own judgment in giving the money to the refugees in return for a receipt. He regrets the splits that exist amongst the German émigrés; if these splits did not exist thousands of guilders would find their way here. For this reason he would advise the refugees to form a committee among themselves.

Read, approved and signed

*Gnam*
*Josef Leoni*
*Jakob Klein*

Citizen Struve then donated £1, which Gnam suggested should be given to the committee—at which Citizen Struve said: No, not to a

committee, I am giving that to those who are here just now, and they are to divide it amongst themselves.

*Gnam*
*Josef Leoni*
*Lucas*

The minutes were written by Engels on April 8, 1850

Printed according to the manuscript

First published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 44, second Russ. ed., 1977

Published in English for the first time

# UNIVERSAL SOCIETY OF REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISTS[434]

ARTICLE 1

The aim of the association is the downfall of all privileged classes, the submission of those classes to the dictatorship of the proletarians by keeping the revolution in continual progress until the achievement of communism, which shall be the final form of the constitution of the human family.

ARTICLE 2

To contribute to the realisation of this aim, the association will form ties of solidarity between all sections of the revolutionary communist party, causing national divisions to disappear according to the principle of republican fraternity.

ARTICLE 3

The founding committee of the association is constituted its Central Committee, and, wherever necessary for the accomplishment of the work, it will establish committees which will be in correspondence with the Central Committee.

ARTICLE 4

The number of association members is not limited, but no member may be admitted unless he has been voted in unanimously. In no case can the election be held by secret ballot.

ARTICLE 5

All the association members pledge themselves by solemn oath to preserve absolutely in these terms Article 1 of the present rules. Any modification which might lead to the weakening of the intentions

expressed in Article 1 releases members of the association from their obligation.

ARTICLE 6

All the society's decisions are taken by a majority of two-thirds of the voters.

(Signed:) *J. Vidil, Auguste Willich, G. Julian Harney, Adam, Ch. Marx, F. Engels*

Drawn up in mid-April 1850

First published in Russian (*Papers of the Marx-Engels Institute* No. 1, Moscow-Leningrad, 1926)

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

# ACCOUNTS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC REFUGEE COMMITTEE IN LONDON

*Receipts*

| | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| February 25 | Balance in hand | 17 | 11 | 8 |
| | From the Social Reform Association in London | 30 | 18 | 5 |
| March 13 | From the Cologne Refugee Committee | 36 | — | — |
| | From A. F., member of the Workers' Society | — | 5 | — |
| March 18 | Through Herr Wichmann in Hamburg | 6 | — | — |
| April 16 | Through " Rempel in Bielefeld | 3 | — | — |
| | " " Engels of E.B.[a] | 1 | — | — |
| April 20 | From several English workers | — | 7 | — |
| | | 95 | 2 | 1 |

*Expenditure*

| | | | | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| March | 53 | grants | @ | 7s | 18 | 11 | — |
| " | 7 | " | " | 10s | 3 | 10 | — |
| " | 1 | " | " | 9s 6d | — | 9 | 6 |
| " | 1 | " | " | 2s $8^1/_2$d | — | 2 | $8^1/_2$ |
| " | 6 | " | " | 5s | 1 | 10 | — |
| " | 2 | " | " | 1s | — | 2 | — |
| " | 2 | " | " | 4s | — | 8 | — |
| " | 1 | " | " | 2s | — | 2 | — |
| | | Advances | | | 2 | 3 | — |
| | | Postage and petty expenses | | | — | 8 | 8 |
| | | | | | 27 | 6 | $10^1/_2$ |

[a] Presumably Elberfeld-Barmen.—*Ed.*

| | | | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| April | 56 | grants @ | 6s | 16 | 16 | — |
| " | 18 | " " | 5s | 4 | 10 | — |
| " | 2 | " " | 2s6d | — | 5 | — |
| " | 14 | " " | 1s6d | 1 | 1 | — |
| " | 52 | " " | 7s | 18 | 4 | — |
| " | 1 | " " | 8s | — | 8 | — |
| " | 54 | " " | 3s | 8 | 2 | — |
| " | 49 | " " | 3s6d | 8 | 11 | 6 |
| " | 1 | " " | 6s4d | — | 6 | 4 |
| | Petty expenses ..... | | | — | 6 | 5 |
| | | | | 58 | 10 | 3 |
| | | | | 85 | 17 | $1^1/_2$ |
| | Balance in hand ..... | | | 9 | 4 | $11^1/_2$ |

The Committee, set up on September 18, 1849, has since its foundation supported about a hundred refugees for shorter or longer periods, and the total sum of moneys passed through its hands amounts to £161 3s $8^1/_2$d. In addition, the Workers' Society here has catered for the exceptional needs of individual refugees by collections, found work for others and put its premises with newspapers at the disposal of all refugees.

The books and receipts concerning the above accounts, which were submitted to and adopted by the German Workers' Society, are available with the Treasurer of the Committee for inspection by the donors or their representatives.

Messrs. Struve, Bobzin, Bauer (Stolpe) and others have lately seen fit to use their names to attract from Germany adequate funds for the refugees. Accordingly they have grouped around themselves a number of refugees and formed their own committee at a meeting yesterday. It goes without saying that this renewed project to form a parallel committee can no more divert us from our work for the refugees than the earlier projects which failed.

As the accounts show, the Committee's funds are so depleted that they barely suffice for the needs of one more week. But more refugees apply for support every day. We therefore call on the German social-democratic party once again not to let down their

refugees and as soon as possible to send their contributions to the Treasurer, K. Pfänder,[435] 21 King Street, Soho, London.

London, April 23, 1850

The Social-Democratic Refugee Committee:

*K. Marx*, President,
*August Willich, K. Pfänder,*
*Frederick Engels, Heinrich Bauer*

Published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 265, April 26, 1850 (abridged); the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 104 (supplement), May 2, 1850; the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* No. 106, May 3, 1850, and the *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* No. 349, May 10, 1850

Printed according to the *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* and checked with the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*

Published in English for the first time

# THE GERMAN REFUGEES IN LONDON

For some time funds have been coming in so scantily for the German refugees here that these latter have suffered the greatest misery. A number of *them*, who so far have been unable to find any work in their trade here, *have been sleeping in the streets and parks for almost a week and are suffering hunger.* In various quarters the differences between the committees and allegations of biassed distribution of funds have been made a pretext for not sending any money for the refugees. Messrs. *Struve, Bobzin* and others have contributed to this situation by declaring that the undersigned Committee supports only "Communists".

We declare once again that we have supported *everybody* without distinction who proved his status as a German refugee in need of support. Our books and receipts are there to prove it, and are available at any time for inspection by donors or their representatives. At a full meeting of the committee of Messrs. Struve, Bobzin and others, co-signatory Willich asked the refugees who had received support which of them had been asked whether he was a "Communist". *Not one raised his hand!*

We declare the above claims of Messrs. Struve, Bobzin and others to be *lies and slander.*

This declaration removes the pretext under which the London refugees have hitherto been deprived of support from various quarters.

London, June 14, 1850

The Social-Democratic Refugee Committee:
*K. Marx, F. Engels, K. Pfänder,*
*A. Willich, H. Bauer*

Letters and contributions are requested at the address of K. Pfänder, 21 King Street, Soho, London.

Published in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 149, June 25, 1850; *Die Hornisse* No. 146, June 25, 1850; the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* No. 152, June 27, 1850

Printed according to the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*

Published in English for the first time

# ACCOUNTS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC REFUGEE COMMITTEE IN LONDON FOR MAY, JUNE AND JULY 1850

*Receipts*

| | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| April 24 | Cash in hand according to previous account | 9 | 4 | 11½ |
| May | From Hanau through Citizen Schärttner, £ 13 less 7s 9d income tax | 12 | 12 | 3 |
| | From an Englishman | — | 2 | — |
| | Frankfurt am Main £5 and £20 | 25 | — | — |
| | | 46 | 19 | 2½ |
| June | From Trier | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| | " Paris (German workers) | 1 | 18 | 6 |
| | Through Citizen Betzler | — | 5 | — |
| | | 4 | 6 | — |
| July | From Frankfurt am Main | 30 | — | — |
| | " Cologne | — | 11 | 4 |
| | " Wiesbaden (Workers' Association) | 4 | 10 | — |
| | " Hamburg (*Norddeutsche Freie Presse*) | 11 | 11 | 10 |
| | " London Workers' Society | 7 | 9 | 6 |
| | " Frankfurt am Main | 20 | — | — |
| | " Neustadt a.d. Haardt | 4 | — | — |
| | " Hamburg (Despatch Dept. of the *Freischütz*)[436] | 20 | 10 | 10 |
| | " La Chaux-de-Fonds | 5 | — | — |
| | " Hamburg (Workers' Association of St. Georg) | — | 17 | 6 |
| | | 104 | 11 | — |

*Expenditure*

| | | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| April 24 | 128 | grants @ 3s 6d | 22 | 8 | — |
| to May 30 | 27 | " " 3s | 4 | 1 | — |
| | 26 | " " 2s | 2 | 12 | — |
| | 31 | " " 1s | 1 | 11 | — |
| | 25 | " " 5s | 6 | 5 | — |
| | Occasional grants | | 1 | 5 | — |
| | Shoemakers' work for refugees | | — | 14 | — |
| | Petty expenses | | — | 6 | 11 |
| | | | 39 | 2 | 11 |
| June | 58 | grants @ 2s | 5 | 16 | — |
| | 59 | " " 1s | 2 | 19 | — |
| | 25 | " " 1s 6d | 1 | 17 | 6 |
| | Occasional grants | | — | 10 | — |
| | Petty expenses | | — | 11 | 6 |
| | | | 11 | 14 | — |
| July | 28 | grants @ 2s | 2 | 16 | — |
| | 24 | " " 1s | 1 | 4 | — |
| | 93 | " " 6d | 2 | 6 | 6 |
| | Occasional grants | | 1 | 6 | — |
| | For the refugees' board and lodging | | | | |
| | £7 9s 6d<br>£5 — —<br>£5 10s —<br>£5 10s —<br>£6 — —<br>£6 — — | | 35 | 9 | 6 |
| | For working equipment | | 6 | — | — |
| | Advances to refugees | | 7 | 12 | 6 |
| | Advances to a refugee with family | | 1 | — | — |
| | Petty expenses | | — | 19 | 3½ |
| | | | 58 | 13 | 9½ |
| | Total expenditure | | 109 | 10 | 8½ |
| | Total receipts | | 155 | 16 | 2½ |
| | Less expenditure | | 109 | 10 | 8½ |
| | Cash in hand | | 46 | 5 | 6 |

The above accounts were submitted to the meeting of the Workers' Society on July 30 of this year and were approved. Books and

receipts are ready and available for inspection by the donors or their representatives.

Since in the month of June contributions received were very scanty and the need of the refugees was often unbearable, it was decided to set up a communal lodging and eating-house for them. The local Workers' Society and a section of the refugees who had already found work made it possible by their contributions to begin the execution of this plan. From funds received later the house could be provided with the necessary utensils and furniture. Up to now 18 refugees have found lodgings there and about 40 have received meals. At first the unemployed shoemakers among the refugees were used to provide their comrades with the necessary footwear. Later the Committee allocated funds and took the steps necessary to equip a common workshop for the refugees on the same premises and so to enable them to earn part of their living expenses themselves.

If the first attempt proves a success, the thing will be done on a larger scale and the public will be further informed about it at the appropriate time. The Committee expects that this double enterprise of providing aid and employment for the refugees will be supported by a great many contributions from Germany until the refugees are able to support themselves.

London, July 30, 1850

The Social-Democratic Refugee Committee:
*Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, August Willich,*
*Karl Pfänder, Heinrich Bauer*

Published in the *Norddeutsche Freie Presse* No. 425, August 7, 1850; the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 280, August 9, 1850; *Der Freischütz* No. 98, August 15, 1850

Printed according to the *Norddeutsche Freie Presse*

Published in English for the first time

# ABOUT ENGELS' SPEECH AT A MEETING ORGANISED BY FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1850

(From a Newspaper Report)[437]

Mr. *Engels*, formerly editor of a German newspaper, and who was introduced by the Chairman (John Pettie) as one who had fought and bled for freedom, addressed the meeting. He said that about thirty months ago there had been a fine lot of gentlemen sent over to England, Louis Philippe, Prince Metternich, Prince William of Prussia, and others—and foreign patriots had thought it a disgrace to England that she should so readily shelter them. But, he said, wait—the people of England, at their own time would act justly, and had done so now. (Hear, hear!) The treatment of Haynau would produce a greater effect upon the Continent than anything which had been done in England for the last ten years.

His treatment was worse than if they had torn his epaulettes from his shoulder, or broken his sword and thenceforth he would be driven from the society of his equals with contempt (Hear, hear). There would shortly be another revolution on the Continent, and the enemies of the people who would otherwise have fled to this country, would now be afraid to do so, and would go somewhere else, probably to their friend Nicholas of Russia who would perhaps give them a small kingdom in Siberia. (Loud laughter!)

In the name of his country he thanked the people of London for their treatment of Haynau which he hoped, would be imitated in any future place the monster might visit. (Applause.)

Published in *The Times* No. 20591, September 11, 1850; *The Morning Chronicle* No. 26139, September 12, 1850; the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 285, September 13, 1850; *The Northern Star* No. 673, September 14, 1850; the *Reynold's Weekly Newspaper* No. 5, September 15, 1850, and *Die Hornisse* No. 218, September 18, 1850

Printed according to the *Reynold's Weekly Newspaper*

# MEETING OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY SEPTEMBER 15, 1850[438]

Present: Marx, Engels, Schramm, Pfänder, Bauer, Eccarius, Schapper, Willich, Lehmann.

Fränkel is excused.

As this is an extraordinary meeting the minutes of the last meeting are not here and are therefore not read.

*Marx*: The Friday meeting could not take place because of a clash with a meeting of the commission of the Society.[a] As Willich has called[b] a meeting of the district, a meeting whose legality I will not go into, this meeting must be held today. I wish to make the following proposal which is in three parts:

1. The Central Authority shall be transferred from London to Cologne and its powers will be transferred to the district authority there as soon as this meeting is over. This decision shall be reported to League members in Paris, Belgium and Switzerland. The new Central Authority will itself notify members in Germany.

Explanation: I was opposed to Schapper's motion to set up a district authority in Cologne for the whole of Germany because this might disrupt the unity of the Central Authority. Our motion does away with this objection. There are a number of new reasons which support the motion. The minority in the Central Authority is in open rebellion against the majority both in the motion of censure during the last meeting, in the general meeting now called by the district as well as in the Society and among the refugees. Therefore the Central Authority cannot possibly remain here. Its unity cannot be maintained any longer, there would be a split and there would then be two leagues. As the interests of the party must come first I propose this way out.

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[a] German Workers' Educational Society in London, called below the Great Windmill Street Society.— *Ed.*

[b] The second copy of the minutes has: "called for Monday".— *Ed.*

2. The existing League Rules shall be declared null and void. The new Central Authority shall be responsible for drawing up new rules.

Explanation: The Rules of the 1847 Congress were amended by the London Central Authority in 1848. Circumstances have now changed yet again. The latest London Rules weakened the principal articles of the original Rules. Both Rules are in force in different places, in some places there are no Rules at all or there are unauthorised ones, so that there is complete anarchy in the League. Moreover the latest Rules have become public and so can no longer be used. My proposal, therefore, essentially is that effective rules be introduced in place of the present lack of rules.[439]

3. Two districts shall be formed in London to be entirely independent of each other and the only bond between them will be that they belong to the League and correspond with the same Central Authority.

Explanation: It is necessary to form two districts here for the very reason that the unity of the League must be preserved. Quite apart from personal disagreements we have witnessed also differences of principle even in the Society. In the last debate on "the position of the German proletariat in the next revolution" views were expressed by members of the minority on the Central Authority which directly clash with those in the last circular but one[a] and even the *Manifesto.*[b] A German national standpoint was substituted for the universal outlook of the *Manifesto,* and the national feelings of the German artisans were pandered to. The materialist standpoint of the *Manifesto* has given way to idealism. The revolution is seen not as the product of realities of the situation but as the result of an effort of *will.* Whereas we say to the workers: You have 15, 20, 50 years of civil war to go through in order to alter the situation and to train yourselves for the exercise of power, it is said: We must take power *at once,* or else we may as well take to our beds. Just as the democrats abused the word "people" so now the word "proletariat" has been used as a mere phrase. To make this phrase[c] effective it would be necessary to describe all the petty bourgeois as proletarians and consequently in practice represent the petty bourgeois and not the proletarians. The actual revolutionary process would have to be replaced by revolutionary catchwords. This debate has finally laid

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[a] The second copy has: "of the Central Authority".— *Ed.*

[b] This refers to the *Address of the Central Authority to the League,* March 1850, and *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (see this volume, pp. 277-87, and present edition, Vol. 6).— *Ed.*

[c] The second copy reads: "this view".— *Ed.*

bare the differences in principle which lay behind the clash of personalities, and the time for action has now arrived. It is precisely these differences that have furnished both parties with their battlecries and some members of the League have called the defenders of the *Manifesto* reactionaries, seeking thereby to make them unpopular, which however does not worry them in the least, as they do not seek popularity. The majority would therefore be justified in dissolving the London district and expelling the members of the minority[a] as being in conflict with the principles of the League. I do not put a motion to that effect as it would cause a pointless scandal and because these people are still Communists in their convictions even though the opinions they are now expressing are anti-communist and could at best be described as social-democratic. It is obvious, however, that it would be a mere waste of time, and a harmful one at that, for us to remain together. Schapper has often spoken of separation—very well then, I am seriously in favour of it. I think that I have found the way for us to separate without splitting the party.

I wish to state that, for my own part, I should like to have at most twelve people[440] in our district, as few as possible, and gladly leave the minority in possession of the great throng. If this proposal is accepted we shall obviously be unable to remain in the Society[b]; I shall resign from the Great Windmill Street Society[c] together with the majority. After all it is not a matter of the hostile relationship between the two groups, but, on the contrary, of eliminating the tension and so all relationships. We remain together in the League and in the party but we are not going to maintain a relationship that is plainly harmful.

*Schapper*: Just as in France the proletariat parts company with the Montagne[441] and *La Presse* so it is here also: the people who represent the party in principle part company with those who organise the proletariat. I am in favour of moving the Central Authority[d] and also of making alterations in the Rules. The Cologne members are familiar with the situation in Germany. I also think that the new revolution will produce people who will lead themselves[e] better than all those who made a name for themselves in 1848. As far as disagreements of principle are concerned, it was Eccarius who raised the question that provided the occasion for this debate. I have voiced

[a] The second copy reads: "the minority of the Central Authority".—*Ed.*
[b] The second copy reads: "in the same Society".—*Ed.*
[c] See this volume, p. 483.—*Ed.*
[d] The second copy has: "to Cologne".—*Ed.*
[e] The second copy has: "take the lead".—*Ed.*

the opinion attacked here because I am in general an enthusiast in this matter. The question at issue is whether we ourselves chop off a few heads right at the start or whether it is our own heads that will fall. In France the workers will come to power and thereby *we* in Germany too. Were this not the case I would indeed take to my bed; in that event I would be able to enjoy a different material position. If we come to power we can take such measures as are necessary to ensure the rule of the proletariat. I am a fanatical supporter of this view but the Central Authority favours the very opposite. You want to have nothing more to do with us—very well, let us part company now. I shall certainly be guillotined in the next revolution, nevertheless I shall go to Germany. You want two districts—very well, but that will be the end of the League. We shall meet again in Germany and then perhaps be able join forces again. Marx is a personal friend of mine but you are in favour of separation—very well, we shall each go our separate ways. But in that case there should be two leagues, one for those who work with the pen and one for those who work in other ways. I do not share the view that the bourgeoisie in Germany will come to power and on this point I am a fanatical enthusiast—if I weren't I wouldn't give a brass farthing for the whole affair. But if there are two districts here in London, two societies and two refugee committees then we should prefer also to have two leagues and complete separation.

*Marx*: Schapper has misunderstood my motion. If the motion is adopted we shall separate, the two districts shall separate and the people concerned will have no relations with each other. However, they will belong to the same League and be under the same Authority.[a] You can even retain the greater part of the League membership. As for personal sacrifice, I have given up as much as anyone; but for the class and not for individuals. And as for enthusiasm, not much enthusiasm is needed to belong to a party when you believe that it is on the point of seizing power. I have always defied the momentary opinions of the proletariat. We are devoted to a party which, most fortunately for it, cannot yet come to power. If the proletariat were to come to power the measures it would introduce would be petty-bourgeois and not directly proletarian. Our party can come to power only when the conditions allow it to put *its own* views into practice. Louis Blanc is the best instance of what happens when you come to power prematurely.[442] In France, moreover, it isn't the proletariat alone that gains power but the peasants and the petty bourgeois as well, and it will have to

[a] The second copy reads: "Central Authority".—*Ed.*

carry out not its, but *their* measures. The Paris Commune[443] shows that one need not be in the government to accomplish something. And incidentally why do we hear nothing from the other members of the minority, especially Citizen Willich, who approved the circular unanimously at the time? We cannot and will not split the League: we wish merely to divide the London district into two districts.

*Eccarius*: It was I who raised the question and it certainly was my intention to have the whole matter discussed. I have explained it in the Society why I think that Schapper's view is based on an illusion and why I do not think that our party can come to power immediately in the next revolution. Our party will then be more important in the clubs than in the government.

Citizen Lehmann walks out without comment. Citizen Willich likewise.

First part of the motion: all in favour, Schapper abstains.

Second part: all in favour, Schapper abstains.

Third part: all in favour, Schapper abstains.

Schapper makes a protest against us all: We are now completely separated. I have my own acquaintances and friends in Cologne who follow me rather than you.

*Marx*: We have acted in accordance with the Rules. The resolutions of the Central Authority are valid.

After the minutes are read out both Marx and Schapper declare that they have not written to Cologne on this matter.[a]

Schapper is asked whether he has any objection to the minutes. He says he has no objection as he thinks all objections are superfluous.

Eccarius proposes that everyone should sign the minutes. Accepted. Schapper declares that he will not sign.

Dated, London, September 15, 1850
Read, approved and signed.[b]

Signed: *K. Marx*, Chairman of the Central Authority
*F. Engels*, Secretary
*Henry Bauer, K. Schramm, J. G. Eccarius, K. Pfänder*

First published in the *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 1, Part 2, 1956

Printed according to the manuscripts

[a] This sentence is missing in the second copy.—*Ed.*
[b] These words are missing in the second copy.—*Ed.*

# THE RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

## September 15, 1850[444]

1. The Central Authority will be transferred from London to Cologne and a new Central Authority will be formed by the Cologne district.

2. The existing League Rules are declared null and void and the new Central Authority is instructed to draft new ones.

3. Two districts will be formed from the existing London district. They will be independent of each other and will deal only with the common Central Authority.

Drawn up on September 15, 1850, with the participation of Marx and Engels

First published in the *Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger* No. 180, June 22, 1851

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

# ACCOUNTS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC REFUGEE COMMITTEE IN LONDON FROM AUGUST 1 TO SEPTEMBER 10 [1850][445]

*Receipts*

| | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| August | Balance | 46 | 5 | 6 |
| | Collected by Miss Berg | 12 | — | — |
| | From the Workers' Association in St. Georg, Hamburg | 2 | 10 | — |
| | From the same | 1 | 10 | — |
| | From Neustadt an der Haardt | 8 | — | — |
| | From Mr. C. Flory through the editorial board of the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* | — | 8 | — |
| September | From the German Workers' Association in Paris | 2 | — | — |
| | Collected by Herr John Berg | 17 | 10 | — |
| | Total | 90 | 3 | 6 |

*Expenditure*

| | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| August | For the refugees' board and lodging | 28 | 9 | 3 |
| | To the brushmakers' workshop | 7 | 10 | — |
| | For leather, etc. | — | 13 | 6 |
| | 56 grants @ 6d | 1 | 8 | — |
| | 23 " " 1s | 1 | 3 | — |
| | 6 " " 2s 6d | — | 15 | — |
| | Various grants | — | 5 | 6 |
| | 4 grants @ 10s | 2 | — | — |
| | Advances to refugees | 8 | 4 | — |
| | To four refugees for the voyage to America | 5 | — | — |

| | | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Travelling expenses to Schleswig-Holstein | 7 | 3 | — |
| | Petty expenses, postage, bank charges, etc. | — | 11 | 3 |
| September | For board and lodging | 14 | 4 | 8 |
| | 39 grants of 6d | — | 19 | 6 |
| | 2 " of 1s | — | 2 | — |
| | 1 " of 10s and 1 of 5s | — | 15 | — |
| | Distributed according to the donor's (Herr Berg's) instructions | 8 | 15 | — |
| | Advances to refugees | 1 | 18 | — |
| | Petty expenses | — | 6 | 10 |
| | Total | 90 | 3 | 6 |

Since the four undersigned members of the hitherto existing Social-Democratic Committee, on submitting these accounts, declared their resignation from the Committee, the Society in Great Windmill Street[a] appointed a commission to check the books and receipts, which reported on the 15th that it had found everything in order.

The undersigned saw fit to leave all books and receipts concerning their administration with the hitherto treasurer, K. Pfänder, 21 King Street, Soho Square, since they had resigned not only from the Committee but from the Society and the documents cannot be dispensed with in case enquiries are made by members of the public.

Donors' are therefore requested to appoint representatives in London to inspect the books and receipts at the above-mentioned hitherto treasurer's.

London, September 18, 1850

*Karl Marx, H. Bauer, K. Pfänder, Fr. Engels*

Published in the *Deutsche-Londoner Zeitung* No. 287, September 27, 1850

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[a] The German Workers' Educational Society in London.—*Ed.*

# PROPOSAL FROM THE LONDON DISTRICT OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE TO THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY IN COLOGNE [446]

To expel all members of the Sonderbund and in particular Schapper, Willich, Schärttner, Lehmann, Dietz (Oswald), Gebert, Fränkel (the last seven by name) and to inform all League districts and communities of this decision as well as the Sonderbund in London and its leaders.[...]

1. They have communicated reports, and false reports at that, concerning the split in London to leaders of secret societies outside the League and to refugees of various nationalities.

2. They are in a state of open rebellion against the legally constituted Central Authority in Cologne; they act in defiance of the latter's decisions and have an emissary[a] travelling around Germany to found a Sonderbund.

3. They have violated, and still violate, in their relations with the members of the London district, all obligations binding on the members of secret societies.

4. They have, since the separation, broken all the laws of secret societies and to permit them to remain in the League any longer would only serve them to hasten its disintegration.

Drawn up on November 11, 1850, with the participation of Marx and Engels

Printed according to the newspaper

First published in the *Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger* No. 180, June 22, 1851

[a] Gaude.—*Ed.*

# RULES OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE [447]

1. The *aim* of the Communist League is to bring about the destruction of the old society—and ***the overthrow of the bourgeoisie***—the spiritual, political and economic emancipation of the proletariat, the communist revolution, using all the resources of propaganda and political struggle towards this goal. In the various stages of development through which the struggle of the proletariat has to pass, the League shall represent at all times the interest of the movement as a whole, just as it shall seek at all times to unite and organise all the revolutionary forces of the proletariat within itself; as long as the proletarian revolution has not attained its ultimate goal the League shall remain secret and indissoluble.

2. *Membership* shall be open only to those who comply with the following conditions:

a. be emancipated from all religion, sever connections with any church organisation and not participate in any ceremony not required by civil law;

b. understand the conditions, the course of development and the ultimate goal of the proletarian movement;

c. stand aloof from all organisations and particular strivings that oppose or obstruct the progress of the League towards its goal;

d. show ability and zeal in propaganda, unswerving devotion to convictions and revolutionary energy;

e. maintain the strictest secrecy in all matters concerning the League.

3. *Admission* shall be granted by the unanimous vote of the community. A new member shall normally be admitted by the chairman in the presence of the whole community. Members will swear to abide unconditionally by the decisions of the League.

4. Whoever violates the conditions of membership shall be expelled. A majority vote of the community is required for the

expulsion of individuals. The Central Authority can expel whole communities where expulsion has been proposed by a district community. The whole League shall be notified of expulsions and shall keep those expelled under surveillance just like any suspect individual.

5. The League is organised in communities, districts, a Central Authority and a congress.

6. A community consists of at least three members of the same locality. It shall elect a chairman, who will conduct the meetings, and a deputy, who will act as treasurer.

7. Above the communities of a country or a province there shall be a chief community, the *district*, to be nominated by the Central Authority. The communities shall deal directly only with their districts, the districts in turn deal with the Central Authority.

8. The communities shall meet regularly, not less than once a fortnight, they shall correspond at least once a month with their districts; the latter shall communicate with the Central Authority at least once every two months; every three months the Central Authority shall report on the state of the League.

9. The chairman and deputy of the communities and districts shall be elected for one year and can be deposed at any time by their electorate; the members of the Central Authority can only be deposed by the congress.

10. Every League member shall pay a monthly contribution whose minimum shall be determined by the congress. Half of the sums so raised will go to the districts and half to the Central Authority; they will be used to cover administration costs, the distribution of propaganda material and the dispatching of emissaries. The districts shall bear the cost of the correspondence with their communities. Contributions shall be sent every three months to the districts, which will forward half of the total income to the Central Authority and, at the same time, give an account of their income and expenditure to their communities. The Central Authority shall account to the congress for monies it has received. Extraordinary expenses shall be met by extraordinary contributions.

11. The *Central Authority* is the executive organ of the whole League. It shall consist of at least three members and shall be elected and augmented by the district which the congress has assigned as its seat. It shall be responsible only to the congress.

12. The *congress* is the legislative organ of the whole League. It shall consist of the delegates of the district assemblies, which will elect *one* deputy for every five communities.

13. The *district assembly* is the representative body of the district. It shall be convened in the district centre regularly every quarter by the committee of the chief community to debate the affairs of the district. To this assembly each community shall send one delegate. The district assembly shall invariably be convened in the middle of July each year for the election of the League delegates.

***Article 5 Community***
***Article 6 District***
***Article 7 Central Authority***
***Article 8 The Congress***
***Article 9 Admission to the League***
***Article 10 Expulsion from the League (money....)***[a]

14. A fortnight after the close of the district election assemblies the congress shall meet as a rule at the seat of the Central Authority unless the latter decides upon another venue.

15. The congress shall receive from the Central Authority, which has a seat in it but no vote, a report on all its activities and on the state of the League; it shall lay down the principles governing the policy to be followed by the League, decide upon amendments to the Rules and determine the seat of the Central Authority for the coming year.

16. In cases of emergency the Central Authority can summon an extraordinary congress which will consist in that event of the delegates last elected by the districts.

17. Disputes between individual members of the same community shall be settled conclusively by that community; disputes between members of the same district by the district community; those between members of different districts by the Central Authority; personal complaints about members of the Central Authority shall be brought before the congress. Disputes among communities belonging to the same district shall be resolved by the district community, those between communities and their district or between different districts, by the Central Authority; but in the first case an appeal may be made to the district assemblies and in the second, to the congress. The congress shall also resolve all conflicts between the Central Authority and the lower committees of the League.

First published in Russian in the journal *Voprosy Istorii* No. 11, 1948

Printed according to a copy of the manuscript with remarks by Marx

[a] Articles 5-10 were written by Marx at the bottom of the third page of the manuscript.— *Ed.*

# ABOUT ENGELS' SPEECH AT A NEW YEAR'S PARTY OF THE FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS SOCIETY DECEMBER 30, 1850

(From a Newspaper Report)[448]

M. Engels (who, with Carl Schapper, attended as a deputation from the German Society) also responded to this sentiment, thanked them in the name of his brethren for their sympathy, and expressed his best wishes for the prosperity of the English people. He then entered into a long and elaborate statement of the causes of the failures abroad, and the consequent reaction, showing that it equally arose from the ignorance of the people and the treachery of their leaders.

First published in *The Northern Star* No. 689, January 4, 1851

Reprinted from the newspaper

# NOTES AND INDEXES

# NOTES

[1] This statement was written by Engels soon after his arrival in London from Switzerland on approximately November 10, 1849. In July 1849, Engels crossed into Switzerland, together with the retreating Baden-Palatinate insurgent army, and then left for London via Genoa by sea around the Iberian Peninsula. Marx, who had emigrated to London in August 1849, carried on extensive work there to restore the Communist League and to assist revolutionary refugees coming to England. Engels, too, immediately joined in and was brought into the League's Central Authority which Marx had restored.

Engels' statement to the Chartist newspaper *The Northern Star* was prompted by articles of the petty-bourgeois journalist Karl Heinzen, with whom Marx and Engels had had a controversy as far back as 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 291-306), and the fact that Heinzen's articles were used by English Conservative circles for the persecution and expulsion of political refugees from Britain. Thus, Heinzen's pamphlet *Lehren der Revolution* (Lessons of the Revolution) reprinted in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* Nos. 241 and 242 of November 9 and 16, 1849, contained gross demagogic statements compromising the German revolutionary refugees. Referring to those statements, the author of a letter published in *The Times* of November 23, 1849, and signed *Anti-Socialist* suggested to the Home Secretary that "the writer of such hellish doctrines" should be ordered "to quit the English dominions within 24 hours".

Marx wrote to Joseph Weydemeyer on December 19, 1849: "You will have seen what-you-may-call-him Heinzen's inane bragging in the newspapers. This fellow, who was done for by the revolution in Germany—*before* that his things enjoyed a certain vogue because the petty bourgeois and the commercial traveller liked to see printed in black and white the idiocies and rodomontades they themselves might utter in tones of mystery between biscuits and cheese at the wine-shop—is endeavouring to rehabilitate himself by compromising the other refugees in Switzerland and England—those who have really worked—in the eyes of those countries' governments, by kicking up a row, and by threatening shortly to gobble up a hundred thousand of millions of men at *déjeuner à la fourchette*, thus earning himself a lucrative martyrdom." p. 3

[2] After the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which had been published by Marx and Engels in Cologne from June 1, 1848, till May 19, 1849, was banned Marx did not give up

the idea of resuming, in one way or another, the publication of a paper that would continue the revolutionary traditions of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. He wrote about this to Engels in Switzerland on August 1, 1849, inviting him to London to help start one up. Marx succeeded in raising funds and finding a publisher, and in mid-December 1849 a contract to publish the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* was signed between the responsible publisher Konrad Schramm and Schuberth and Co., a Hamburg bookselling firm. The periodical's aims were to assess the results of the 1848-49 revolution, to reveal the nature of the new historical situation, and to develop further the proletarian party's tactics. Most of the articles and literary and international reviews were written by Marx and Engels, who also drew contributions to the *Revue* from their followers Wilhelm Wolff, Joseph Weydemeyer, and Johann Georg Eccarius. Issue No. 1 also carried an item by Karl Blind, "Oesterreichische und preussische Parteien in Baden", and issue No. 4—verses by the French democrat Louis Ménard.

The cover named the places of publication as London, where Marx and Engels lived at the time, Hamburg, where the journal was printed, and New York since a great number of those who had participated in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany emigrated to America, and Marx and Engels hoped to find suitable ground there for distributing the journal. Presuming the possibility of a new revolutionary upsurge, they intended shortly to make their publication a weekly, and later a daily newspaper (see this volume, pp. 605-06). This plan was not, however, carried out. Altogether six issues were published; the last issue, a double one (5-6),came out at the end of November 1850. All further attempts to continue publication were blocked by police persecution in Germany and lack of funds.

Marx sent the text of the *Announcement* to Joseph Weydemeyer in Frankfurt am Main on December 19, 1849, with a request to publish it in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*. It was printed in Nos. 14, 23 and 31 of January 16 and 26, and February 5, 1850.

It was also printed in the *Berner Zeitung* No. 361 of December 27, 1849; in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* (published by Hermann Becker in Cologne) on January 8, 9, 11 (supplement), 12 and 13 (supplement), 1850; in the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung*, Basle, No. 8, January 10, 1850; in the *Düsseldorfer Zeitung* No. 9, January 10, 1850; in the *Norddeutsche Freie Presse*, Hamburg-Altona, No. 254, January 18, 1850; in *Der Volksfreund*, Lemgo, No. 3, January 18, 1850. p. 5

[3] In May 1849, when the counter-revolution was on the upsurge, the Prussian Government issued an order expelling Marx and the other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* from Prussia. This measure, prepared well in advance, was applied when the main uprisings in the Rhine Province had been virtually suppressed. On his return to Cologne in April 1848, Marx applied for Prussian citizenship which he had been forced to renounce in 1845 when he was living in Belgium as an emigrant. Despite the Cologne Magistrate's favourable reply to his application, however, the Cologne royal district authorities and the Minister of the Interior refused to grant it, and Marx remained a "foreigner", who could at any moment be accused of abusing hospitality and expelled. The royal district authorities' note to this effect followed on May 11, 1849, and on May 16 Marx was given 24 hours to leave Prussia. Weerth and Dronke, who did not enjoy Prussian citizenship either, received similar orders. Legal proceedings were instituted against Engels for his part in the Elberfeld uprising. The last issue, No. 301, of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appeared on May 19, 1849. p. 5

[4] *Letters from Germany* by Engels, as well as his series of articles *Letters from France*, were written for the Chartist journal *The Democratic Review of British and Foreign*

*Politics, History and Literature* published by George Julian Harney in 1849 and 1850. Harney had invited Engels to make regular contributions to the new journal as early as March 1849 (see *The Harney Papers*, Assen, 1969, pp. 249-50). But Engels was only able to start contributing in November 1849, when he came to London. In London Marx and Engels established close contacts with the revolutionary wing of the Chartist party and used *The Democratic Review* to disseminate the ideas of scientific communism and explain the character of events on the Continent to the English working people.

The content of the *Letters from Germany* and the *Letters from France*, the way events are analysed, and the fact that appraisal of these events coincides, sometimes even textually, with that given in later works by Marx and Engels (e.g., the first and second letters from Germany and the first international review; *Letters from France* and *The Class Struggles in France*) show that their author was not only well informed of Marx's work at the time, but also took part in it. Marx did not yet know English well enough to write articles for *The Democratic Review*, so the author could only be Engels.

Engels wrote the *Letters from Germany* from personal observations while actively participating in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. He used material in the German and English press and information provided by Communist League members, some of whom emigrated to London at that time. In conformity with current journalistic practice, the letters were marked Cologne.

The letters from Germany and France met with a broad response in the Chartist press. *The Northern Star* in its reviews of the new issues of *The Democratic Review* always stressed the particular significance of these letters. Thus, in its review of the issue which opened the series, *The Northern Star* (No. 637 of January 5, 1850) wrote that letters from France and Germany "will do much towards promoting the good work of international fraternity". As regards the next of *The Democratic Review* issue *The Northern Star* (No. 641, February 2, 1850) stated: "*Letters from France and Germany* are decidedly the most important of the contents of this number of the *Democratic Review*. The disclosures concerning the designs of the European despots, and the proofs given to the progress of the revolutionary spirit in France and Germany, stamp these letters as inexpressibly valuable. The letter from France has but one fault—its comparative brevity." Noting that the *Letters* expose the policy of the counter-revolutionary powers and their instrument—President Bonaparte, the Chartist newspaper concluded its review of the March issue as follows: "The *Letters* in the present number show that great events are at hand" (*The Northern Star*, March 2, 1850). Further comments on the *Letters* appeared in *The Northern Star* of April 6 and May 4, 1850. Another paper, *People*, commented on the current issue of *The Democratic Review*, that original and very important letters from France and Germany had appeared (*People*, II, 1850, p. 304).

*The Democratic Review* published four letters from Germany. The first three, containing cross references, were published in the January, February and March issues. In this volume they are published under the general title *Letters from Germany*. The fourth letter, written later and containing no direct references to the first three, appeared in the August issue of the journal. In this volume it is published in chronological order (see pp. 392-95).

Footnotes give references to passages in later works by Marx and Engels with similar assessments of events and facts. The numbers of the letters have been supplied by the editors of this edition.

p. 7

[5] The term *Ordermongers* is formed on the pattern of the words "profitmongers" and "moneymongers" often met in the Chartist press. Engels uses it here for the

first time. In the *Letters from France* (see this volume, pp. 24, 25, 26, 28 et seq.) Engels used this term to denote the members of the party of Order (see Note 32). p. 7

[6] The *Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation* (962-1806) included, at different times, German, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands, forming a motley conglomeration of feudal kingdoms and principalities, church lands and free towns with different political structures, legal standards and customs. p. 7

[7] The *Federal Diet*—a representative body of the German Confederation, an ephemeral union of German states, founded in 1815 by decision of the Congress of Vienna. Though it had no real power, it was nevertheless a vehicle for feudal and monarchical reaction. During the 1848-49 revolution in Germany, reactionary circles made vain attempts to revive the Federal Diet, intending to use it to prevent the democratic unification of Germany. After the defeat of the revolution, the Federal Diet received its former rights in 1850 and survived till 1866. p. 7

[8] The *German National Assembly*, which opened on May 18, 1848, in St. Paul's Church in the free city of Frankfurt am Main, was to unify the country and to draw up a Constitution. The liberal deputies, who were in the majority, turned the Assembly into a mere debating club. At the decisive moments of the revolution, the liberal majority condoned the counter-revolutionary forces. In spring 1849, the liberals left the Assembly after the Prussian and other governments rejected the Imperial Constitution it had drawn up. What remained of the Assembly moved to Stuttgart and was dispersed by the Württemberg forces on June 18.

The *Imperial Vicar* or *Regent* (Archduke John of Austria) and the *Imperial Ministry* constituted a provisional Central Authority set up by the Frankfurt National Assembly on June 28-29, 1848. The provisional Central Authority had neither a budget nor an army of its own, possessed no real power, and was an instrument of the counter-revolutionary German princes. p. 7

[9] The *Interim* (a temporary agreement) was concluded in September 1849 between Prussia and Austria on joint administration in Germany until the question of the German Constitution was settled. Under this agreement, the Austro-Prussian commission was established, which actually meant the revival of a kind of Federal Diet. While reflecting the counter-revolutionary aspirations of both governments, the agreement conflicted with Prussia's claims for supremacy in Germany. p. 7

[10] The following editorial note is supplied to this passage: "Since the above letter came to hand, intelligence has reached this country of the abdication of the 'Vicar', and the resignation of his authority (?) into the hands of Austrian and Prussian commissioners. Thus has ended the Frankfort farce.—Ed. D.R." This note was presumably written by Engels. p. 7

[11] The Left wing of the Frankfurt National Assembly consisted of two factions: the *Left* (Robert Blum, Karl Vogt and others) and the *extreme Left*, known as the radical-democratic party (Arnold Ruge, Friedrich Wilhelm Schlöffel, Franz Zitz, Samuel Trüzschler and others), which, in the main, represented the petty bourgeoisie, but was nevertheless supported by a section of the German workers. The extreme Left vacillated and took a halfway position on the basic problems of the German revolution—abolition of the remnants of feudalism and unification of the country. In April and May 1849, after the conservative and most of the liberal deputies had left the Assembly, the Left and the extreme Left gained the majority. But they, too, continued the policy of curbing the revolutionary actions of the masses.

The *Regency of the Empire* was formed in Stuttgart on June 7 by what remained of the Frankfurt National Assembly, instead of the Central Authority headed by the Imperial Regent, Archduke John, who was openly counter-revolutionary. The Regency consisted of five deputies representing the Left faction (moderate democrats): Franz Raveaux, Karl Vogt, Ludwig Simon, Friedrich Schuler, August Becher. They failed in their attempts to carry by parliamentary means the Imperial Constitution that had been worked out by the Frankfurt Assembly and rejected by the German princes. The Regency virtually ceased its activities after the Frankfurt Assembly was finally dispersed on June 18, 1849. Some of its former deputies emigrated to Switzerland. p. 7

12 The *Three-Kings'-League*—an agreement concluded in Berlin on May 26, 1849, between Prussia, Saxony and Hanover. Based on the Prussian project of reorganising the German Confederation, it was an attempt by Prussia to gain hegemony in Germany. By trying to make other German princes join this League (known as the Prussian Union), Prussia's ruling circles hoped to unify the German states, without Austria, under Prussian rule. However, under pressure from Austria, supported by Russia, the Prussian Government was forced to give up its plans in 1850. p. 8

13 On May 28, 1849, the Prussian Government appealed to the German governments to join the Three-Kings'-League. The appeal, together with a new draft of the Imperial Constitution, revised in a counter-revolutionary spirit, was published in the German press at the end of May and the beginning of June 1849. p. 8

14 Engels is referring to the acquittal for high treason by jury in Berlin and Königsberg in December 1849 of Benedikt Waldeck and Johann Jacoby, the leaders of the Left wing of the Prussian National Assembly, which was dissolved by the government on December 5, 1848. p. 9

15 The *Orangemen*—members of the Orange Society (Order), a Protestant terrorist organisation founded in Ireland in 1795 and employed by the authorities, Protestant landlords and the clergy against the Irish national liberation movement. The name was derived from William III, Prince of Orange, who suppressed the Irish uprising of 1689-91 for restoration of the Stuart monarchy. The Order had an especially strong influence in Ulster, Northern Ireland, with a mainly Protestant population. p. 9

16 On December 5, 1848, the Prussian National Assembly was dissolved and the Constitution imposed by the King made public. The dispersal of the Assembly was the culmination of the counter-revolutionary coup d'état that began in November with the order to transfer the Assembly from Berlin to the remote town of Brandenburg. The Constitution introduced a two-chamber system; the age and property qualifications made the First Chamber a privileged Chamber of Gentry ("House of Lords"); by the electoral law of December 6, 1848, the right to vote in the two-stage elections to the Second Chamber was granted only to the so-called independent Prussians. The royal authority was vested with very wide powers—the King was authorised to convene and dissolve the Chambers, appoint ministers, declare war and conclude peace. He was vested with full executive power, while sharing legislative power with the Chambers.

Later, anti-democratic revisions of the Constitution were made repeatedly on the initiative of Prussian ruling circles. Thus, after dispersing on April 27, 1849, the Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet, which included a large number of opposition deputies—liberals and moderate democrats, on May 30 Frederick William IV promulgated a new electoral law introducing elections based on high

property qualifications and unequal representation of different sections of the population. The electorate was divided into three classes according to property status. Thus the King succeeded in having an obedient majority elected to the Second Chamber. p. 12

[17] The reference is to a message by Frederick William IV of January 7, 1850, with new amendments to the imposed Constitution revised by the government and adopted by the Chambers (Friedrich Wilhelm IV. *Allerhöchste Botschaft* in the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* No. 10 of January 10, 1850, and the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* No. 9 of January 11, 1850). p. 12

[18] Engels draws an analogy with English absolutist legal institutions. The *Star Chamber* (the name of a meeting-place of the king's councillors in the royal palace of Westminster derived from stars fashioned on the ceiling of the hall) was established by Henry VII in 1487 as a special court to try rebellious feudal lords. Under Elizabeth I, it became a political court; it was abolished during the English revolution of the seventeenth century. p. 12

[19] This refers to Frederick William IV's New-Year message "To My Army" ("An mein Heer") signed in Potsdam on January 1, 1849, and published in the *Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* of January 3, 1849. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* used this document to expose the counter-revolutionary actions of the Prussian military (see Marx's article "A New-Year Greeting", present edition, Vol. 8). p. 13

[20] This refers to the second revised version of the imposed Constitution adopted by the Chambers on January 31, 1850, including the King's amendments to the previous version. In the new version, the reactionary monarchist traits of the Constitution became more prominent and new concessions were made to the aristocracy and the junker landowners. On February 6, 1850, Frederick William IV took the oath to the Constitution. p. 14

[21] On March 19, 1848, during the revolutionary events in Berlin, the armed people compelled King Frederick William IV to come out onto the balcony of his palace and bare his head before the bodies of the insurgents who had fallen at the barricades.

Further, Engels refers to Frederick William IV's speech on February 6, 1850, concerning the oath to the Prussian Constitution. p. 14

[22] This expression is from the speech from the throne made by Frederick William IV at the opening of the First United Diet in Berlin on April 11, 1847 (*Allgemeine Preussische Zeitung* No. 101, April 12, 1847). p. 14

[23] The *Holy Alliance*—an association of European monarchs founded in 1815 to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. During the 1848-49 revolution, and in subsequent years, counter-revolutionary circles in Austria, Prussia and Tsarist Russia attempted to revive the Holy Alliance's activities in a modified form. p. 15

[24] From 1707 to 1806 the principality of Neuchâtel and Valangin (in German: Neuenburg and Vallendis) was a dwarf state under Prussian rule. In 1806, during the Napoleonic wars, Neuchâtel was ceded to France. In 1815, by decision of the Vienna Congress, it was incorporated into the Swiss Confederation as its 21st canton, at the same time retaining its vassalage to Prussia. On February 29, 1848, a bourgeois revolution in Neuchâtel put an end to Prussian rule and a republic was proclaimed. Up to 1857, however, Prussia laid constant claims to Neuchâtel and only pressure from France forced her to renounce it officially. p. 16

[25] The *Sonderbund*—a separatist union of the seven economically backward Catholic cantons of Switzerland formed in 1843 to resist progressive bourgeois reforms and to defend the privileges of the church and the Jesuits. The decree of the Swiss Diet of July 1847 dissolving the Sonderbund served as a pretext for the latter to start hostilities against the other cantons early in November. On November 23, 1847, the Sonderbund army was defeated by the federal forces. Attempts by Austria and Prussia to interfere in Swiss affairs in support of the Sonderbund failed.

The *Federal Constitution* of the Swiss Confederation was adopted on September 12, 1848. The new Constitution ensured a certain centralisation of the country, which had been turned from a confederation of cantons (the confederation treaty of 1814 sanctioned by the Congress of Vienna restricted the power of central government to the utmost) into a federative state. p. 16

[26] When publishing the series of articles *Letters from France* the editor of *The Democratic Review*, Harney, tried to present them as reports received directly from Paris. At the same time, the articles were based not only on French material, but on British press reports and other information (private letters to Engels from Paris, and reports by a member of the Communist League, Ferdinand Wolff, who had been expelled from Paris and came to London in December 1849).

The fourth letter of the series was written by Engels while Marx was working on the third chapter of *The Class Struggles in France* (March 1850), which appeared in instalments in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. The facts and appraisal of the events given in *Letters from France* often coincide with what Marx wrote about France in *The Class Struggles* (the footnotes give references to relevant places), in the third international review (see this volume, pp. 507-09 and 516-25) and later in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (present edition, Vol. 11). Coincidence of thought and of approach testifies to the fact that *Letters from France* reflected Marx's and Engels' common point of view. The numbers of the letters have been supplied by the editors of this edition. p. 17

[27] The reference is to the French Provisional Government formed on February 24, 1848, as a result of the overthrow of the July monarchy. Most ministerial posts were held by moderate republicans (Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure, Crémieux, Arago, Marie, and two members of the oppositional Republican Party, which was associated with *Le National*—Marrast and Garnier-Pagès). There were, besides, three leaders of the petty-bourgeois party of democrats and socialists grouped round *La Réforme*—Ledru-Rollin, Flocon and Louis Blanc—and also a mechanic, Albert (real name Martin). The Provisional Government existed till May 10, 1848, when it was replaced by the Executive Commission set up by the Constituent National Assembly. p. 17

[28] *Droit d'octroi*—a right, originating from feudal times, of cities to levy tolls on imported consumer goods. It was repealed in 1791 during the French Revolution, but later reintroduced on some foodstuffs (salt, wine, fish, etc.). p. 18

[29] The reference is to the repeal in June 1846 of the Corn Laws by the Peel Government in the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie.

The *Corn Laws* (first introduced in the fifteenth century) imposed in the interests of landowners high import duties on agricultural produce in order to maintain high prices for these products on the home market. The struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy over the Corn Laws ended in their repeal. p. 19

[30] The revolution of February 1848 in France was sparked off by the authorities' prohibition of a banquet organised by the opposition and fixed for February 22 and of a peaceful demonstration in support of the freedom of assembly. p. 20

[31] The party of the *National* included moderate republicans, under Armand Marrast, who were supported by the industrial bourgeoisie and a section of liberal intellectuals associated with it; in the 1840s the adherents of this party grouped around the newspaper *Le National*.

The most prominent representatives of this trend in the Provisional Government were Marrast, editor of *Le National*, and Garnier-Pagès, Minister of Finance. p. 20

[32] At the elections to the French Legislative Assembly held on May 13, 1849, the monarchist groups—the Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists who had formed the party of Order, gained the majority. p. 20

[33] *Tuileries*—the royal palace in Paris; prior to the February revolution, the residence of Louis Philippe.

The *Elysée-National*—the residence (from December 1848) of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, President of the French Republic. p. 20

[34] *Freeholders*—a category of English small landowners originating from feudal times. Engels often used this term, familiar to English workers, when writing of conditions in France. p. 21

[35] A tax of 45 additional centimes upon every franc of direct taxes was adopted by the French Provisional Government on March 16, 1848. p. 21

[36] In December 1849, the Minister of Education Parier proposed a Bill making schoolmasters in primary schools subordinate to the prefects, who could dismiss or appoint them at will. The law was adopted on January 11, 1850. p. 22

[37] Following the death of the Right-wing monarchist deputy de Beaune, by-elections were held in the department of the Gard on December 20, 1849. Favand, the candidate of the petty-bourgeois socialist democratic party (Montagne), was elected by a majority vote of 20 thousand out of 36 thousand. p. 22

[38] The *Legitimists*—supporters of the Bourbon dynasty overthrown in 1830, who upheld the interests of the big hereditary landowners and the claim to the French throne of Count Chambord, King Charles X's grandson, who took the name of Henry V. p. 22

[39] The reference is to the draft law on education, submitted on June 18, 1849, by the Minister of Education, Falloux (hence its name). This law confirming the dominant position of the Catholic Church and religious organisations in public education was adopted by the Legislative Assembly on March 15, 1850. p. 22

[40] The *June insurrection* of the Paris proletariat against the bourgeois régime of the Second Republic (June 23-26, 1848) was the culmination of the 1848 revolution in France and exerted a strong influence on revolutionary events in other European countries. p. 23

[41] The *trees of liberty* were planted in the streets of Paris following the victory of the February revolution of 1848. The planting of trees of liberty—mainly oaks and poplars—has been a tradition in France ever since the French Revolution.

In January 1850, the trees of liberty on the boulevards were felled by the order of Paris Prefect Carlier because they allegedly hindered street traffic. The authorities thus tried to provoke mass disturbances and to stage a new massacre of revolutionary elements. p. 24

[42] By-elections to the Legislative Assembly were to be held on March 10, 1850, in connection with the annulment of the powers and the conviction by the Supreme

Court of the Left deputies who participated in the anti-government demonstration on June 13, 1849. To influence the voters, the government divided the territory of France into five big military areas; as a result, Paris and its neighbouring departments were surrounded by the other four areas, which were under the command of counter-revolutionary generals. Comparing the powers of these generals with those of Turkish pashas, the republican press called these areas pashalics.

This measure was illegitimate because, under Article 76 of the Constitution, changes in the administration of the departments of France could be effected only by special legislation of the National Assembly. p. 25

[43] The *Orleanists*—supporters of the House of Orleans, overthrown by the February revolution of 1848; they represented the interests of the financial aristocracy and the big industrial bourgeoisie. p. 25

[44] The issue of *The Democratic Review* containing Engels' fourth letter also carried the beginning of his *Two Years of a Revolution*. This was a synopsis of the first chapter of Marx's *The Class Struggles in France* (see this volume, pp. 48-70).

Part of the first paragraph of the letter beginning with the words: "really, this composition is significant", up to the words: "the total and entire emancipation of the working men", was printed under the title "Election of Carnot, Vidal and de Flotte" in *The Northern Star* No. 650, April 6, 1850, in the review of *The Democratic Review*'s April issue. p. 27

[45] On May 15, 1848, Paris workers led by Blanqui, Barbès and others took revolutionary action against the anti-labour and anti-democratic policy pursued by the bourgeois Constituent Assembly which opened on May 4. The participants in the mass demonstration forced their way into the Assembly premises, demanded the formation of a Ministry of Labour and presented a number of other demands. An attempt was made to form a revolutionary government. National Guards from the bourgeois quarters and regular troops succeeded, however, in restoring the power of the Constituent Assembly. The leaders of the movement were arrested and put on trial. p. 27

[46] *Bourgeois Lacedemonian* is an ironical nickname for the Paris businessman and member of the National Guard Alexandre Leclerc who was awarded the Legion of Honour for his part, together with his sons, in suppressing the June 1848 insurrection of Paris workers. p. 32

[47] Letter Six was apparently not completed in time or left unfinished by Engels. An excerpt from it was published by the editor of *The Democratic Review* in the June number in his own article "Tactics and Programme of the Counter Revolutionists" with the comment (to make the readers think the *Letters* came directly from Paris): "We had begun to fear the arrest of our Paris correspondent, his Letter not having reached us until several days after the usual time. It was received only as we were going to press. It is impossible for us to give more than the following brief extracts." Then came the three paragraphs by Engels reproduced in this volume under the heading VI. p. 33

[48] Engels has in mind the results of the preliminary debates held from May 21 to 23, 1850, on the law abolishing universal suffrage (462 votes for and 227 against). For details see this volume, pp. 136-37. The law was finally adopted on May 31; it introduced a property qualification camouflaged by stipulating three years' permanent residence in a given locality and the payment of personal tax. p. 33

[49] See Note 29. p. 34

[50] The *Mountain* (*Montagne*)—representatives in the Constituent and subsequently Legislative Assembly of a bloc of democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists grouped round the newspaper *La Réforme*. They called themselves Montagne by analogy with the Montagne in the Convention of 1792-94. p. 34

[51] Dronke wrote to Engels from Paris (February 21 and the beginning of May, 1850) that the prestige enjoyed among the French workers by prominent representatives of petty-bourgeois socialism and revolutionary democratism (Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Albert and Barbès) was declining. He held a different view of Blanqui, however, saying that he had the same great influence over the French workers as previously. p. 35

[52] This refers to the prospectus for the pamphlet by a certain Daniel Borme, a French chemist of royalist convictions: Borme fils. *Le Rideau est levé!!! Grande lanterne magique des pâtissiers politiques des 24 février, 15 mai et 24 juin 1848, dédiée aux paysans, aux ouvriers laborieux et aux honnêtes gens* par M. Borme fils, ex-accusé du 15 mai [Paris], impr. de M^me^ Lacombe [1850] in 4°, 2 p. The prospectus told of Borme's part in organising royalist actions in March-May 1848 and also about the Bourges trial. p. 37

[53] From March 7 to April 3, 1849, the leaders of the Paris workers' uprising of May 15, 1848, were tried at Bourges, accused of conspiracy against the government. Barbès and Albert were sentenced to exile, Blanqui to ten years solitary confinement and the rest of the accused to various terms of imprisonment or exile. p. 37

[54] Instead of increasing the civil list by 3 million per annum, the Assembly granted Louis Bonaparte a lump sum of 2,160,000 francs (see this volume, p. 140). p. 38

[55] The reference is to the article "A Gradual Decline of the National Assembly" printed in the newspaper *Le Pouvoir* No. 195, July 15, 1850, for which Felix de Lamartinière, the publisher, was fined (see *Le Moniteur universel* Nos. 197 and 200 of July 16 and 19, 1850). The further reference is to the leading article in *Le Pouvoir* No. 199, July 19, 1850. p. 40

[56] As stipulated by Article 32 of the Constitution of the French Republic, during the recess a permanent commission had to be set up of 25 elected deputies and members of the Bureau of the Legislative Assembly. In 1850 this commission consisted of 39 members: eleven Bureau members, three questors and 25 elected deputies. p. 40

[57] It is not by chance that Engels gives May 1852 as the deadline for any possible attempt to upset the Republic. According to the French Constitution (Article 45) Louis Napoleon's term of presidency expired on the second Sunday in May 1852 and he was not re-eligible for another four years (see this volume, p. 572).

The Bonapartist coup d'état took place on December 2, 1851. p. 40

[58] The *Announcement*, written by Marx and Engels concerning the delay in printing the first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see Note 2), the material for which was sent from London to Hamburg early in February 1850, was forwarded to Hamburg not later than February 20. It was published at the beginning of the first number with the following note: "The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is a monthly of no less than five signatures. Subscription for three months is 25 silver groschen. Separate numbers ten silver groschen. Responsible publisher *K. Schramm*." p. 41

[59] The second chapter "June 13, 1849" of Marx's work *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, mentioned here (initially published as "1848-1849"), came out in the second issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*; the third chapter mentioned in the Announcement—"Repercussions of June 13 on the Continent"—was published in No. 3 of the *Revue*, entitled "Consequences of June 13, 1849". Marx realised his plans for the fourth and partly for the third chapter by writing some other material for the *Revue*, in particular in the international reviews written jointly with Engels. p. 41

[60] Chapter IV of Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*, "To Die for the Republic", was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 3, which came out about April 17, 1850. p. 41

[61] Marx did not prepare his lectures on political economy for publication as he had intended.

The *German Workers' Educational Society in London* was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other members of the League of the Just (an organisation of German craftsmen and workers, and also of emigrant workers of other nationalities). After the reorganisation of the League of the Just in the summer of 1847 and the founding of the Communist League, the latter's local communities played the leading role in the Society. During various periods of its activity, the Society had branches in working-class districts in London. In 1847 and 1849-50, Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work, but on September 17, 1850, Marx, Engels and a number of their followers withdrew because the Willich-Schapper sectarian and adventurist faction had temporarily increased its influence in the Society causing a split in the Communist League. In the late 1850s, Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Educational Society, which existed up to 1918, when it was closed down by the British Government. p. 41

[62] The article by Wilhelm Wolff was published in No. 4 of the *Revue* under the title "Nachträgliches aus dem Reich" (Additional News from the Empire).

The article on the financial state of Prussia was to be written by G. A. Bergenroth, a German democrat who took part in the 1848-49 revolution. This article was however never received by the journal. p. 41

[63] Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* consists of a series of articles written between January and October 1850 specially for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* and published in it under the general title "1848-1849". This is a most important work summing up the results of the 1848-49 revolution. In preparation for this work, Marx used French newspaper reports, reports published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and accounts given by witnesses—French and German revolutionary refugees, among them Ferdinand Wolff, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Paris correspondent, and another Communist League member, Sebastian Seiler, who was a stenographer to the French National Assembly in 1848 and 1849 and wrote a pamphlet on the events of June 13, 1849, which he presented to Marx. Marx was also probably familiar with Ledru-Rollin's pamphlet on the same subject.

According to the original plan (see this volume, p. 41) the work was to consist of four articles: "The Defeat of June 1848", "June 13, 1849", "Repercussions of June 13 on the Continent" and "Current Situation; England". However, in Nos. 1, 2 and 3 of the journal only three articles were published: "The Defeat of June 1848", "June 13, 1849" and "Consequences of June 13, 1849". The influence of the June 1849 events on the Continent and the situation in England were treated

in other items of the journal, particularly in the international reviews written jointly by Marx and Engels.

The work was not reprinted in full during Marx's lifetime. In 1895 it came out in book form in Berlin, with an Introduction by Engels. The title *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* was given by Engels and the work has since appeared under this title in various languages. In the 1895 edition, Engels added the fourth chapter, which included the sections of the third international review dealing with events in France (see this volume, pp. 507-09 and 516-25). Engels entitled this chapter "The Abolition of Universal Suffrage in 1850". Engels wrote to Richard Fischer on February 13, 1895, that the fourth chapter "will serve as a factual conclusion to the work as a whole, without which it would have remained a fragment". At the same time, the headings of the first three chapters were changed: I. "From February to June 1848", II. "From June 1848 to June 13, 1849", III. "From June 13, 1849, to March 10, 1850". In the present edition, the headings of the first three chapters are given according to the journal, while the heading of the fourth chapter is given as in the 1895 edition.

The publication of the series of Marx's articles drew the attention of the press. A short announcement of No. 1 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* and quotations from Marx's work were published in the *Freischütz*, Hamburg, No. 40, April 2, 1850; a review in the *Wochenblatt der Hornisse*, Cassel, No. 3, April 15, 1850. The preface and the first article were reprinted in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* Nos. 262, 263 and 264, April 5, 12 and 19, 1850. On January 1, 1852, the *Turn-Zeitung*, published by German socialist emigrants in the USA, carried an article by Joseph Weydemeyer "On the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", written under the direct influence of Marx's work, the first work by Marx and Engels in which the term "the dictatorship of the proletariat" was used. On the other hand, the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat brought criticism of the author from the petty-bourgeois democrats. The *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, whose editor was a former "true socialist", Otto Lüning, published a review (Nos. 148-51, June 22-23, 25 and 26, 1850) of the four numbers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* with unfavourable comments on this proposition and an incorrect interpretation of it. Marx was obliged to write Lüning a special letter rebuffing attempts to distort and dispute the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat (see this volume, pp. 387-88).

Marx and Engels attached great importance to the popularisation of the ideas contained in *The Class Struggles in France* among the English workers. Engels used this work in his *Letters from France* published in *The Democratic Review* (see this volume, pp. 17-40) and, on the basis of the first article in the series, wrote *Two Years of a Revolution*, which was published in the same journal (see this volume, pp. 353-69). Excerpts from Marx's work were cited by his contemporaries (Hermann Becker, Proudhon).

Excerpts from *The Class Struggles in France* were first published in English in the journal *The Marxian*, New York, 1921, Vol. 1, No. 2, and it appeared in full as a separate edition by Labour News Company, New York, 1924.

In this volume, the work is published after the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* text, checked with that of the 1895 edition prepared by Engels. The *Revue* published it from the manuscript and since Marx's handwriting was difficult to decipher, mistakes cropped up. In the present edition, all changes in style, spelling, punctuation and other corrections made by Engels have been taken into account, as well as errata printed in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (to the first number in the second, and to the second and third in the fourth).

Account has also been taken of the analysis, carried out by the editorial commission working on the Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe* (MEGA), erste Abteilung, 10. Bd. and kindly made available to us, of the marks and corrections made by Marx and Engels in their copies of the journal. Engels' corrections apparently date from 1895 when he republished *The Class Struggles* (in the 1895 edition, however, they were only partly taken into account). It is also probable that Engels intended to republish the *Revue* in full. Some corrections by Marx and Engels coinciding with the errata printed in the *Revue* have been silently inserted in the text of the present edition. Changes in meaning are indicated in footnotes.

Besides this, obviously inaccurate dates and factual data, including those in the 1850 and 1895 editions, have also been silently corrected. Comments are not usually made on Marx's free translation of quotations, except when the words Marx puts in quotation marks are not true quotations but convey the general meaning of the cited passages. p. 45

64 The *Paris uprising of June 5 and 6, 1832*, was prepared by the Left republicans and by secret revolutionary societies including the Society of the Friends of the People. The uprising flared up during the funeral of General Lamarque, an opponent of Louis Philippe's Government. The insurgent workers threw up barricades and defended them with great courage; the red flag was hoisted over them for the first time.

The *uprising of Lyons workers in April 1834*, directed by the secret republican Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, was one of the first mass actions by the French proletariat. The uprising, supported by republicans in several other towns including Paris, was brutally suppressed.

The *Paris uprising of May 12, 1839*, in which the revolutionary workers played a leading part, was prepared by the secret republican socialist Society of the Seasons led by Auguste Blanqui and Armand Barbès; it was suppressed by troops and the National Guard. p. 48

65 *Robert Macaire*—a character portraying a clever swindler, created by the famous French actor Frédérick Lemaître and immortalised in the caricatures of Honoré Daumier. The figure of Robert Macaire was a biting satire on the domination of the financial aristocracy under the July monarchy. p. 50

66 The reference is to the repercussions of the suppression of the uprising in the free city of Cracow (the Cracow Republic) which, by decision of the Congress of Vienna, came under the joint control of Austria, Prussia and Russia, who had partitioned Poland at the end of the eighteenth century. The insurgents succeeded in seizing power in Cracow on February 22, 1846, established a National Government of the Polish Republic and issued a manifesto abolishing feudal services. The Cracow uprising was suppressed at the beginning of March; in November 1846, Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a treaty incorporating Cracow into the Austrian Empire.

On the Swiss *Sonderbund* see Note 25.

On the *Holy Alliance* see Note 23. p. 51

67 In the spring of 1847 at Buzançais (department of the Indre) the starving workers and the inhabitants of neighbouring villages looted storehouses belonging to profiteers, which led to a clash between the population and troops. Four of those who took part were executed and many others sentenced to hard labour. p. 52

68 The *dynastic opposition*—an opposition group in the French Chamber of Deputies during the July monarchy (1830-48). The group, headed by Odilon Barrot, expressed the sentiments of the liberal industrial and commercial bourgeoisie and

favoured a moderate electoral reform, which they regarded as a means to prevent revolution and preserve the Orleans dynasty.

On the *National* party see Note 31. p. 53

[69] See Note 38. p. 54

[70] During the first days of the revolution, the workers of Paris demanded that the French Republic's flag should be red, the colour of that hoisted in the workers' suburbs of Paris during the June uprising of 1832. Bourgeois representatives insisted on the tricolour (blue-white-and-red) which had been the national standard during the French Revolution and under Napoleon I. It had been the emblem of the bourgeois republicans grouped around the newspaper *National* even before 1848. In the end, the tricolour was accepted as the national standard with a red rosette fixed to the flagstaff; later, the rosette was removed. p. 57

[71] In 1848 *Le Moniteur universel* printed reports on the sittings of the Luxembourg Commission alongside official documents. p. 57

[72] The reference is to the sum assigned by the King in 1825 as compensation for aristocrats whose property had been confiscated during the French Revolution, p. 61

[73] The *Mobile Guards*, set up by a decree of the Provisional Government on February 25, 1848, with the secret aim of fighting the revolutionary masses, were used to crush the June uprising of the Paris workers. Later they were disbanded on the insistence of Bonapartist circles, who feared that if a conflict arose between Louis Bonaparte and the republicans, the Mobile Guards would side with the latter. p. 62

[74] *Lazzaroni*—a contemptuous nickname for declassed proletarians, primarily in the Kingdom of Naples, who were repeatedly used in the struggle against the liberal and democratic movement. p. 62

[75] The Poor Law adopted in England in 1834 provided for only one form of relief for the able-bodied poor: workhouses with a prison-like regime in which the workers were engaged in unproductive, monotonous and exhausting labour. The people called these workhouses "Bastilles for the poor". Here and later Marx uses the English word "workhouses". p. 63

[76] The reference is to the elections to the National Guard and the Constituent Assembly which were to be held on March 18 and April 9, 1848, respectively. Paris workers, grouped around Blanqui, Dézamy and others, insisted on a postponement of the elections arguing that they should be prepared by thorough explanatory work among the population. As a result of the popular demonstration on March 17 in Paris, regular troops were withdrawn from the capital (after the events of April 16 they were brought back), and elections to the National Guard were postponed till April 5 and to the Constituent Assembly till April 23. p. 64

[77] See Note 43. p. 65

[78] *Commission du pouvoir exécutif* (the Executive Commission)—the Government of the French Republic set up by the Constituent Assembly on May 10, 1848, to replace the Provisional Government which had resigned. It existed until June 24, 1848, when Cavaignac's dictatorship was established during the June proletarian uprising. Moderate republicans predominated on the Commission; Ledru-Rollin was the sole representative of the Left. p. 66

[79] See Note 45. p. 67

[80] Under the decree prohibiting congregations of people adopted by the Constituent Assembly on June 7, 1848, the organisation of gatherings and meetings in the open was punishable by imprisonment of up to ten years. p. 67

[81] On June 22, 1848, *Le Moniteur universel* No. 174 in the section "Partie non officielle" reported an order of the Executive Commission of June 21 on the expulsion of workers between the ages of 17 and 25 from the national workshops and their compulsory enrolment in the army. On July 3, 1848, after the suppression of the June insurrection of the Paris workers, the government passed a decree dissolving the national workshops. p. 67

[82] See Note 50. p. 71

[83] In the German original, the term ***Haupt- und Staatsaktion*** ("principal and spectacular action", "main and state action") is used, which has a double meaning. First, in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, it denoted plays performed by German touring companies. The plays were rather formless historical tragedies, bombastic and at the same time coarse and farcical.

Second, this term can denote major political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical science known as "objective historiography". Leopold Ranke was one of its chief representatives. He regarded ***Haupt- und Staatsaktion*** as the main subject-matter. p. 73

[84] The reference is to the by-elections to the Constituent Assembly in Paris on September 17, 1848 (to replace former deputies, including those who were deprived of their powers after the June insurrection was suppressed). Among the newly elected was the revolutionary socialist François Raspail, imprisoned after the events of May 15, 1848. p. 75

[85] This refers to a system of general treaties set up by the Congress of Vienna (September 1814-June 1815), embracing the whole of Europe, apart from Turkey. The Congress decisions helped to restore feudal order, perpetuated the political fragmentation of Germany and Italy, sanctioned the incorporation of Belgium into Holland and the partition of Poland, and outlined measures to combat the revolutionary movement. p. 76

[86] The *Projet de constitution présenté à l'Assemblée nationale* drafted by the commission was submitted to the National Assembly by Marrast on June 19, 1848. The draft was published in *Le Moniteur universel* No. 172, June 20, 1848. A German translation of the draft was published in the supplement to No. 24 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on June 24, 1848. After the June insurrection, this draft was thoroughly revised by its authors in a conservative spirit. The Constitution of the French Republic was finally adopted on November 4, 1848. p. 77

[87] The *lily*—a heraldic emblem of the Bourbon dynasty; the *violet*—a Bonapartist emblem. p. 81

[88] By a decree of the Senate (*Senatus consult*) of May 18, 1804, Napoleon I, the founder of the Bonaparte dynasty, was proclaimed Emperor of the French.

During the February uprising of 1848, King Louis Philippe and the monarchist circles were compelled to make Guizot and other unpopular ministers tender their resignations, and tried to form a government of moderate liberals to save the monarchy. On the morning of February 24 Odilon Barrot was authorised to head

the Cabinet, but Louis Philippe was compelled to abdicate and flee by the victory of the popular revolution. The Barrot Ministry survived till that afternoon. p. 82

89 On January 26, 1849, the Minister of Public Works Léon Faucher submitted and demanded urgent discussion of a Bill on the right of association, prohibiting clubs. The Constituent Assembly, however, refused to discuss the Bill as an urgent matter. In spite of opposition from the Left deputies, who demanded the Ministry's resignation, accusing it of a breach of the Constitution, the first clause of the Bill (better known as the Bill on Clubs) was adopted by the National Assembly by a monarchist and moderate republican vote on March 21, 1849 (see this volume, p. 569). This decision dealt a serious blow at the freedom of assembly and association, primarily at the workers' associations. p. 88

90 An allusion to the similarity between the schemes for restoring the monarchy in December 1848, when Changarnier assumed command of the National Guard and the Paris garrison, and the part General Monk played in restoring the Stuarts in 1660. p. 89

91 In April 1849, President Louis Bonaparte and the French Government sent an expeditionary corps to Italy under General Oudinot to intervene against the Roman Republic proclaimed on February 9, 1849, and to restore the secular power of the Pope. On April 30, 1849, the French troops were driven back from Rome. The main blow was dealt by Garibaldi's volunteer corps. Oudinot violated the terms of the armistice signed by the French, however, and on June 3 started a new offensive against the Roman Republic, which had just completed a military campaign against Neapolitan troops in the south and was engaged in rebuffing the Austrians in the north. After a month of heroic defence, Rome was captured by the interventionists and the Roman Republic ceased to exist. p. 92

92 The reference is to the defeat of the Piedmontese army during the second stage of the Austro-Italian war which broke out on March 25, 1848, as a result of the national liberation uprising in Lombardy and Venice against Austrian rule. However, the Piedmontese were compelled by military setbacks, particularly the defeat at Custozza on July 25 and 26, 1848, and the capture of Milan by the Austrians, to conclude an onerous armistice with Austria on August 9, 1848. On March 12, 1849, under public pressure, Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, cancelled the armistice and on March 20 hostilities were resumed. Despite national enthusiasm in Austrian-occupied Lombardy and throughout Italy, the Piedmontese army was defeated at Novara on March 23. Charles Albert abdicated. Victor Emmanuel II, the new King, concluded an armistice with the Austrians on March 26, and on August 6 a peace treaty was signed restoring Austrian rule in Northern Italy and the Austrian protectorate over a number of states of Central Italy (Parma, Tuscany, etc.).

Engels gives a detailed account of the Austro-Italian war of 1848-49 in his articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (see present edition, Vols.7-9). p. 93

93 *Le Comité de salut public* (the Committee of Public Safety) established by the Convention on April 6, 1793; during the Jacobin dictatorship (June 2, 1793-July 27, 1794) it was the leading body of the revolutionary government in France. It lasted until October 26, 1795. p. 93

94 See Note 53. p. 97

95 General Bréa, who commanded some of the troops that suppressed the June insurrection of the Paris proletariat, was killed by the insurgents at the gates

of Fontainebleau on June 25, 1848, for which two of the insurgents were executed. p. 97

[96] The reference is to the revolutionary events in Hungary and Germany in the spring and summer of 1849. A counter-offensive by the Hungarian revolutionary army, which routed the Austrian troops and almost cleared the Austrian invaders from the whole country, began in April. Hungary declared its independence on April 14, the Habsburg dynasty was officially dethroned and Kossuth elected head of state. However, a change unfavourable to the revolutionary movement shortly took place in the Hungarian campaign. In mid-June 1849 the Tsarist army entered Hungary to assist the Austrian counter-revolution. The Tsarist intervention was in effect approved by the ruling circles of France and England. The combined forces of the Habsburgs and the Tsar suppressed the Hungarian revolution.

Almost simultaneously with the counter-offensive by the Hungarians, popular uprisings broke out in Saxony, Rhenish Prussia, the Palatinate and Baden in defence of the Imperial Constitution drafted by the Frankfurt National Assembly but rejected by the King of Prussia and other German princes. On the development of these uprisings see Engels' essays *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (this volume, pp. 147-239). p. 97

[97] The reference is to the bombardment of Rome by Oudinot's expeditionary corps on June 3, 1849. Rome was repeatedly subjected to fierce bombardments during the French siege, which lasted until July 3, 1849. p. 101

[98] Article V belongs to the introductory part of the Constitution. The articles of the principal part of the Constitution are numbered in Arabic figures. p. 101

[99] The meeting of the Montagne leaders was held on the premises of the Fourierists' daily *La Démocratie pacifique* on the evening of June 12, 1849. (Using the expression *friedfertige* [pacific] *Demokratie*, Marx plays on the title of the newspaper and its trend.) The participants refused to resort to arms and decided to confine themselves to a peaceful demonstration. p. 104

[100] In the manifesto published in *Le Peuple* No. 206, June 13, 1849, the Democratic Association of the Friends of the Constitution—an organisation of moderate bourgeois republicans formed by the *National* party members during the Legislative Assembly election campaign—called upon the citizens of Paris to participate in a peaceful demonstration to protest against the "presumptuous pretensions" of the executive authorities. p. 105

[101] The *Declaration of the Montagne* was published in *La Réforme* and in *La Démocratie pacifique* and also in Proudhon's newspaper *Le Peuple* No. 206, June 13, 1849. p. 105

[102] The events in Paris sparked off an armed uprising of Lyons workers and craftsmen on June 15, 1849. The insurgents occupied the Croix-Rousse quarter and erected barricades, but were suppressed by troops after several hours of staunch struggle. p. 106

[103] On August 10, 1849, the Legislative Assembly adopted a law under which "instigators and supporters of the conspiracy and the attempt of June 13" were liable to trial by the Supreme Court. Thirty-four deputies of the Mountain (Ledru-Rollin, Félix Pyat and Victor Considérant among them) were deprived of their mandates and put on trial (some of them, those who emigrated, were tried by default). On June 13, the editorial offices of democratic and socialist news-

papers were raided and the main of these papers were banned. Repressions were extended to emigrants residing in France, including Marx, who was ordered to leave Paris for the department of Morbihan, a remote swampy area in Brittany (on this see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 527). At the end of August 1849 Marx left France for England, not wishing to submit to the arbitrary police decision. p. 107

[104] The reference is to the *Municipal Guard of Paris* formed after the July 1830 revolution and subordinated to the Prefect of Police. It was used to suppress popular uprisings and was disbanded after the February 1848 revolution. p. 108

[105] In the battle of *Waterloo* (June 18, 1815) Napoleon's army was defeated by British and Prussian troops commanded by Wellington and Blücher. p. 109

[106] The reference is to the commission of three cardinals (who traditionally wore scarlet mantles) which, after the suppression of the Roman Republic by the French army and relying on support from the interventionists, restored the reactionary clerical regime in the papal states. p. 109

[107] See Note 56. p. 109

[108] Alongside Wiesbaden, Ems was a permanent residence of Count Chambord, the Legitimist pretender to the French throne (who called himself Henry V). p. 110

[109] Louis Philippe, who had fled from France after the February revolution of 1848, lived in Claremont. p. 111

[110] "*Motu proprio*" (of his own motion)—initial words of a special kind of papal encyclical adopted without the preliminary approval of the cardinals and usually concerning the internal political and administrative affairs of the papal states. Here this refers to the statement of Pope Pius IX "To My Beloved Subjects" of September 12, 1849 (the French text was published in *Le Moniteur universel* No. 271, September 28, 1849). p. 112

[111] The proposition that the proletarian revolution could only be victorious in several advanced capitalist countries simultaneously and not in a single country alone was most clearly formulated by Engels in his work *Principles of Communism* (1847) (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 351-52). By developing further the Marxist theory and drawing on the law of uneven economic and political development of capitalism in the era of imperialism, in 1915 Lenin came to the conclusion that under the new historical conditions, the victory of the socialist revolution would be possible initially in a few or even in a single country. p. 117

[112] The figures do not tally: the text reads 538,000,000 instead of 578,178,000, apparently a misprint. This does not, however, affect the general conclusion, for the net per capita income is less than 25 francs in both cases. p. 122

[113] Lagarde, a supporter of the Mountain party, was elected to the Legislative Assembly in the by-elections held in the department of the Gironde on October 14, 1849, to replace the deceased Right-wing deputy Ravez.
On the elections in the department of the Gard see Note 37. p. 123

[114] See Note 42. p. 123

[115] See Note 39. p. 123

[116] In his message of November 10, 1849, Carlier, the newly appointed Paris Police Prefect, called for a "social anti-socialist league" to be set up for the protection of "religion, labour, family, property and loyalty". The message was published in *Le Moniteur universel* No. 315, November 11, 1849. p. 124

[117] See Note 41. p. 127

[118] The *July column* erected in Paris on Bastille Square in 1840 in memory of those who fell in the July revolution of 1830 has been decorated with wreaths of immortelles ever since the February revolution of 1848. p. 128

[119] May 4, 1848—the Constituent Assembly was convened; December 20, 1848—Louis Bonaparte became President; May 13, 1849—elections were held to the Legislative Assembly; July 8, 1849—by-elections took place in Paris as a result of which the party of Order strengthened its position in the Legislative Assembly. p. 130

[120] *Coblenz*—a city in Western Germany; it was the centre of counter-revolutionary emigration during the French Revolution. p. 131

[121] The reference is to the discovery of gold in California in 1848. Along with the discovery of rich deposits of gold in Australia in 1851, the Californian discovery added to the industrial and stock-exchange agitation in capitalist countries. p. 132

[122] Proudhon expressed this point of view in his polemics against the bourgeois economist Frédéric Bastiat, published in *La Voix du peuple* from November 1849 to February 1850 and reproduced in a separate edition which appeared in Paris in 1850 under the title *Gratuité du crédit. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon.* p. 134

[123] In 1797 the British Government issued a special Bank Restriction Act making bank-notes legal tender and suspending the payment of gold for them. Convertibility was reintroduced only in 1821 in conformity with a law passed in 1819. p. 134

[124] See Note 46. p. 135

[125] The reference is to the commission of 17 Orleanists and Legitimists—deputies to the Legislative Assembly—appointed by the Minister of the Interior on May 1, 1850, to draft a new electoral law. Its members were nicknamed burgraves, a name borrowed from the title of Victor Hugo's historical drama as an allusion to their unwarranted claims to power and their reactionary aspirations. The drama is set in medieval Germany where the *Burggraf* was governor of a *Burg* (city) or a district, appointed by the Emperor. p. 136

[126] See Note 48. p. 137

[127] *Baiser-Lamourette* (Lamourette's kiss)—an allusion to an incident during the French Revolution. On July 7, 1792, Lamourette, deputy to the Legislative Assembly, proposed to end all party dissension with a fraternal kiss, and the representatives of the hostile parties, in accordance with this proposal, embraced one another. The following day, however, the struggle among the parties flared up with fresh vigour. p. 139

[128] See Note 56. p. 140

[129] The reference is to a new ministry to be appointed if the Bourbon dynasty was restored in the person of the Legitimist pretender to the throne, Count

Chambord. It was to consist of de Lévis, de Saint-Priest, Berryer, de Pastoret and d'Escars. p. 141

130 The reference is to the so-called Wiesbaden Manifesto—a circular drawn up in Wiesbaden on August 30, 1850, by de Barthélemy, secretary of the Legitimist faction in the Legislative Assembly, on the instruction of Count Chambord (de Barthélemy, *La conspiration légitimiste avouée*, in *Le Peuple de 1850* No. 24, September 22, 1850). The circular was the Legitimists' policy statement in case they came to power. Count Chambord declared that he "officially and categorically rejects any appeal to the people, because it will signify a negation of the great national principle of hereditary monarchy". This statement evoked protests among the Legitimists themselves, notably from a group headed by La Rochejaquelein, and polemics in the press. p. 141

131 An allusion to the expiration of Louis Bonaparte's presidential powers. In the text the date is not exact. According to the Constitution of the French Republic, presidential elections were to be held every four years on the second Sunday in May, on which day the powers of the incumbent President expired (see this volume, p. 572). p. 142

132 The *Society of December 10* (*Dix Décembre*)—a Bonapartist organisation founded in 1849 and consisting mainly of declassed elements, political adventurists, the reactionary military. Many of its members helped to elect Louis Bonaparte as President of the Republic on December 10, 1848, hence its name. This organisation played an active part in the Bonapartist coup d'état on December 2, 1851. Marx describes the society in his *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11). p. 143

133 *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* is a series of essays on the history of an uprising in support of the Imperial Constitution which took place in Rhenish Prussia, the Bavarian Palatinate and Baden in the spring and summer of 1849. Engels started working on his essays in July 1849, soon after arriving in Switzerland together with the last units of the defeated Baden-Palatinate army. In June 1849, while in the Palatinate, Engels wrote an article, "The Revolutionary Uprising in the Palatinate and Baden", rebuffing criticism of the insurgents by the German conservative and liberal press (see present edition, Vol. 9). Later, in Switzerland, he wrote a rough version of the "Repudiation" (ibid.) in answer to attempts by some petty-bourgeois emigrants to cast suspicion on the officers and men of the volunteer corps commanded by Willich, which consisted mainly of workers and was the staunchest unit in the insurgent army. Engels was Willich's adjutant. Willich's corps covered the retreat of other units of the Baden-Palatinate army after its defeat at Rastatt and was the last to cross the Swiss border on July 12, 1849.

Soon after this Engels decided to write his essays. He intended to describe the revolutionary struggle during the final stage of the German bourgeois-democratic revolution and to criticise the movement's petty-bourgeois leaders, whose vacillations and helplessness were one of the main reasons for its failure. In a letter from Paris in early August (before his move to London) Marx suggested that he stress these aspects and produce the work in pamphlet form.

His personal experience of the campaign and knowledge of relevant documents provided Engels with ample material for analysing the character of the movement, the position of various classes and parties in it, and the reasons for its failure. He used insurgents' accounts and literature on the Baden-Palatinate uprising that had appeared by the end of 1849, including works by the petty-bourgeois leaders of the uprising, whom he subjected to criticism. To

characterise their policy he made use of appeals, proclamations and articles published in the *Karlsruher Zeitung*, the organ of the Baden Provisional Government.

Engels foresaw that his essays would be met with hostility by petty-bourgeois emigrants, as they contrasted sharply with the publications and reminiscences they were preparing for the press. "My work..." wrote Engels to Jakob Schabelitz in August 1849, "will present a different understanding of this history from that expressed in other publications that are due to appear."

At first Engels intended to publish his work in pamphlet form and was helped by the Communist League members Jakob Schabelitz and Joseph Weydemeyer to find a publisher. But as Marx was making preparations to publish his own journal at the time, he changed his mind. In Switzerland Engels apparently devoted most of his efforts to collecting the material; in October his departure for England interrupted his work. In London he resumed work on the essays and the first two chapters—"Rhenish Prussia" and "Karlsruhe"—were published in the first number of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* The work was completed in February. Chapters Three and Four under the title "The Baden-Palatinate Uprising" were published in abridged form in the *Trier'sche Volksstimme* Nos. 23-27, 30-37 of May 29 to June 7 and June 14 to 30, 1850.

Marx's and Engels' supporters expressed a high opinion of the literary and polemical value of Engels' work. Weerth wrote jokingly to Marx on May 2, 1850: "...The articles on Baden could not have been better even if I myself had written them. This is, of course, the highest praise I can afford Engels" (G. Weerth, *Sämtliche Werke*, Bd. 5, S. 356).

The petty-bourgeois leaders, on the contrary, received Engels' essays with indignation. Otto Lüning's review of four numbers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* of June 22 to 26, 1850, criticised Engels' work in crude terms. Ludwig Simon came out with a review in the same vein (*Deutsche Monatsschrift für Politik, Wissenschaft, Kunst und Leben*, Bremen, 1851, 2. Bd., April-Juni, S. 170-74).

The essays were not reprinted during Engels' lifetime. They were reprinted in full by Mehring in 1902 in the collection *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle.* On the basis of documents in his possession, Mehring pointed out several alterations made by the Hamburg publishers (Schuberth and Co.) for censorship reasons. In this volume these alterations are indicated in footnotes.

Misprints in numbers 1-3 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* corrected in the errata given in numbers 2 and 4 of the *Revue* have been taken into account in this volume. At the end of the last errata it was stated, in particular, "Besides, in numbers 2 and 3, in the articles 'The Palatinate' and 'To Die for the Republic', the general title 'The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution' was missing, and the name of the author—*Frederick Engels*—was not given at the end of the article." In the first number, with the general introduction and Chapters One and Two—"Rhenish Prussia" and "Karlsruhe"—the general title and the author's name were given. The name was also given at the end of Chapter Three: "The Palatinate" (second number). Due account has also been taken of notes and marks made by Engels in his copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see Note 63), which are indicated in footnotes.

p. 147

134 The *Imperial Constitution* was adopted by the Frankfurt National Assembly on March 28, 1849. While proclaiming a number of civil liberties and introducing national central institutions, the Constitution nevertheless shaped the united

German state as a monarchy. On March 28 the Prussian King Frederick William IV was elected "Emperor of the Germans" by the Frankfurt National Assembly. Prussian-oriented liberal deputies of the Assembly in particular insisted on handing the imperial crown to the Hohenzollerns. However, Frederick William IV refused to accept the offer. Apart from the Prussian Government, those of almost all the larger German states (including Saxony, Bavaria and Hanover) refused to recognise the Constitution. Afraid of revolutionary action, liberals and democrats in the Frankfurt National Assembly proved incapable of upholding the Constitution. The people themselves were its sole defender, and in the spring and summer of 1849, they started an armed struggle led by petty-bourgeois democrats. Despite its limitations, the Constitution was seen by the people as the only remaining achievement of the revolution. On May 3, an armed uprising broke out in Dresden and later in a number of towns in Rhenish Prussia; however, these uprisings were rapidly suppressed by troops. The most powerful struggle in support of the Imperial Constitution developed in the Bavarian Palatinate and Baden, where workers, urban petty bourgeoisie and peasants rose in its defence. They were soon joined by military units, especially mounted units. In the middle of May provisional governments were set up, Leopold, the Grand Duke of Baden, fled, and the separation of the Palatinate from Bavaria was proclaimed. The leadership of the movement, however, fell mainly into the hands of moderate petty-bourgeois democrats, who were hesitant and refused to proclaim a republic. They chose passive defensive tactics confining the movement to local limits and preventing the uprising from spreading outside the Palatinate and Baden. Nevertheless, the combined Palatinate-Baden insurgent army, in which there were many workers' units, put up a strong resistance to the Prussian-Bavarian-Württemberg troops who greatly exceeded the insurgents in numbers and strength. The insurgents' last stronghold—Rastatt—fell on July 23. The uprisings in the Palatinate and Baden in the spring and summer of 1849 were the closing events of the German revolution. p. 149

[135] The *March Association*, thus named after the March 1848 revolution in Germany, was founded in Frankfurt am Main at the end of November 1848 by Left-wing deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly and had branches in various towns in Germany. Fröbel, Simon, Wesendock, Eisenmann, Vogt and other petty-bourgeois democratic leaders of the March associations confined themselves to revolutionary phrase-mongering and showed indecision and inconsistency in the struggle against counter-revolutionaries, for which Marx and Engels criticised them sharply (see present edition, Vol. 8, p. 185). p. 150

[136] The reference is to a legend of the Swiss Confederation the origin of which dates back to the agreement between the three mountain cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden in 1291. The legend runs that representatives of the three cantons met in the Grütli (or Rütli) meadow in 1307 and took an oath of loyalty in the joint struggle against Austrian rule. p. 150

[137] See Note 11. p. 150

[138] Presumably Engels himself intended to write this work to complement his essays on the campaign for the German Imperial Constitution, but no article on this was ever published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* p. 152

[139] From May 3 to 9, 1849, Dresden, the capital of Saxony, was the scene of an armed uprising caused by the refusal of the Saxon King to recognise the Imperial

Constitution. The insurgents captured a considerable part of the city, with the workers playing the most active part in the barricade fighting, and formed a Provisional Government headed by the radical democrat Samuel Tzschirner. The moderate line pursued by the other members of the Provisional Government, the desertion of the bourgeois civic militia and the treacherous actions of the bourgeoisie in Leipzig where they suppressed the workers' solidarity movement, weakened the insurgents' resistance to the counter-revolutionary forces. The uprising was crushed by Saxon and Prussian troops. The Russian revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin, the German working-class leader Stephan Born and the composer Richard Wagner took an active part in the uprising. p. 154

[140] On May 6 and 7, 1849, workers and other democratic elements in Breslau (Wrocław) erected barricades in protest to the dispatch of artillery to suppress the Dresden uprising, but they were defeated by vastly superior counter-revolutionary forces. p. 154

[141] See Note 6. p. 155

[142] The *Napoleonic Code* (*Code Napoléon*)—Napoleon's 1804 civil code which he introduced into the conquered regions of Western and South-Western Germany. It remained in force in the Rhine Province after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815. p. 155

[143] *Prussian Law* (*Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten*) was promulgated in 1794. It included criminal, state, civil, administrative and ecclesiastical law and bore the distinct imprint of obsolete feudal legal standards.

After the annexation of the Rhine Province to Prussia in 1815, the Prussian Government tried to introduce Prussian Law into various legal spheres there to replace the French bourgeois codes in force in the province. This was done by introducing a series of laws, edicts and instructions aimed at restoring the feudal privileges of the nobility (primogeniture), Prussian criminal and marriage law, etc. These measures were resolutely opposed in the province and were repealed after the March revolution by special decrees issued on April 15, 1848. p. 156

[144] The army reserve (*Landwehr*) was formed in Prussia at the time of the struggle against Napoleonic rule. In the 1840s it was made up of persons up to 40 years of age who had served three years in the army and been on the reserve list for at least two years. As distinct from the regular troops, the army reserve was mobilised only in special emergencies (war or threat of war). p. 157

[145] On May 1, 1849, the Cologne Municipal Council, composed mainly of representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie, issued an appeal for the convocation, on May 5, 1849, of a meeting of all the municipal councils of the Rhine Province to discuss the new situation in Prussia resulting from the dissolution by the Prussian Government on April 27 of the Second Chamber of the Prussian Provincial Diet, which had approved the Imperial Constitution despite the King's intention to reject it. The Prussian Government banned the meeting. Even so, the Cologne Municipal Council convoked a congress in Cologne of delegates from the Rhine cities on May 8, 1849. The congress came out in support of the Imperial Constitution and demanded that the dissolved Diet be convoked. It was made clear that, if the Prussian Government ignored the resolution of the congress (Engels quotes it below), the Rhine Province would consider secession from Prussia. This threat, however, proved empty as it was not backed up by resolute

action on the part of the liberal majority of the congress, which rejected a proposal for arming the people and offering resistance to the authorities. p. 158

146 See Note 8. p. 158

147 The description of revolutionary events given below deals mainly with Elberfeld, which was one of the main centres of the uprising in Rhenish Prussia in defence of the Imperial Constitution.

The *Elberfeld uprising* involved mainly workers and petty-bourgeois strata. It flared up on May 9, 1849, and served as a signal for armed struggle in a number of towns in the Rhine Province (Düsseldorf, Iserlohn, Solingen and others). The immediate cause of the uprising was the Prussian Government's attempt to suppress the revolutionary uprising on the Rhine with arms, crush democratic organisations and the press and disarm those army reserve units which had refused to take orders and backed the demand for the Imperial Constitution (the army reserve had been mobilised by the Prussian Government itself). After the expulsion of the Prussian troops who tried to capture the city, power in Elberfeld passed into the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, composed mainly of moderate democrats and liberals. In contrast to Elberfeld, the uprising that broke out in Düsseldorf on May 9 was suppressed by troops on the following day. In Elberfeld and other towns the insurgents were able to hold out longer. p. 159

148 Engels arrived in Elberfeld on May 11, 1849, from insurgent Solingen, where, the day before, he had formed a detachment of workers to help the Elberfeld insurgents. In Elberfeld he worked for a reform of the bourgeois civic militia, the imposition of a war tax on the bourgeoisie and the extensive arming of workers with a view to creating the nucleus of a Rhenish revolutionary army and uniting localised uprisings. These efforts were counteracted by the Committee of Public Safety, in which considerable influence was wielded by representatives of the bourgeoisie.

Under pressure from bourgeois circles, Engels was deported from the city on the morning of May 15. On May 17, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* carried an article, entitled "Elberfeld", describing the situation in the insurgent city and Engels' activities there (see present edition, Vol. 9). Later an action was brought against Engels for his part in the Elberfeld uprising (see this volume, pp. 602-04). Engels also touches on his stay in Elberfeld during the uprising in this series of articles. p. 163

149 The *arsenal in Prüm* was stormed by democrats and workers from Trier and neighbouring townships on May 17 and 18, 1849. Their aim was to seize the arms and extend the uprising in defence of the Imperial Constitution to the areas on the left bank of the Rhine. The insurgents succeeded in capturing the arsenal, but government troops soon arrived on the scene and the movement was suppressed. p. 163

150 The *tricolour*—the black-red-and-gold flag, symbolising Germany's national unity, was the banner of the movement in support of the Imperial Constitution. p. 163

151 As a result of behind-the-scenes negotiations between a delegation of the Elberfeld bourgeoisie and the government, and the defeatist attitude of the Committee of Public Safety, the Committee was dissolved by the city authorities on May 16, 1849. On the night of May 17, the workers' detachments, including reinforcements from other towns, were led out of Elberfeld under false pretences and the previous order was restored in the city. The failure of the Elberfeld uprising brought the triumph of reaction throughout Rhenish Prussia. p. 169

[152] See Note 3. p. 171

[153] Immediately after the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ceased publication, Marx and Engels went to Frankfurt am Main and then to insurgent Baden and the Palatinate. Their attempts to convince the Left deputies to the Frankfurt Assembly and members of the Baden and Palatinate provisional governments of the need to extend the movement throughout Germany, to mount a resolute offensive, and to persuade the Assembly openly to join in the uprising proved, however, unavailing. In late May 1849, Marx and Engels arrived in Bingen (Hesse) where they parted. Marx went on to France to establish contacts with French democrats and socialists, while Engels returned to the Palatinate to take a direct part in the impending armed struggle against the concentrating counter-revolutionary troops. Besides Marx, two other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Ferdinand Wolff and Ernst Dronke, went to Paris, where the Montagne party and the revolutionary clubs were preparing for mass actions against the ruling party of Order (see this volume, pp. 104-09). p. 171

[154] On May 12, 1849, in conditions of general popular ferment and mounting unrest in the army, the leaders of democratic organisations assembled in Offenburg (Baden) and took preparatory measures for calling a popular meeting. The decisions of the assembly, reflecting the attitude of the moderate democrats, were confined to a demand for the resignation of the reactionary Beck Ministry and the convocation of a Constituent Assembly. By the time the popular meeting opened on the following day, however, news had arrived that the army had sided with the people everywhere, that insurgent garrisons had captured the Rastatt fortress on May 11 and later Karlsruhe and other cities, and that Grand Duke Leopold had fled. As a result, more radical decisions were adopted at the meeting, which voted for the dissolution of the Baden Diet, universal arming of the people, liberation of political prisoners, the return of refugees, and other far-reaching measures. At the same time, the republican wing failed to secure approval for a resolution on the introduction of a republican government. A Baden provincial committee was set up, composed mainly of moderate democrats. The committee soon formed a provisional government, the Executive Committee, headed by Lorenz Peter Brentano. Its policy, however, was very moderate and irresolute, and gave rise to differences between the moderate democrats and more radical elements. On June 10, the Constituent Assembly was called in Karlsruhe, which consolidated the dominant position of the moderate democrats. Brentano was again appointed head of the provisional government and vested with extensive powers. p. 172

[155] The *Senate* was one of the governing bodies of the free city of Frankfurt; it had both legislative and administrative functions. p. 173

[156] The Prussian Major Schill first distinguished himself during brave guerrilla actions in the war against Napoleon's army in 1806-07. In April 1809, during Napoleon's war against Austria, Schill, leading a regiment of hussars and a company of riflemen, set out from Berlin on his own account with the aim of drawing "neutral" Prussia into a war against Napoleonic rule. After an abortive attempt to capture Magdeburg, he tried to fight his way to the Baltic, hoping for British support from the sea. At the end of May, his forces were routed at Stralsund, Schill himself falling in action. p. 174

[157] Fickler was sent to Württemberg for talks to ensure the neutrality of the Württemberg royal government. On June 3, 1849, he was arrested in Stuttgart by the Württemberg authorities. p. 175

[158] The *Club of Resolute Progress*, founded in Karlsruhe on June 5, 1849, was the more radical wing of the petty-bourgeois democratic republicans (Struve, Tzschirner, Heinzen and others) discontented with the conciliatory policy of the Brentano Government and the increasing strength of the Rightist elements within it. The Club suggested that Brentano should extend the revolution beyond Baden and the Palatinate and introduce radicals into his government. Brentano refused, so the Club tried, on June 6, to force the government to comply by threatening an armed demonstration. The government, however, supported by the civic militia and other armed units, proved the stronger party in the conflict. The Club of Resolute Progress was disbanded. p. 175

[159] The *six scourges of humanity* was the phrase used by Gustav Struve in a letter published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 238 (supplement), October 26, 1849, referring to the monarchy, the hereditary nobility, officialdom, the standing army, the clergy, and finance magnates. p. 177

[160] The Rastatt fortress on the Murg was the scene of the last major battle of the insurgent army against Prussian and imperial forces (June 29 and 30, 1849). The 13,000 Baden soldiers held out for 24 hours against the 60,000-strong enemy, but were ultimately forced to retreat to the Swiss border to avoid encirclement. Engels describes the battle in Chapter Four of his essays (see this volume, pp. 227-31). p. 178

[161] In the *Ständehaus* (House of the Social Estates) in Karlsruhe sittings of the Brentano Government were held. p. 179

[162] At Waghäusel, a major battle took place on June 21, 1849, between the insurgent army and Prussian troops who had captured the Palatinate and invaded Baden. By a vigorous counterattack the insurgents held up the Prussians, thus avoiding encirclement, but they were unable to prevent the Prussian army from advancing. Engels describes the battle in Chapter Four of his essays (see this volume, p. 219). p. 179

[163] This refers to the strategic miscalculation by Görgey, the commander-in-chief of the Hungarian revolutionary army, in refusing to take advantage of the victories scored by the Hungarians during their spring offensive in 1849 to extend the fighting to Austria and launch operations to capture Vienna (see Note 96). p. 184

[164] The *Central Committee of German Democrats* was elected at the Second Democratic Congress, held in Berlin from October 26 to 30, 1848. It included d'Ester, Reichenbach and Hexamer. Marx was handed a mandate of the Central Committee by d'Ester at the end of May 1849.

The *French social-democrats*—the party of petty-bourgeois democrats and socialists grouped round the newspaper *La Réforme* (see Note 50).

At the time of Marx's trip to France a clash was brewing between the Montagne, which represented the *Réforme* party in the Legislative Assembly, and conservative circles. The Montagne took action on June 13, 1849. p. 186

[165] The *Fruchthalle*—a covered fruit and vegetable market in Kaiserslautern where the central administration of the Palatinate revolutionary Provisional Government had its offices in 1849. p. 192

[166] *Chevaux-légers* (literally: light horses)—light cavalry armed with sabres, pistols and carbines in some West-European countries. p. 193

[167] On June 14, 1848, Berlin workers and craftsmen, outraged by the National Assembly's renunciation of the March revolution, took the arsenal by storm in an attempt to uphold the revolutionary gains. This action, however, was spontaneous and unorganised, and army reinforcements and units of the bourgeois civic militia were soon able to push back and disarm the people. p. 196

[168] An allusion to the participation of some N.C.O.s of Willich's German refugee volunteer corps in France's colonial war in Algeria, which ended on the eve of the February 1848 revolution. The war, waged with intermissions from 1830 to 1847, aimed at the conquest and subjugation of Algeria. p. 197

[169] An allusion to "wailers" (*Heuler*)—the name the republican democrats in Germany applied to the moderate constitutionalists who, in turn, called their opponents "agitators" (*Wühler*). p. 201

[170] See Note 19. p. 207

[171] An allusion to the statement made by Frederick William IV in his speech at the opening of the First United Diet on April 11, 1847, that he was "heir to an *unimpaired crown*" and must pass it on unimpaired to his successors (see *Der Erste Vereinigte Landtag in Berlin 1847*, erster Teil). p. 209

[172] See Note 158. p. 214

[173] This refers to a speech Franz Heinrich Zitz, an extreme Left-wing deputy to the Frankfurt parliament, made at a meeting in Frankfurt am Main on September 17, 1848, on the eve of the popular uprising sparked off by the parliament's ratification of the Malmö armistice, which jeopardised the liberation movement in Schleswig-Holstein and Germany's national interests. Zitz condemned the parliament's stand and objected to sending petitions to it, declaring that the time had come for resolute action. p. 225

[174] See Note 61. p. 226

[175] The *Cologne Workers' Association*—a workers' organisation founded by Andreas Gottschalk on April 13, 1848. By early May its members numbered about 5,000, mostly workers and artisans. The Association was led by the President and the committee, which consisted of representatives of various trades, and had several branches.

Most of the Association's leaders (Gottschalk, Anneke, Schapper, Moll, Lessner, Jansen, Röser, Nothjung, Bedorf) were members of the Communist League. After Gottschalk's arrest, Moll was elected President (on July 6). On October 16, Marx agreed to assume this post temporarily at the request of Association members. From February to May 1849 the post was held by Schapper.

In the beginning, the Workers' Association was influenced by Gottschalk, who, ignoring the proletariat's tasks in the democratic revolution, pursued a policy of boycotting elections to representative bodies and came out against an alliance with democratic forces. He combined ultra-Left talk with very moderate actions (petitions, etc.) and support for the demands of the workers affected by craft prejudices. From the outset, Gottschalk's sectarian attitude was challenged by the supporters of Marx and Engels. At the end of June 1848 they brought about a radical change in the Association's activities, making it a centre of revolutionary agitation among the workers, and from the autumn of that year, also among the peasants. By studying Marx's works, members of the Association familiarised

themselves with scientific communism. The Association maintained contacts with other workers' and democratic organisations.

In January and February 1849, Marx, Schapper and other leaders reorganised the Association with a view to strengthening it. On February 25, new Rules were adopted, proclaiming the Association's main task as raising the class consciousness of the workers.

The mounting counter-revolution and intensified police reprisals prevented the Cologne Workers' Association from continuing its work of rallying and organising the working masses. After the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ceased publication and Marx, Schapper and other leaders of the Association left Cologne, it gradually turned into an ordinary workers' educational society. p. 226

176 On September 26, 1848, the authorities, frightened by the upsurge of the revolutionary and democratic movement in Cologne, declared a state of siege in the city to ensure "security of property and person". An order of the military command prohibited all associations pursuing "political and social aims", banned meetings, disbanded and disarmed the civic militia, introduced courts-martial and suspended publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and several other democratic newspapers. A protest campaign forced the Cologne military authorities to lift the state of siege on October 2. On October 12, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* resumed publication. p. 226

177 On June 23, 1849, during the retreat of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army, one of its units mutinied. The soldiers, led by their commander Thome, made an attempt to arrest Mieroslawski and Sigel and turn them over to the Prussian army. p. 226

178 The Baden Constituent Assembly held its sittings in Freiburg (the last on July 2, 1849) after moving there from Karlsruhe at the end of June. p. 233

179 This refers to the battle of Hohenlinden (December 3, 1800), in which General Jean Victor Moreau of the French Republic defeated the Austrian army. p. 236

180 On September 18, 1849, a *German Refugee Committee* was set up on Marx's initiative under the auspices of the German Workers' Educational Society in London. Besides Marx and other members of the Communist League, it included a number of petty-bourgeois democrats. At a meeting of the Society on November 18, the Committee was transformed into the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee, the aim being to dissociate the proletarian section of the London refugees from the petty-bourgeois elements. The new Committee included only members of the Communist League: Karl Marx (who was elected chairman), Heinrich Bauer, August Willich, Karl Pfänder and Frederick Engels (see document on pp. 599-601 of this volume). Besides providing material assistance for the refugees, predominantly those belonging to the proletarian wing, the Committee played an important part in restoring ties between members of the Communist League, in uniting the supporters of Marx and Engels in London and in reorganising the Communist League. In mid-September 1850, following the split in the Communist League, when most members of the Educational Society, to which the Committee was accountable, came under the influence of the Willich-Schapper sectarian group, Marx and Engels, together with their followers, withdrew from the Committee (see this volume, pp. 483 and 631-32). p. 240

181 Appended to the letter were certificates—signed by Ferenc Pulszky, the Committee's agent in London in the spring of 1849—testifying that the persons

named belonged to the unit of Hungarian hussars that had been sent, via Sardinia, to reinforce the Hungarian revolutionary army, but arrived too late to join it and, after the suppression of the Hungarian revolution, was forced to return to London. p. 240

[182] The reviews of Marx and Engels published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* contain a critical analysis of a number of historical, sociological and economic works that appeared after the revolution of 1848-49 and influenced the views of bourgeois ideologists. Their criticism is also directed against the petty-bourgeois participants in and interpreters of these events.

The reviews were published unsigned in the literary section of the second and fourth issues of the journal. In 1892 Engels wrote in his biographical essay on Marx: "...Besides he wrote (together with Engels) a number of literary and political reviews." In 1886, the journal *Die Neue Zeit*, which for a long time had the benefit of Engels' counsel and direction, reprinted the review of the pamphlets by Chenu and de la Hodde, giving Marx and Engels as the authors. It may be assumed that some of the reviews, such as those dealing with the books of Girardin and Guizot, were written by Marx, while the review of Carlyle's book was probably by Engels, who had discussed this author's writings previously (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 444-68). Since this cannot be established with absolute certainty, however, all the reviews in this volume are published as the joint works of Marx and Engels.

Appended to the first group of reviews, published in the second issue, was an editorial note saying: "All the works indicated here may be obtained in London at Mr. D. Nutt's, 270, the Strand, two doors from St. Clement's Church."

From the reviews belonging to this group, that of Daumer's book was published in English in the collection: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Religion*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, and the review of Guizot's book in the collection: K. Marx, *Selected Essays*, Parsons, London, 1926. p. 241

[183] Presumably a case of double irony: by calling Daumer's statements in the book suras (the Arab name for chapters in the *Koran*), the authors stress their assertive didacticism reminiscent of religious preaching, and at the same time hint at Daumer's book *Mahomed und sein Werk*, Hamburg, 1848 (to which there is a direct reference later in the review). p. 243

[184] The *prophecies of Nostradamus*, the famous sixteenth-century French astrologer and physician-in-ordinary to Charles IX, were couched in verse and were extremely vague and cryptic.

*Second sight in Scotsmen*—the ability, attributed by superstition to Scottish highlanders, to divine the future and events concealed from ordinary people.

*Animal magnetism*—the theory of the Austrian physician Friedrich Anton Mesmer (1734-1815) that a man's behaviour can be influenced by hypnotism ("animal magnetism"). p. 245

[185] In *St. Paul's Church*, Frankfurt am Main, the Frankfurt National Assembly (see Note 8) met in 1848 and 1849. p. 247

[186] On March 28, 1849, the Frankfurt National Assembly, having drawn up an all-German Imperial Constitution and elected—by the votes of the liberals and moderate democrats—the Prussian King Frederick William IV "Emperor of the Germans", sent a deputation to Berlin to offer him the Crown. Frederick William rejected it, however (announcing his final decision on April 28, 1849), pleading that the Imperial Constitution was unacceptable because of its revolutionary origin and contents. p. 247

[187] On June 26, 1849, the liberal deputies of the Frankfurt National Assembly, who had walked out after the Prussian King's refusal to accept the Imperial Crown, met in Gotha for a three-day conference which resulted in the formation of the Gotha party. It expressed the interests of the pro-Prussian German bourgeoisie and supported the policy of Prussian ruling circles aimed at uniting Germany under the hegemony of Hohenzollern Prussia. p. 249

[188] In his pamphlet Simon wrote that the deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly who had not renounced their powers (most of them belonged to the Left wing) had condemned the Württemberg King's denunciation of the Imperial Constitution and pronounced their solidarity with the armed struggle waged in the Palatinate and Baden in defence of the Constitution. In particular, Simon mentioned the resolution adopted by the remnants of the Assembly on June 8, 1849, after it had moved from Frankfurt to Stuttgart. It placed Baden under the protection of the Empire, i.e. the Assembly. The resolution was, however, no more than a declaration. Fearing a broad popular movement, the remaining members of the Assembly gave no specific support to the insurgents and refused to call the insurrectionary troops of Baden and the Palatinate to their defence. p. 249

[189] This refers to the establishment of the Bank of England (1694). The founders loaned its fixed capital to the government. This was the beginning of the national debt. p. 252

[190] The *parliaments in France*—judicial institutions that came into being in the Middle Ages. The Paris parliament was the highest court of appeal and also performed important administrative and political functions, such as registering of royal decrees, without which they had no legal force. The parliaments enjoyed the right to remonstrate against government decrees. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries their members were officials of high birth called the "nobility of the mantle". They ultimately became a bulwark of Right-wing opposition to absolutism and of resistance to moderate reforms, and were abolished during the French Revolution, in 1790. p. 253

[191] The *States General*—a body representing the social estates in medieval France. It consisted of clergymen, nobles and burghers. Convened in May 1789, after a 175-year interval, at a time when the bourgeois revolution was maturing in France, the States General were on June 17 transformed by decision of the deputies of the third estate into the National Assembly, which on July 9 proclaimed itself the Constituent Assembly and became the supreme organ of revolutionary France. p. 253

[192] This refers to popular uprisings against Spanish rule that took place in Lisbon in 1640, in Naples in 1647 and 1648 and in Messina between 1674 and 1676. p. 254

[193] The reference is to the Reform Bill of 1832, which was directed against the political monopoly of the landed and financial aristocracy and gave representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie access to Parliament. The proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, the main forces in the struggle for the reform, received no electoral rights. p. 255

[194] The international reviews in the second, the fourth and the double fifth-sixth issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* were simply entitled "Revue" ("Review") and were not signed. The authors provided the third

of these reviews with the subheading "May to October". In the present edition the editors have therefore added corresponding subheadings to the first and second reviews. Numerous passages in the works and letters of Marx and Engels show that they wrote the reviews together.

The first review was intended for the first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see Engels' letter to Jakob Schabelitz of December 22, 1849) and the greater part of it dated January 31, 1850, but for lack of space the review was transferred to the second issue, the reader being notified of this by an editorial note. The closing part of the review was written in February.

Excerpts from the first review were first published in English in the collection: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Colonialism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960. In the present edition, account has been taken of the corrections in the list of misprints appended to the fourth issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, as well as those made later by Engels in his copy of the journal (see Note 63). p. 257

195 See Note 16 p. 257

196 See Note 20. p. 257

197 The *United Diet*—an assembly of representatives from the eight Provincial Diets of Prussia, similarly based on the estate principle. It sanctioned new taxes and loans, discussed Bills, and had the right to petition the King.

The First United Diet, which opened on April 11, 1847, was dissolved in June, following its refusal to vote a new loan. The Second United Diet, convened on April 2, 1848, passed a law on elections to the Prussian National Assembly and sanctioned the loan. The United Diet session closed on April 10, 1848. p. 258

198 This refers to the trials of Benedikt Waldeck in Berlin (see Note 14) and Karl Grün in Trier. The two were Left-wing deputies to the Prussian National Assembly who were put on trial in 1849 for their political activities. The trials showed that the Prussian authorities were using forgeries to fight their opponents. On the other hand, Waldeck and Grün were doing everything to prove their loyalty to the Prussian Government. p. 258

199 This refers to Frederick William IV's attempts, supported by the sovereigns of the Prussian Union (see Note 12), to unite Germany under Prussian hegemony, to the exclusion of Austria (the plan for a "Little Germany", as against the plan for a "Great Germany" advocated by pro-Austrian circles). These attempts were backed by the liberals who had walked out of the Frankfurt National Assembly and formed, in June 1849, the so-called Gotha party (see Note 187). The latter took part in the elections to the German parliament which was to revise the draft German Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt National Assembly in a way convenient for Prussian ruling quarters. The parliament met in Erfurt on March 20, 1850, but counteraction by the Austrian Court and the Russian Emperor forced the Prussian Government temporarily to abandon its unification plans and dissolve the Erfurt parliament (April 29, 1850). p. 258

200 See Note 185. p. 258

201 See Note 9. p. 259

202 The reference is to the *Preussische Seehandlungsgesellschaft* (Prussian Maritime Trading Company), a trade and credit society founded in 1772 and enjoying a number of important state privileges. It granted large credits to the government

and from 1820 actually acted as its banker and broker. In 1904 it was made the official Prussian State Bank. p. 259

203 The *borderers* were inhabitants of what was known as the Military Border Area, i.e. the southern border region of the Austrian Empire under a military administration. The area included part of Croatia and Southern Hungary. Its population was made up of Serbs, Croats and other nationalities who were allotted land in return for military service, the fulfilment of other obligations and payment of duties. The borderers often rose in revolt against this system of military and feudal oppression. p. 259

204 This refers to the rupture of diplomatic relations between Russia and Turkey in the autumn of 1849 caused by the Turkish Government's refusal to extradite the Polish and Hungarian political refugees as demanded by the Russian and Austrian emperors. Unwilling to incur the hostility of Britain and France, Nicholas I thought it wiser to settle his conflict with Turkey. Towards the end of the year diplomatic relations were resumed. p. 260

205 *Saint-Jean d'Acre*—a fortress in Syria—was taken by the Egyptians in 1832, during the Turco-Egyptian war of 1831-33.

*San Juan de Ulua*—a fortress in Veracruz, Mexico, the Spaniards' last stronghold during Mexico's war of independence—was taken in 1825. p. 260

206 The *continental blockade* of the British Isles was proclaimed by Napoleon in November 1806. All the European states dependent on Napoleonic France were forced to join. Russia and Prussia acceeded in 1807 (under the Peace of Tilsit) and Austria in 1809. The forced rupture of trade with Britain greatly harmed Russia's economic interests, which was one of the causes of the Franco-Russian war of 1812. p. 260

207 The *Federal Council*—the central executive of the Swiss Republic, a body established under the Constitution of September 12, 1848. Its chairman acted as President of the Republic. p. 261

208 Here reference is made to the agreements under which the Swiss cantons supplied mercenaries to European states. They were concluded in the period from the fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. In many West-European countries Swiss mercenaries were used by counter-revolutionary monarchist forces.

In 1848 Berne and other cantons concluded a series of such agreements with the counter-revolutionary government of Ferdinand II, King of Naples. The employment of Swiss troops against the revolutionary movement in Italy aroused great indignation among the Swiss progressive circles, and this eventually led to the annulment of these agreements. p. 261

209 The *Sonderbund*—see Note 25.

*Neuchâtel's independence*—see Note 24. p. 261

210 See Note 37. p. 263

211 This refers to the June 1846 Act of the British Parliament repealing the Corn Laws (see Note 29). p. 263

212 At the end of 1849 and the beginning of 1850 Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff delivered a series of lectures on China at London University and a number of learned societies. One of these lectures was related in a report published by the conservative *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (known also as the *Kreuz-Zeitung*) in its issue

No. 7, January 9, 1850. Marx and Engels may have drawn on this report in writing this section of their review. p. 266

213 This refers to one of the main provisions of the Nanking Treaty Britain concluded with China as a result of the Anglo-Chinese war of 1840-42 (known as the first Opium War). It was the first of a series of unequal treaties imposed on China by the Western powers, treaties that reduced it to the status of a semi-colony. Under the Nanking Treaty five Chinese cities—Canton, Shanghai, Amoy, Ninbo and Fuchou—were opened to English trade. In 1844 unequal treaties were imposed on China by the USA and France. p. 266

214 The reference is to the popular unrest then rife in several provinces of China. In mid-1850 it erupted into a peasant war that resulted in the insurgents establishing a state of their own over a considerable part of China's territory. The state was called Taiping Tango (hence the name of the movement—the Taiping uprising). The leaders of the movement put forward a utopian programme calling for China's feudal social order to be transformed into a paramilitary patriarchal system based on egalitarianism in production and consumption. The Taiping uprising lasted until 1864. p. 266

215 The Ten Hours' Bill, the struggle for which had been waged for many years, was passed by Parliament in 1847, against a background of the sharply intensified contradictions between the landed aristocracy and the industrial bourgeoisie generated by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. In revenge against the industrial bourgeoisie, a section of the Tory M.P.s supported the Bill. Its provisions applied only to children and women. Nevertheless, many manufacturers evaded it in practice. Engels also discussed the ten-hour working day in earlier writings, in particular in his book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 460, 461, 465-66). In the present article he took it up in connection with a fresh campaign against the Ten Hours' Bill launched by manufacturers, who worked in different ways to secure its *de facto* annulment.

The article, written for the Chartist journal *The Democratic Review*, evoked a lively response in the British working-class press. In its survey of the journal, *The Northern Star* wrote (No. 645, March 2, 1850): "The *Ten Hours' Question* is the title of an article which is sure to excite great interest, and, possibly, some discussion. We venture to predict that, while it will not greatly please those who are purely and simply Ten Hours Bill-men, it will meet with more than the approval of those who are 'Ten Hours Bill-men, *and Something more*'. It is an article which all classes may read with advantage, although, most likely, it will call down on its author's head the hot indignation of those who live by speculating in the labour and making profit of the blood and sinews of the wealth-producers."

Both this article and the article "The English Ten Hours' Bill" published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see this volume, pp. 288-300) show that Marxist political economy had not yet been fully developed. This was reflected in a certain underestimation of the struggle for shorter working hours and of the positive effects of legal limitation of the working day. Marx and Engels gave an exhaustive description of the Ten Hours' Bill in their later works. See, e.g., Marx's *Inaugural Address of the International Working-Men's Association* and *Capital* (Vol. I, Chapter X, Sections 5, 6, 7). p. 271

216 The *Manchester School*—a trend in economic thought reflecting the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. It advocated Free Trade and non-interference by the state in economic affairs. In the 1840s and 1850s, the Free Traders constituted the Left wing of the Liberal Party in England. p. 271

[217] This refers to the *People's Charter*, which formulated the demands of the Chartists. It was published on May 8, 1838, as a Bill for submission to Parliament. The Charter contained six demands: universal suffrage (for men on reaching the age of 21), annual elections to Parliament, a secret ballot, equal constituencies, abolition of the property qualification for candidates to Parliament, salaries for M.P.s. Petitions for the Charter were rejected by Parliament in 1839 and 1842. p. 273

[218] The *relay system*—a system for using the labour of women and juveniles applied by English manufacturers, especially from 1847 onwards, in an attempt to circumvent the Ten Hours' Bill. Under the relay system, women and juveniles stayed at work for the full length of the working day for adult men (up to 15 hours), but worked at intervals. The length of their actual work did not apparently exceed the legal limit. p. 274

[219] On February 8, 1850 the Court of Exchequer acquitted a group of manufacturers accused of violating the Ten Hours' Bill. This ruling created a precedent unfavourable to the workers and was tantamount to a repeal of the Bill. It was resisted by the workers, and on August 5, 1850, Parliament passed a new Bill, fixing a 10 $^{1}/_{2}$ hour working day for women and juveniles and setting the time when work was to begin and end.

The *Court of Exchequer*, one of England's oldest courts, initially dealt mainly with financial matters. In the nineteenth century it became one of the country's highest judicial bodies. p. 274

[220] The *Address of the Central Authority to the League* contained fundamental propositions of the Marxist programme and tactics. It played an important part in restoring and reorganising the Communist League after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution, as a result of which the activities of the League had fallen off, the ties between its members had weakened and many of its communities and district branches had fallen apart. The *Address* contained detailed instructions for the emissaries of the Central Authority, which had been reconstituted by Marx, and for local League leaders in their work in restoring the League. The *Address* was written by Marx and Engels at the end of March (not later than the 24th) and unanimously approved by Central Authority members in London.

According to recent findings, the *Address* reached a fairly wide circle of League members. At the end of March, Heinrich Bauer, Central Authority emissary, brought a manuscript copy to Cologne; later the document was secretly circulated in handwritten form in Germany, Switzerland and other countries. The Prussian police seized a number of copies from League members and in 1851 the *Address* was printed in a number of German newspapers, in particular in the *Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger* No. 177, June 28, the *Allgemeiner Polizei-Anzeiger* (special supplement) No. 52, Dresden, June 30, the *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 156, July 1 and the *Schwäbischer Merkur* No. 158, July 4, and also in the Hungarian-language *Magyar Hirlup*, published in Pest (Nos. 503 and 504, July 8 and 9).

During the trial of Communists in Cologne, the *Address*, together with other Communist League documents, was reprinted in the Bill of Indictment (put out as a separate edition under the title *Anklageschrift gegen 1) P. G. Roeser, 2) J. H. G. Bürgers...* [Köln, 1852]) and published in several newspapers. Later it appeared in the book by the two police officials Wermuth and Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Th. 1, Berlin, 1853, which had been compiled for the purpose of compromising the Communist League.

The first authoritative edition of the *Address* came out in 1885, when Engels appended it to the German edition of Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln*, Hottingen-Zürich, 1885). Engels reviewed the text published in the book by Wermuth and Stieber, and supplied it with a footnote. The present publication is based on the 1885 edition.

The *Address* was first published in English in *The Marxian*, New York, 1921, Vol. 1, No. 2, and was later printed in *Labour Monthly*, London, 1922, Vol. 3, No. 3. p. 277

221 The *agreers* was the name given by Marx and Engels to the liberal majority of the Prussian National Assembly convened in Berlin on May 22, 1848, to draw up a Constitution and introduce a constitutional system by "agreement with the Crown". In November 1848, with counter-revolutionary forces on the offensive in Prussia, the liberals and democrats secured a resolution calling for the non-payment of taxes. Confining themselves to passive resistance, however, they failed to rebuff a monarchist coup d'état. On December 5, 1848, the National Assembly was disbanded. p. 279

222 The *Stuttgart parliament*—those deputies to the all-German Frankfurt Assembly (mostly Leftists) who did not relinquish their powers during the conflict with the Prussian and other German governments in May and June 1849, but moved to Stuttgart (see Note 8). p. 279

223 The proposition advanced here on turning the confiscated landed estates into state property and handing them over to associations of agricultural workers is an elaboration of the respective provisions of the agrarian programme set forth by Marx and Engels in the *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany*, which also called for the break-up of feudal relations in the interests of the peasants: the abolition of corvée and other feudal duties without compensation, etc. (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 3-4). Stressing this proposition in the new document, Marx and Engels proceeded from the idea that the proletarian revolution was at hand, a notion partly due to their overestimation of the factors conducive to revolution at the time. They considered that the measure in question would facilitate the future socialist transformation of agriculture, relieving the peasant masses from the threat of ruin. Far from regarding this measure as an absolute necessity, however, Marx and Engels, and all their followers, made it dependent on actual historical conditions. Later events showed that, in countries with deep-rooted survivals of feudalism, the need for a stronger alliance with the peasantry sometimes makes it necessary for the working class to support the demand for confiscated landed estates to be handed over to the peasants, without, however, abandoning the idea of a subsequent socialist transformation of agriculture on the basis of collective property. p. 285

224 Engels wrote this article soon after the article "The Ten Hours' Question", which was published in the Chartist *Democratic Review* (see this volume, pp. 271-76). The present article was intended for the German reader, who was less familiar with life in Britain. Engels therefore goes into greater detail on the history of the struggle for the Ten Hours' Bill and the campaign waged against it by the manufacturers. The present publication takes account of corrections made by Engels in his copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*

The article was first published in English in the collection: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 288

[225] See Note 219. p. 288

[226] See Note 193. p. 292

[227] See Note 29. p. 293

[228] In the 1830s and 1840s a series of laws against trading in jobs and granting sinecures to aristocrats were passed in Britain, under pressure from the industrial bourgeoisie.

For the *Poor Law of 1834* see Note 75. p. 294

[229] This refers to the Nanking Treaty of 1842. See Note 213. p. 295

[230] The *Navigation Acts* passed in 1651 and subsequent years set up a system for Asian, African or American produce to be imported for consumption into the United Kingdom or its colonial possessions only in ships under the British national flag, and for European produce to be carried either in English ships or in those belonging to the exporting country. These laws were repealed in 1854. p. 296

[231] On the reviews written by Marx and Engels for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* see Note 182.

These reviews have never been published in English except for excerpts from the review of the pamphlets written by Chenu and de la Hodde, which appeared in: Karl Marx, *On Revolution*, edited and translated by S. K. Padover, New York, 1971. Excerpts from the review of Émile Girardin's book were quoted in an article by M. Beer, "Further Selections from the Literary Remains of Karl Marx", in *Labour Monthly*, London, 1923, Vol. 5, No. 2. p. 301

[232] In their review of Thomas Carlyle's pamphlets, *The Present Time* and *Model Prisons*, the authors continue their critical analysis of Carlyle's sociological and historical conception which Marx and, particularly, Engels (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 444-68) began in their earlier works. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, they criticised "feudal socialism" (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 507-08), of which Carlyle was an exponent. Their criticism became more intense as Carlyle moved to the right after the revolution of 1848-49.

During the lifetime of Marx and Engels the review was reprinted unsigned in *Der Volksstaat*, Leipzig, 1871, Nos. 93 and 94, November 18 and 22.

In quotations from Carlyle's pamphlets, the authors of the review do not always follow Carlyle's italics; they silently omit some paragraphs, change punctuation and introduce their own italics. In the given publication, in places where part of the text was left out, the editors have introduced marks of omission. p. 301

[233] The *Freemasons* (called more fully Free and Accepted Masons)—members of a religious and ethical movement that arose in England at the beginning of the eighteenth century and spread to other European countries and America. Freemasons condemned the feudal system and the Established Church and sought to set up a world-wide new religion. The Order of Freemasons had secret lodges in various countries, and a mystical ritual copied from the ritual of medieval masons' guilds (hence the name). Members of the Order set themselves the task of ethically purifying and improving people in order to renovate the world. Freemasons believed in eternal and immutable laws of nature known only to the wisest leaders of the Order who enjoyed unquestionable authority and brought up rank-and-file members in obedience to these laws and in the spirit of fraternity, justice and enlightenment.

The *Illuminati* (from the Latin *illuminatus*)—members of a secret society founded in Bavaria in 1776, a variety of Freemasonry. The society consisted of opposition elements from the bourgeoisie and nobility, who were dissatisfied with princely despotism. In 1785 the society was banned by the Bavarian authorities. Similar societies also existed in Spain and France.

Mozart was a Freemason and his opera, *The Magic Flute* (*Die Zauberflöte*) (text by Emmanuel Schikaneder, first staged in 1791), embodies Masonic ideals in the form of a naive fairy-tale. p. 306

234 *Laissez-faire, laissez-aller*—the formula of economists who advocated Free Trade and non-intervention by the state in economic relations. p. 308

235 See Note 75. p. 310

236 This review, slightly abridged, was reprinted during Engels' lifetime in the theoretical organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, *Die Neue Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1886, 4. Jg., H. 12.

While preparing the given publication, the editors checked quotations from Chenu and de la Hodde according to the 1850 edition of the pamphlets. The authors of the review may have used a different edition published in the same year, hence the different page numbers. In the text, the pages given by the review's authors are followed by those of the edition used by the editors of the present publication, which are given in square brackets. p. 311

237 The secret *Société des nouvelles saisons* came into being soon after the rout (in 1839) of the *Société des saisons* led by Auguste Blanqui and Armand Barbès, and was virtually its successor. Workers formed the main body of the society, which also included students. Its members adhered to revolutionary Babouvism and were strongly influenced by the utopian communist ideas of Théodore Dézamy. p. 312

238 See Note 64. p. 315

239 An allusion to attempts by a small group of conspirators, members of secret revolutionary societies, to commit terrorist acts using home-made incendiary bombs. Police agents were also involved in the venture, giving regularly information about the conspirators' movements. This enabled the police to arrest all those involved. Their trial in 1847 revealed that police agents had succeeded in infiltrating deeply into secret societies. p. 315

240 Among Fourier's posthumous works there is the unfinished manuscript *Des trois unités externes* which deals partially with the problems of trade. It was published in 1845 in the journal *La Phalange*. Lengthy passages from this work were translated by Engels into German and published in 1846 in the *Deutsches Bürgerbuch* (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 613-44). p. 322

241 See Note 45. p. 323

242 On the by-elections to the Legislative Assembly (March 10, 1850) see this volume, pp. 129-31. p. 325

243 This review of the book by Émile Girardin, an exponent of bourgeois socialism, is in effect a critique of bourgeois socialism. Here the authors go on to analyse in greater detail the trend in bourgeois social thinking which they described in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* as an expression of the bourgeoisie's desire to redress "social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society".

When quoting passages from Girardin's work, the authors in a number of cases combined texts from different pages, omitted paragraphs and changed the punctuation. They also introduced their own italics. This form of quotation has been preserved. The pages of the quoted book are given in square brackets. In a number of instances, when part of the text is omitted, the editors of this volume have introduced omission marks not in the review itself. p. 326

[244] *Droit d'enregistrement*—a tax imposed on the registration and drawing up of various documents: sale and purchase contracts, deeds, court decisions, etc. Apart from confirming the authenticity of documents, such registration was also a source of revenue for the Exchequer. p. 328

[245] See Note 28. p. 328

[246] The bulk of this review was written by Marx and Engels for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 3 in the middle of March 1850, and forwarded to Hamburg not later than April 5. Lack of space prevented the material from being published in No. 3. Only part of the review dealing with England, as well as a small addendum written later and dated April 18, were included in No. 4 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* p. 338

[247] See Note 29. p. 340

[248] This article, together with other material for the fourth issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, was sent to Hamburg before April 18, 1850. Marx wrote it as an addendum to his series of articles "1848-1849" (later known as *The Class Struggles in France*). Marx's main source of information was an article published in the newspaper of the French socialists and democrats, *La Voix du peuple* (No. 166, March 17, 1850), which quoted several passages from the monarchist newspaper *La Patrie. Journal du commerce* (from March 7 to 15). Even though the editors of *La Voix du peuple* avoided giving names of the stock-exchange speculators in their commentaries to the quoted passages, Marx found corroboration in them for the conclusions he drew in the third article from the "1848-1849" series concerning the connection existing between President Louis Bonaparte and stock-exchange circles. p. 342

[249] *Union électorale*—the name used by the bloc of all monarchist groupings in the by-elections to the French Legislative Assembly held in March 1850. It united Orleanists, Legitimists, Bonapartists, Catholics, etc. The leading role in the bloc was played by the so-called party of Order, embracing the main monarchist factions. p. 342

[250] Dealing on the Paris Stock Exchange went on between one and three p.m. p. 343

[251] The reference is to the *Café Tortoni* on the Boulevard des Italiens; when the Stock Exchange was closed, business transactions were carried on in and around this café. As distinct from the official Stock Exchange, the Café Tortoni and the adjacent district became known as the "small Stock Exchange". p. 344

[252] This article was written in response to Gottfried Kinkel's speech in his own defence at the court-martial in Rastatt (August 1849). He was a representative of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly, a participant in the campaign for the Imperial Constitution and taken prisoner by the Prussians. (Kinkel's speech was

published in the newspaper *Abend-Post* Nos. 78 and 79, April 5 and 6, 1850, and later in A.Strodtmann's *Gottfried Kinkel. Wahrheit ohne Dichtung*, Bd. 2, Hamburg, 1851.) The article, in which the authors criticised petty-bourgeois democrats for their subservience, cowardice and lack of principles, was censured by Otto Lüning in his comments on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, published in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (No. 151, June 26, 1850). These comments, as well as other accusations, induced Marx and Engels to make a refutation (see this volume, pp. 387-88). The members of the Communist League welcomed the article in which Marx and Engels exposed Kinkel's behaviour in court.

Later Marx and Engels gave a satiric description of Kinkel in their pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* (see present edition, Vol. 11).

Most of the italics in the passages from Kinkel's speech quoted according to the *Abend-Post* are by the authors. p. 345

[253] See Note 198. p. 345

[254] In the spring of 1848, Mainz was the scene of bloody clashes between the civic militia and Prussian soldiers. These had repercussions throughout Germany and became a subject for discussion at the Frankfurt National Assembly; the latter merely appointed a committee which only submitted its report once the Mainz civic militia had already been disarmed by Prussian soldiers. p. 346

[255] This statement, as well as the letter to the editor of *The Times* that follows, was occasioned by the attempts of the petty-bourgeois democrats Gustav Struve, Rudolf Schramm and others to strengthen their position among German political refugees in London against the influence of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee (see Engels' letter to Weydemeyer of April 22, 1850). The manuscript of the statement in Engels' hand is extant. The statement was circulated in London and was also published by a number of democratic newspapers in Germany. The *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* of April 28, 1850, carried an abridged version dated April 20, 1850; the signature was followed by a request to democratic papers to reprint it. The Cologne *Westdeutsche Zeitung* and the Berlin *Abend-Post* published it under the date of April 18, 1850. In this volume the document is dated as in Engels' manuscript. p. 349

[256] See Note 180. p. 349

[257] This refers to a decision adopted on November 18, 1849, at the general meeting of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and German political refugees in London. It is to be found in the report of the Committee of Support for German Refugees in London of December 3, 1849 (see this volume, pp. 599-601). p. 349

[258] This refers to attempts by Gustav Struve, Karl Heinzen, Rudolf Schramm, Arnold Ruge, and other German democrats who moved from Switzerland to England in October 1849, to rally all German political refugees around the Democratic Association, which they founded in London in the spring of 1850, and to enlist their support in setting up a general European democratic organisation of refugees. These attempts were accompanied by intrigues against proletarian refugees and against the Communist League led by Marx and Engels. p. 350

[259] Gustav Struve and Thomas Fothergill, claiming to represent German political refugees in London, approached the acting Lord Mayor of London, Alderman

Gibbs, with a request for employment to be provided for one hundred German refugees who were unable to find work to earn a living. Gibbs refused on the grounds that many English workers were in the same plight. An item to this effect appeared in *The Times* of May 24, 1850. p. 352

260 Engels wrote this work with a view to popularising in England a series of Marx's articles published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* under the title of "1848-1849", which later became widely known as *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850.* It was a sort of conspectus or synopsis of Marx's work, from which Engels quoted long passages; in some cases he summarised the text that followed, gave relevant explanations (some of them in the form of remarks to the quoted text given in parenthesis), adding his own words and phrases. In the three numbers of *The Democratic Review* (for April, May and June), Engels gave an exposition of the first article from Marx's series (Chapter One of *The Class Struggles in France*, see this volume, pp. 48-70). He apparently planned to continue popularising Marx's work, for the remark "to be continued" appeared at the end of the article in the June number of *The Democratic Review* just as it did in the preceding numbers. However, various circumstances, probably his involvement in writing other works, prevented Engels from continuing his synopsis.

The fact that Engels wrote this conspectus is corroborated by the author's excellent knowledge of Marx's work and by the conspectus being written—at least the first part—and numerous quotations from Marx's work being translated into English within only a fortnight of the publication of the first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (March 6, 1850), which carried the beginning of Marx's work. In addition, all inaccuracies in the *Revue* were corrected in the translation.

In quoting Marx, Engels sometimes omitted the author's italics and paragraphs, but introduced his own; he also added his own explanatory words, in some cases omitting the author's words and phrases. By these changes Engels sought to make the text more comprehensible to the English reader.

In the present publication passages from Marx's work are given in small type and in inverted commas. They are quoted according to Engels, the most significant divergencies of Engels' translation from Marx's original German text being indicated in footnotes; whenever Engels made considerable omissions in quotations the editors of this volume have inserted omission marks in square brackets. p. 353

261 On the suppression of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* see Note 3.

Early in June 1849 Marx came to Paris with a mandate from the Central Committee of Democrats. He took up his contacts with representatives of the French democratic and socialist movement and with leaders of clubs and secret workers' organisations. Apart from Marx, three other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (Georg Weerth, Ferdinand Wolff and Ernst Dronke) were in Paris at the time and took part in the events of June 13, 1849 (on these see this volume, pp. 105-09). p. 353

262 See Note 64. p. 357

263 An allusion to the Guizot Government's refusal to make diplomatic moves against the suppression of the Cracow uprising of 1846 and against Austria's annexation of the free city of Cracow (see Note 66), and to its political interference in Switzerland's internal affairs in favour of the reactionary Sonderbund (see Note 25) in 1844. p. 358

[264] See Note 67. p. 358

[265] See Note 68. p. 359

[266] This phrase is missing in the text published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.* Engels may have written his synopsis from the original version of Marx's manuscript in which it appeared. p. 362

[267] On the demonstration in Paris on March 17, 1848, see Note 76.

On April 16, 1848, a peaceful procession of Paris workers marched towards the Town Hall to submit a petition to the Provisional Government on "organising labour" and "eliminating the exploitation of man by man". The workers encountered battalions of the bourgeois national guard and were forced to retreat. p. 367

[268] On the events of May 15, 1848, see Note 45.

The *June uprising* of the Paris proletariat is dealt with in Note 40. p. 368

[269] This letter was written in connection with the campaign against German political refugees started by the Prussian conservative papers and taken up by the English press. The campaign was intensified particularly after the attempt on the life of the Prussian King Frederick William IV in Berlin on May 22, 1850, by Max Sefeloge, a retired soldier. He later died in a lunatic asylum. An item in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* on May 25, 1850, alleged that while this attempt was being prepared Marx made a trip to Germany, including Berlin. The letter is written in English in Engels' handwriting. He addressed the envelope to his Excellency Chevalier Bunsen, Prussian Ambassador in London. Bunsen disregarded the request contained in the letter, so Marx and Engels made a statement to the press (see this volume, p. 384). p. 370

[270] The June *Address of the Central Authority to the League* was written while the League was in the final stages of being reorganised. It was based on information contained in reports submitted by the emissaries of the Central Authority (among others, by Heinrich Bauer who had distributed the March Address of the Central Authority in Germany, returning to London in mid-May 1850) and in letters sent by League members from various European countries.

Handwritten copies of the *Address* were carried to Germany by Karl Wilhelm Klein, emissary of the League's Central Authority, and other confidential agents and to Switzerland by Ernst Dronke to be distributed secretly.

Somewhat later, extracts from the *Address* or summaries of it were published by a number of newspapers, such as the *Leipziger Zeitung* No. 192 (special supplement), July 11, 1850; the *Karlsruher Zeitung* No. 172, July 24, 1850; the *Norddeutsche Correspondent*, Rostock, No. 177, July 31, 1850. In their letters written in 1850 and 1851, the members of the Communist League, Stumpf, Dronke and Weydemeyer, informed Marx and Engels that the *Address* was published in other newspapers as well.

It was also published in the Bill of Indictment against the League members at the Cologne trial of Communists—*Anklageschrift gegen 1) P. G. Roeser, 2) J. H. G. Bürgers...* [Köln, 1852] and in *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Th. 1, Berlin, 1853, by Wermuth and Stieber. In the USA part of the *Address* was published by Karl Heinzen in *Der Pionier*, Boston, Jg. 17, No. 17, April 24, 1870.

In 1885 Engels published the June *Address* as a supplement to a new edition of the pamphlet: Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln*,

Hottingen-Zürich, 1885. This publication is the most reliable of all those extant and has usually been taken as the basis for subsequent publications. p. 371

271 The reference is to the *Revolutionary Centralisation*, a secret organisation founded at the beginning of 1850 by German refugees in Switzerland, most of whom were petty-bourgeois democrats.

Its Central Committee, based in Zurich, was headed by Tzschirner, a leader of the Dresden uprising in May 1849; prominent members were Fries, Greiner, Sigel, Techow, Schurz and J. Ph. Becker, all participants in the 1849 Baden-Palatinate uprising. Members of the Communist League, d'Ester, Bruhn and others, as well as Wilhelm Wolff also belonged to this organisation. In July and August 1850 the leaders of the Revolutionary Centralisation approached the representatives of the Communist League Central Authority with a proposal to amalgamate. On behalf of the League's Central Authority, Marx and Engels rejected their proposal as detrimental to the class independence of the proletarian party. By the end of 1850, the Revolutionary Centralisation had disintegrated due to the mass expulsion of German refugees from Switzerland. Marx and Engels drew information concerning the activities of the Revolutionary Centralisation and the intrigues of its agents against Communist League leaders (referred to in the *Address*) from Wilhelm Wolff's letter of May 9, 1850. They later received similar information from Dronke, the emissary of the League's Central Authority in Switzerland. p. 372

272 This refers to an attempt by German democrats, Gustav Struve among others, to set up a *Democratic Association*. In April 1850, Struve and others distributed in England and Germany a Circular Letter Addressed to All Friends of German Refugees, which reported that a single German organisation of all democratic refugees was to be set up under the guidance of the Central Bureau of the United German Emigration. In the summer of the same year, they called upon German refugees to unite with the Central Committee of European Democracy. However, none of these plans for unification materialised.

The *Central Committee of European Democracy* was set up in London in June 1850 on the initiative of Giuseppe Mazzini, who took steps to organise it at the end of 1849 while still in Switzerland. His endeavours were supported by Gustav Struve and Arnold Ruge, the latter joining the Committee as a representative of the German democratic party. The Central Committee members held sharply different ideological views and the strained relations between Italian and French democratic refugees led to its dissolution in March 1852. The Inaugural Manifesto of the Central Committee of European Democracy issued on July 3, 1850, under the title "Aux peuples!" was criticised by Marx and Engels in their international review (see pp. 529-32 of this volume). p. 373

273 Early in 1846 Marx and Engels, who were living in Brussels at the time, organised a Communist Correspondence Committee there to rally the more progressive German and Belgian socialists. In August 1847 this Committee served as the basis on which the communities of the Communist League were organised. Following the February 1848 revolution in France, the Belgian Government started repressions against Karl Marx, Wilhelm Wolff and other German revolutionary refugees and expelled them from Belgium. Tedesco and other Belgian members of the Communist League were prosecuted in connection with the so-called Risquons-Tout trial, which was a fabrication by the Government of Leopold, the King of the Belgians, against the participants in the revolutionary movement. The pretext was a clash, which took place on March 29, 1848, between the Belgian

Republican Legion bound for its home country from France and a detachment of soldiers near the village of Risquons-Tout, not far from the French border. The trial was held in Antwerp from August 9 to 30, 1848. Mellinet, Ballin, Tedesco and other principal accused were sentenced to death, but this was later commuted to 30 years imprisonment, and still later they were pardoned. p. 374

274 The *German Workers' Society* in Brussels was founded by Marx and Engels at the end of August 1847, its aim being to provide a political education for German workers living in Belgium, and to spread the ideas of scientific communism among them. With Marx, Engels and their followers at its head, the Society became the legal centre rallying German revolutionary proletarian forces in Belgium, and maintained direct contact with Flemish and Walloon workers' clubs. Its most active members belonged to the Brussels community of the Communist League. The Society played an important part in founding the Brussels Democratic Association. Its activities ceased soon after the February 1848 revolution in France, when its members were arrested and deported by the Belgian police. p. 374

275 The *Workers' Fraternity*, founded at the Workers' Congress which met in Berlin between August 23 and September 3, 1848, united many workers' associations. Under the influence of Stephan Born, the Fraternity at first limited its activities to implementing narrow craft-union demands. Towards the end of 1848, however, its leaders were drawn into the revolutionary events and admitted the necessity for the workers to take an active part in the political struggle. Voices were raised for setting up an all-German workers' organisation. In the spring of 1849 the Workers' Fraternity and several regional congresses of workers' associations put forward a proposal to convene a national workers' congress in Leipzig to found a General Workers' Union. However, these plans were frustrated by a counter-revolutionary offensive. The Fraternity was suppressed in 1850-51, though some of its branches survived for a number of years. p. 375

276 See Note 61. p. 376

277 In mid-April 1850, with a view to consolidating the international unity of the revolutionary representatives of the working class in the context of the expected new revolutionary tide, Marx and Engels concluded an agreement with the French Blanquist refugees then residing in London and with the leaders of the revolutionary wing of the Chartist movement to set up a Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists. The parties to this agreement signed a special treaty of 6 articles, written in Willich's hand and signed by Marx, Engels and Willich on behalf of the Communist League, by Adam and Vidil for the Blanquists, and by Harney for the Chartists (see this volume, pp. 614-15). p. 377

278 Apart from *The Sun*, this letter was published in *The Northern Star* No. 660, June 15, 1850, and also in some German democratic papers—the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*, Cologne, No. 145, June 20, 1850 (reprinted from *The Northern Star*); the *Tages-Chronik*, Bremen, No. 298, June 21, 1850; *Die Hornisse*, Cassel, No. 144, June 22, 1850. p. 378

279 The *Alien Bill*, enacted by the British Parliament in 1793, was renewed in 1802, 1803, 1816, 1818 and, finally, in 1848 (An Act to Authorise for One Year, and to the End of the Then Next Session of Parliament, the Removal of Aliens from the Realm) in connection with revolutionary developments on the Continent and the Chartist manifestation of April 10, 1848. In 1850 public opinion obstructed the renewal of this Bill despite Conservative efforts. p. 378

[280] On Sefeloge's attempt on the life of the Prussian King see Note 269.

*Treubund* (the Union of the Loyal)—Prussian monarchical society founded in Berlin at the close of 1848. Late in 1849 a split occurred between ultra-royalists and supporters of the constitutional monarchy. p. 378

[281] This is a rough copy of the letter sent to Robert Stephen Rintoul, editor of *The Spectator*, together with the article "Prussian Spies in London" written in the form of a statement and signed by Marx, Engels and Willich (see this volume, pp. 381-84). The rough copy is in Engels' handwriting. p. 380

[282] *The Spectator* editors published this statement and commented on it in a note carried in the same issue in the "News of the Week" section. Some time later Marx and Engels quoted this note in their letter of July 2, 1850, to the editors of the *Weser-Zeitung* (see this volume, pp. 390-91).

A somewhat abridged version of the statement was reprinted from *The Spectator* in *Galignani's Messenger*, Paris, No. 11030, June 18, 1850, where it was supplied with editorial comments hostile to revolutionary refugees. These comments were also printed by the *Weser-Zeitung*, Bremen, No. 2037, June 22, 1850, the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Augsburg, No. 173, June 22, 1850, and the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, Berlin, No. 144, June 26, 1850, which attributed them to *The Spectator*. This was why Marx and Engels wrote the letter to the editors of the *Weser-Zeitung*. Part of the rough copy of the statement in Engels' handwriting is extant. p. 381

[283] Marx's statement to the editor of *The Globe* was, apparently, translated into English by Engels, since Marx had a poor knowledge of the language at the time. The statement was not published in the newspaper, and only a rough copy of it in Engels' handwriting is extant. p. 385

[284] This refers to the court decisions during the two trials that took place in Cologne on February 7 and 8, 1849. In the first, legal proceedings were brought against Marx, editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels, its co-editor, and Korff, the newspaper's responsible publisher, all of them being accused of having insulted the Chief Public Prosecutor and having libelled the police. In the second trial, charges were brought against members of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats, Marx, Schapper and the lawyer Schneider, who were accused of inciting a riot. In both cases the jury acquitted the accused. For Marx's and Engels' speeches made at the trials see present edition, Vol. 8, pp. 304-22. p. 386

[285] This statement, in fact two statements, one by Marx and the other by Engels, are published as one document in this edition. They were occasioned by a review of the four numbers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, that appeared in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* (Nos. 148-51, June 22, 23, 25 and 26, 1850). It was written by the paper's editor, the petty-bourgeois democrat Otto Lüning, whose criticisms were directed mainly against Marx's "1848-1849" (*The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*) and Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*. Initially Marx and Engels intended to reply to Lüning in the *Revue* itself (see Marx's letter to Weydemeyer of June 27, 1850), but due to the unfavourable prospects for continuing publication of the journal, they wrote directly to the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*. p. 387

[286] This statement was written as a result of the following: the Bremen *Weser-Zeitung* (No. 2037, June 22, 1850) reprinted comments from *Galignani's Messenger* on the letter written by Marx and Engels about Prussian spies in London. Moreover,

these comments, hostile to revolutionary German refugees, were attributed to *The Spectator* (see Note 282). Marx and Engels, who were not aware of the publication in *Galignani's Messenger*, addressed their protest directly to the *Weser-Zeitung*. Their statement was not printed. However, in No. 2052, July 10, 1850, the editors of the *Weser-Zeitung* were forced to admit that the comments came from *Galignani's Messenger* and not from *The Spectator*.

The same day, July 10, the full text of the statement made by Marx and Engels was published in the *Tages-Chronik*, Bremen, No. 314. p. 390

287 This article belongs to the *Letters from Germany* series (see this volume, pp. 7-16) but was written later than the other articles of the series and deals with a separate subject. It was the last of Engels' contributions to *The Democratic Review*. From July 1, 1850, its editor George Julian Harney began to publish *The Red Republican*, a weekly journal that merged with *The Democratic Review*, which appeared until September 1850. The weekly carried the first English translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Its publication ceased in November 1850. Between December 1850 and the summer of 1851, Harney published another weekly, *Friend of the People*, for which Engels promised to write a series of articles criticising petty-bourgeois democracy. Before long, however, Marx and Engels decided to break off their friendly relations with Harney, who took a dubious position with respect to the split in the Communist League and maintained close contacts with petty-bourgeois émigrés. At the same time Marx and Engels were in close touch with Ernest Jones and enlisted Johann Georg Eccarius, Konrad Schramm, and Wilhelm Pieper as contributors to the *Notes to the People*, a weekly founded by Jones in May 1851. By assisting the Chartist press, Marx and Engels wanted to strengthen revolutionary Chartist traditions in the English labour movement. p. 392

288 An allusion to the so-called *Risquons-Tout trial* (see Note 273). p. 392

289 This refers to money exacted by the Danish monarchy from foreign vessels passing through the Sound (from the early half of the fifteenth century to 1857). p. 393

290 This evidently refers to a secret Russo-Danish treaty concluded in 1767 and endorsed in 1773. Under this treaty, Pavel, the heir to the throne (who later became Emperor Paul I), relinquished his hereditary rights to the Duchy of Hottorp (part of Schleswig-Holstein) in favour of the Danish royal family in exchange for Oldenburg and Delmenhorst in Northern Germany. As a result, the whole of Schleswig-Holstein came into the possession of the Danish Crown. p. 393

291 By decision of the Congress of Vienna (1815), the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were incorporated into the Kingdom of Denmark (the personal union of Schleswig, Holstein and Denmark had existed since 1499), even though the majority of the population in Holstein and in Southern Schleswig were Germans. Under the impact of the March 1848 revolution in Prussia, the national liberation movement among the German population of the duchies grew in strength, becoming radical and democratic and forming part of the struggle for the unification of Germany. Volunteers from all over the country rushed to the aid of the local population when it took up arms against Danish rule.

Prussia and other states of the German Confederation also sent federal troops to the duchies. However, the Prussian Government, which feared a popular outbreak and an intensification of the revolution, sought an agreement with the Danish monarchy to the detriment of overall German interests. An armistice

between Prussia and Denmark was concluded on August 26, 1848, at Malmö. At the end of March 1849, Prussia resumed hostilities, but under pressure from England and Russia who interfered in favour of Denmark, was forced to conclude a peace treaty (July 2, 1850), temporarily relinquishing its claims to Schleswig and Holstein and abandoning them to continue fighting alone. The Schleswig-Holstein troops were defeated and gave up all resistance. As a result, the two duchies remained part of the Kingdom of Denmark. p. 394

292 On April 8, 1848, during his secret mission on behalf of the King of Prussia, Major Wildenbruch handed a Note to the Danish Government stating that Prussia was not fighting in Schleswig-Holstein to rob Denmark of the duchies, but merely to combat radical and republican elements in Germany. The Prussian Government tried every possible means to avoid official recognition of this compromising document. p. 394

293 The Danish army routed the Schleswig-Holstein troops in the battle at Fredericia on July 6, 1849.

The peace treaty between Prussia and Denmark concluded in Berlin on July 2, 1850, restored the pre-war *status quo*. Prussia withdrew its troops from Schleswig-Holstein, abandoning the Schleswig-Holstein army to face the superior forces of the Danes. p. 394

294 Engels wrote *The Peasant War in Germany* in London in the summer and autumn of 1850. It was published in the double issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (No. 5-6). In this momentous work the author generalises the experience of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany by comparing it with the revolutionary events of the period of the Reformation and the Great Peasant War of 1525. It is also one of the principal Marxist works on the liberation struggle led by the peasant and plebeian masses.

Engels' main source of facts was the book *Allgemeine Geschichte des grossen Bauernkrieges*, Th. 1-3, Stuttgart, 1841-43, by Wilhelm Zimmermann, a German democratic historian. In 1870 Engels wrote that for a long time this book had been "the best compilation of factual data". He found it an extremely useful large collection of documents, either quoted in full or in long excerpts. Engels thus quoted most original sources (Luther's writings, Münzer's pamphlets, leaflets listing the demands of the insurgent peasants) from Zimmermann's book. (In the footnotes and the Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature, the editors of this volume supply bibliographical data on the first editions of the quoted material in the transcription of the time and indicate the pages of Zimmermann's book from which the quotations are taken.)

*The Peasant War in Germany* appeared repeatedly during Engels' lifetime. It was reprinted in the *Turn-Zeitung*, New York, Nos. 3-20 (January 1852-February 1853). In 1870, Engels and Wilhelm Liebknecht prepared the second edition of *The Peasant War*, originally as a reprint in the 29 numbers of *Der Volksstaat*, Leipzig (April 2-October 15, Nos. 27-83, at irregular intervals). Numbers 27 and 28 of the newspaper carried Engels' February 1870 Preface to this edition. Engels was not satisfied with the explanatory footnotes by Liebknecht (see Engels' letter to Marx of May 8, 1870).

In October 1870 this work was published in book form—*Der deutsche Bauernkrieg* von Friedrich Engels. Zweiter, mit einer Einleitung versehener Abdruck, Leipzig, Verlag der Expedition des *Volksstaat*, 1870.

A new, third, authorised edition came out in 1875: *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg* von Friedrich Engels. Dritter Abdruck, Leipzig, 1875. For this edition Engels wrote a special addendum to the 1870 Preface, dated July 1, 1874.

Excerpts from Chapter VI of Engels' *Peasant War* were also printed in the *Sozialdemokratische Monatsschrift*, Wien, 1890, No. 10-11, November 30, and in the *Népszava*, Budapest, 1891, February 6 (translated from the *Sozialdemokratische Monatsschrift*).

In the 1880s Engels intended to revise his *Peasant War in Germany* and incorporate extensive supplementary material on the history of Germany. In his letter to Sorge dated December 31, 1884, Engels wrote: "I am radically revising my *Peasant War*. The war of the peasants will be presented as the cornerstone of German history in its entirety." Work on the second and third volumes of *Capital* and other urgent matters prevented Engels from carrying out his intentions. In the 1890s he made another attempt at the supplement, but failed to complete it. Only an unfinished manuscript and several rough notes are extant. (The former was published under the editorial heading "Decay of Feudalism and Rise of National States".)

In this edition sources are quoted in the form given by Engels; whenever he introduces his own italics, this is mentioned in a footnote. Where the meaning differs significantly from that of the last authorised edition of 1875 and the previous author's publications of 1850 and 1870, this is also indicated in footnotes. Account is also taken in this edition of corrections made by Engels in his copy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* (see Note 63). Obvious misprints and inaccuracies in dates, geographical and personal names are silently corrected. p. 397

295 The *Hanseatic League*—a commercial and political alliance of medieval German towns along the southern coasts of the North and Baltic Seas, and their feed rivers; its aim was to establish a trade monopoly in Northern Europe. The Hanseatic League was in its prime in the latter half of the fourteenth century and the early half of the fifteenth century, and began to decay at the end of the fifteenth century. p. 400

296 *Tributes*—one of the feudal obligations imposed on the holders of small plots of land.

*Death taxes* (*Sterbefall, Todfall*) were levied on the land and property inherited from the deceased peasant on the basis of the feudal lord's right (in France, "the right of the dead hand"). In Germany the feudal lords usually took the best cattle.

*Protection moneys* (*Schutzgelder*)—a tax levied by the feudal lord in payment for the "judicial protection" and "patronage" which he claimed to extend to his subjects. p. 404

297 The "*general pfennig*" (*der gemeine Pfennig*)—a tax collected in German lands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and appropriated by the Emperor; it was a combination of a poll-tax and a property tax, the main burden of which fell on the peasantry. p. 405

298 *Annates* were lump sums paid to the Pope by persons appointed to church offices. In the fourteenth century they equalled half the first year's income or more. Holders of church benefices made up this loss by levying additional taxes and by extortions from the population. p. 405

299 Engels is alluding to the German liberals who were in the majority in the Frankfurt National Assembly and in the assemblies of some German states during the revolution of 1848-49. In the first months of the revolution, liberals headed "constitutional governments" in a number of states (Prussia, for example), but were later replaced by members of the bureaucracy and nobility. The conciliatory

tactics of the liberals were one of the chief reasons for the defeat of the German revolution. p. 407

300 The reference is to Charles V's criminal statutes (*Constitutio criminalis carolina*), adopted by the Imperial Diet in Regensburg in 1532; the statutes prescribed extremely harsh punishments. p. 409

301 The reference is to a religious philosophical doctrine opposed to the medieval Catholic Church and its orthodox teaching; mysticism was widespread in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Mystics, who believed it possible to know God through direct intercourse with the divine spirit, undermined the faith in the need for a church hierarchy. Particularly radical ideas were preached by the Italian twelfth-century monk Joachim of Calabria and other plebeian and peasant ideologists, with whom they assumed the form of a chiliastic dream of a millennium of equality (see Note 308). p. 413

302 The *Waldenses*—a religious sect that originated among the urban lower classes of Southern France at the end of the twelfth century and later spread to Northern Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Spain and Switzerland. Its founder is said to have been Petrus Waldus (or Peter Waldo), a Lyons merchant who gave his wealth to the poor. The Waldenses repudiated property and advocated insubordination to the ecclesiastical and secular authorities; they condemned the accumulation of wealth by the Catholic Church and called for a return to the customs of early Christianity. Among the backward rural population of the mountainous regions of South-Western Switzerland and Savoy, the heresy of the Waldenses amounted to a defence of the survivals of the primitive communal system and patriarchal relations. p. 413

303 The *Albigenses*—a religious sect that existed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the towns of Southern France (particularly in Provence and Toulouse) and in Northern Italy. This movement took the form of a "heresy", being directed against the power and doctrine of the Catholic Church, as well as against the secular power of the feudal state. Its adherents—the townspeople and the lesser nobility, supported by the peasants—were called Albigenses from the city of Albi, one of the sect's main centres. Between 1209 and 1229 the feudal magnates of Northern France, together with the Pope, waged wars against the Albigenses that wiped out the movement and resulted in a considerable part of Southern France being annexed to the lands of the French kings. p. 413

304 The *Hungarian teacher in Picardy*—a preacher by the name of Jakob said to be born in Hungary. He was one of the leaders of the anti-feudal peasant revolt in France in 1251, known as the shepherds' revolt, whose participants called themselves "God's shepherds". p. 413

305 The *Calixtines* (from *Calix*, the Latin for cup)—a moderate trend in the Hussite national liberation and reformation movement in Bohemia (first half of the fifteenth century) against the German nobility, the German Empire and the Catholic Church. The Calixtines (who maintained that the laity should receive the cup as well as the bread in the Eucharist, i.e. "*sub utraque specie*"—for which they were also known as Utraquists), supported by the burghers and part of the Czech nobility, sought no more than a national Czech church and the secularisation of church estates. p. 413

306 The *Taborites* (so called from their camp in the town of Tabor, in Bohemia)—a radical trend in the Hussite movement. In contrast to the Calixtines, they formed a revolutionary, democratic wing of the Hussites and their demands reflected the

desire of the peasantry and the urban lower classes for an end to all feudal oppression, all manifestations of social and political arbitrariness. The Taborites were the core of the Hussite army. The betrayal of the Taborites by the Calixtines led to the suppression of the Hussite movement. p. 414

307 The *Flagellants* (from *flagellantis* in Latin, one who whips himself)—an ascetic religious sect widespread in Europe in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. They propounded self-castigation as a means of expiating sins.

The *Lollards* (from the middle Dutch *lollaert*, literally, one who is murmuring prayers)—a religious sect (that originated in the fourteenth century) widespread in England and other European countries, which bitterly opposed the Catholic Church. The Lollards were followers of Wycliffe, the English reformer, but they drew more radical conclusions from his teaching and their opposition to feudal privileges took a religiously mystical form. Many Lollards, who came from the people and the lower clergy, were active participants in Wat Tyler's rebellion of 1381 and were cruelly persecuted in the late fourteenth century. p. 414

308 *Chiliasm* (from the Greek *chilias*, a thousand)—a mystical religious doctrine that Christ would come to earth a second time and usher in a millennium of justice, equality and well-being. Chiliastic dream-visions sprang up during the decay of slave-owning society; they were widespread among the oppressed during early Christianity and were continuously revived in the doctrines of the various medieval sects, which voiced the opinions of the peasants and plebeians. p. 415

309 The *Confession of Augsburg* (*Augsburgische Konfession, Confessio Augustana*)—a statement of the Lutheran doctrine read to Emperor Charles V at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530; it adapted the burgher ideas of a "cheap church" (abolition of lavish rites, modification of the clerical hierarchy, etc.) to the interests of the princes. A sovereign prince was to replace the Pope at the head of the church. The Confession of Augsburg was rejected by the Emperor. The war waged against him by princes who adopted the Lutheran Reformation ended in 1555 in the religious peace of Augsburg, which empowered the princes to determine the faith of their subjects at their own discretion. p. 417

310 See Notes 16 and 199. p. 417

311 This date was cited by Zimmermann in the first edition of his book. According to later data Thomas Münzer was born about 1490 (the first date known from his biography, October 1506, is mentioned in his matriculation as a student of Leipzig University, when he was apparently sixteen years of age). In various sources, both in his own works and in historical writings, his name is transcribed differently (Munczer, Muntzer, Müntzer). Engels writes Münzer, the way Zimmermann wrote it in Part Three of his book. p. 420

312 The *Anabaptists* (those who baptise over again) belonged to one of the most radical and democratic religious-philosophical trends spread in Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands during the Reformation. Members of this sect were so called because they repudiated infant baptism and demanded a second, adult baptism. p. 420

313 Engels refers to the views of David Strauss and other Young Hegelians who treated questions of religion from a pantheist standpoint in their early writings. p. 421

[314] According to later verified data Münzer went first to the imperial city of Mühlhausen, from where he was banished by municipal authorities in September 1524 for his part in disturbances among the city poor. From Mühlhausen Münzer came to Nuremberg. p. 426

[315] The *Puritans* (from the Latin *puritas*—purity)—participants in a religious political movement in England and Scotland at the close of the sixteenth and in the early half of the seventeenth centuries. Their object was a Protestant Calvinist Reformation and purification of the Church of England of every trace of Catholicism (elimination of bishops, simpler church rites, etc.). They advocated modesty, abstinence, thrift, encouraged prudence and enterprise. The Puritans expressed the religious opposition of the bourgeoisie to absolutism and played an important part in the ideological preparations for the English bourgeois revolution.

The *Independents*—representatives of one of the Protestant trends in England. In the 1580s and 1590s they formed the Left wing of Puritanism and represented radical opposition to absolutism and the Church of England by the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie and the "new" bourgeois nobility. During the English revolution of the seventeenth century, the Independents formed a separate political party which came to power under Oliver Cromwell at the end of 1648. p. 429

[316] The *Swabian League* of princes, noblemen and patricians of the imperial cities of South-Western Germany was founded in 1488. Its chief purpose was to combat the peasant and plebeian movement. The South- and West-German princes who headed this League also viewed it as a means to consolidate their oligarchic rule. The League had its own administrative and judicial bodies, and an army. It fell apart in 1534 due to internal squabbles. p. 432

[317] This refers to the government of the viceregent of the Austrian Habsburgs in Ensisheim, the centre of the Austrian Forelands, the name used to denote the possessions of the Habsburgs and their immediate vassals in Upper Alsace, Upper Swabia and the Black Forest. p. 435

[318] *Szeklers*—an ethnic group of Hungarians, mostly free peasants. In the thirteenth century their forefathers were settled by Hungarian kings in the mountain regions of Transylvania to protect the frontiers. The region inhabited by them was usually called Szekler land. p. 438

[319] The reference is to a popular rising in Sicily against the French Anjou dynasty, which conquered Southern Italy and Sicily in 1267. On the evening of March 31, 1282, the population of Palermo took the vespers bell-toll as a signal to massacre several thousand French knights and soldiers. As a result, the whole of Sicily was freed from French domination and came under the Aragon King. p. 438

[320] Engels refers to the 95 theses that Luther (who began his clerical career as a simple monk in the Augustinian monastery in Thuringia) nailed to a church door in Wittenberg on October 31, 1517. The theses contained a vigorous protest against the sale of indulgences and the abuses by the Catholic clergy. They also presented the initial outline of Luther's religious teaching in the vein of burgher ideals. p. 441

[321] *Burlesque*—satirical literature and parodies by writers of the Renaissance and humanitarian ideologists who ridiculed the high-flown style of court poetry and the strict behaviour of upper feudal society. p. 441

322 The *Wars of the Roses* (1455-85)—wars between the feudal Houses of York and Lancaster fighting for the throne, the white rose being the badge of the House of York, and the red rose of the House of Lancaster. The Yorkists were supported by some of the big feudal landowners from the south-eastern, more economically developed part of the country and also by the knights and the townspeople, while the Lancastrians were backed by the feudal aristocracy of the backward north and of Wales. The wars almost completely wiped out the ancient feudal nobility and brought Henry VII to power to form a new dynasty, that of the Tudors, who set up an absolute monarchy in England. p. 443

323 The reference is to the Polish national liberation uprising in November 1830-October 1831, and also to that in Cracow in 1846 (see Note 66). p. 444

324 See Note 317. p. 446

325 This refers to the black-red-and-gold banner symbolising German unity. The information on such a banner provided by Zimmermann is not, however, corroborated by contemporary sources, i.e. chronicles, etc. The usual peasant colours were red-white, red-black, etc. p. 446

326 Emperor Maximilian's edict ruled that only representatives of "noble" estates could be members of provincial courts. p. 448

327 Another big credit was advanced to Archduke Ferdinand by the Augsburg banking house of Fuggers, who owned vast tracts of land north of Lake Constance and had a vital interest in suppressing the peasant insurrection. p. 448

328 The reference is to the southern mountainous part of Baden adjacent to Switzerland. In the sixteenth century, part of this region was owned by the Margrave of Baden and the rest of it either belonged to the Austrian land of Breisgau or to petty ecclesiastical and secular feudal lords. p. 448

329 Engels refers to the anonymous pamphlet printed in Nuremberg in early 1525, entitled *An die Versammlung gemeiner Pawerschaft, so in Hochteutscher Nation und viel anderer Ort, mit empörung und uffruhr entstanden, ob ihr Empörung billicher oder unbillicher gestalt geschehn, und was sie der Oberkeit schuldig oder nicht schuldig seind, gegründet aus der heil. göttlichen Geschrift, von Oberlendischen Mitbrüdern guter maynung ausgangen und beschriben* (To the Assembly of All the Indignant and Insurgent Peasantry of the Upper German Nation and Many Other Places on Whether or Not Its Indignation Is Just and What It Should or Should Not Do to the Authorities. Based on the Holy Scripture, Composed and Rendered with the Full Approval of the Highland Brotherhood). Wilhelm Zimmermann believed this pamphlet to have been written by Thomas Münzer (*Allgemeine Geschichte des grossen Bauernkrieges*, Th. 2, S. 113). p. 448

330 *Judica Sunday* (from *judex*—judge, literally "judgment Sunday")—the fifth Sunday in Lent. p. 450

331 The *small* and the *great tithe*—two varieties of tax paid to the Catholic Church. The size and nature of this tax varied in different parts of Germany, and in most cases greatly exceeded a tenth of the peasants' produce. As a rule the great tithe (*decima major*) was imposed on the corn and vine harvest whereas the small tithe (*decima minor*) was imposed on other crops. p. 451

[332] The *Grand Chapter of Würzburg*—an ecclesiastical collegium governing the Würzburg bishopric, whose head, the Bishop of Würzburg, also had the title of Duke of Franconia. p. 452

[333] The *Teutonic Order*—a German religious Order of knights founded in 1190 during the crusades. The Order seized vast possessions in Germany and other countries. These were administered by dignitaries known as commandores (or comthurs). In the thirteenth century, East Prussia fell under the rule of the Order after it was overrun and the local population exterminated. In 1237 the Order amalgamated with the Livonian Order, which also had its seat in the Baltic area. The Eastern possessions of the Order became a seat of aggression against Poland, Lithuania and the adjoining Russian principalities. After the defeat at Chudskoye Lake in 1242 and in the battle at Grunwald in 1410, the Order rapidly declined and was only able to maintain a small part of its former possessions. p. 454

[334] Later research into the Peasant War in Germany proves that the Heilbronn Councillor Hans Berlin who, as Engels describes, became a traitor and negotiated with Truchsess, military chief of the Swabian League, on behalf of patricians and wealthy burghers (see p. 461 of this volume), and the author of the Declaration of the Twelve Articles who induced the peasant leaders to accept it, were two different people, the latter being the Heilbronn notary and procurator Hans (Johannes) Berlin. p. 455

[335] The *agreement of Offenburg*, concluded by the Breisgau insurgents and the Austrian Government on September 18, 1525, stipulated the restoration of former peasant services and the institution of harsh measures against peasant societies and "heretics". For its part, the government undertook to pardon rank-and-file members of the movement and confine itself to relatively modest fines. The amnesty, however, did not extend to the leaders of the uprising. Even this agreement, unfavourable as it was to the peasants, was soon violated by the Austrian authorities and local feudal lords, who subjected the insurgents to bloody reprisals as soon as they had laid down their arms. p. 467

[336] The agreement, concluded with the Austrian Government on November 13, 1525, forced the Black Forest peasants to repeat their oath of allegiance to the Habsburgs, to resume their former feudal services and not to interfere with the bloody reprisals of the victors against the town of Waldshut, headquarters of the movement. The defenders of Waldshut, however, stood their ground for several weeks, and the town fell only due to the treachery of the rich burghers. p. 467

[337] Later research has proved that Münzer held no official post in the Mühlhausen "eternal council", but his presence at its sittings and his advice to the council made him the virtual head of the new revolutionary government. p. 469

[338] Engels refers to Louis Blanc and Albert (Alexandre Martin), who represented the proletariat in the bourgeois Provisional Government of the French Republic instituted in February 1848 (see this volume, p. 53). p. 470

[339] See Note 11. p. 470

[340] The Articles of the Alsatian peasants not only defined more sharply the anti-feudal demands of the Twelve Articles (see this volume, p. 451) of the Swabian and Franconian peasantry (abolition of serfdom, return of common lands usurped by the nobility, etc.), but in many respects went even further. They were also directed against usurers (the clause on the abolition of usurers' interest, and

others); they demanded the abolition not only of the small, but of the great tithe as well, and proclaimed the right of the local population to depose and replace officials with whom they were dissatisfied. p. 473

341 The Fourteen Articles of the insurgent peasants and pitmen of the Salzburg archbishopric in the main reproduced the demands of the Twelve Articles of the Swabian and Franconian peasants. In addition, they contained certain local demands. Among other things, the insurgents demanded that the independence of the courts from the influence of feudal lords and their puppets be secured, that the responsibility of the whole community for crimes committed on its territory be abolished and measures be taken to maintain roads in good repair and to protect trade. p. 475

342 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48)—a European war, in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes rallied under the banner of Catholicism and fought the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of Protestant German states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the main battle arena or the object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany. p. 478

343 This document reflects an acute struggle waged by Marx, Engels and their followers against sectarian elements in the Communist League. By August 1850, Marx and Engels realised that, in the context of the general economic prosperity, there was no prospect for a new revolution in the near future (see this volume, pp. 509-10). They believed that most efforts should be concentrated on strengthening the proletarian party's independence from petty-bourgeois democracy, both ideologically and organisationally. This sober analysis and logical approach were opposed by Willich and Schapper, members of the Communist League Central Authority. Willich also disagreed with Marx's understanding of the theory of the proletarian revolution; he thought that communism could be enforced by the minority once and for all. Marx wrote to the Cologne Communists on their disagreements as far back as June 1850. The contents of his letter were recorded in the evidence of Peter Röser, one of the accused at the Cologne trial (1852), which he gave late in 1853 and early in 1854 while in prison. Willich, Schapper and their followers, instead of analysing objective reality as Marx and Engels did, proposed pseudo-revolutionary phrases and employed adventurist tactics in an attempt to provoke new insurrections in Germany. This led to disagreements in the Central Authority which became clear during its meetings in August and the early half of September, and intensified on September 15, 1850, when the Communist League split (see this volume, pp. 625-29).

This meeting decided to transfer the seat of the League's Central Authority to Cologne and instruct the local authority there to form a new Central Authority of the League (see this volume, p. 630). The factionalists, being in the minority, walked out, appealed to League members of the London district, and, with their support, formed their own central authority. The majority of the members of the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 61) also sided with the separatist faction of Willich and Schapper, causing Marx, Engels and their followers to resign from this Society.

The statement was printed in Cologne in 1852 in the Bill of Indictment of the Cologne communist trial under the title: Marx, K., Engels, F., *An den Dienstagspräsidenten der Gesellschaft in Great Windmill Street, London, 17. September,*

*1850*, and in the book: Wermuth-Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Th. 1, Berlin, 1853. p. 483

344 Following the split in the Communist League, the Blanquist refugees in London supported the sectarian adventurist faction headed by Willich and Schapper. In view of this Marx and Engels, backed by the spokesmen of revolutionary Chartists, decided to cancel the agreement to found the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists concluded with the Blanquists and signed in mid-April 1850 (see Note 277). The letter published in this volume was written on this occasion. A rough copy of it in Engels' handwriting is extant. p. 484

345 Eccarius wrote his article "Die Schneiderei in London oder der Kampf des grossen und des kleinen Capitals" (which was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 5-6) with Marx's direct assistance, Marx being the editor.

The editorial comment written by Marx and Engels follows directly after the article. It was later reproduced in Eccarius' Preface to his other work, also written with Marx's assistance: Eccarius, *Eines Arbeiters Wiederlegung der nationalökonomischen Lehren John Stuart Mill's*, Berlin, 1869, and also in the second German edition of this book published in Hottingen-Zürich, 1888. p. 485

346 This is an unfinished rough draft of an article intended for No. 5 of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*. Engels wrote it in connection with the stand taken by some of the Young Hegelians (Eduard Meyen, Julius Faucher, Ludwig Buhl and Max Stirner), who in 1842 were members of the Berlin circle "The Free" and from the early 1850s rallied around the Berlin periodical *Abend-Post* and the Stuttgart *Deutsche Monatsschrift für Politik, Wissenschaft, Kunst und Lebens*. They preached extreme individualism and anarchy, claiming them to be products of "higher democracy" and the "free association of people". Actually, however, this group championed Free Trade and rejected such democratic institutions as universal suffrage. The fact that, from April 1850 onwards, the subtitle "Democratic Paper" was omitted from the name of its organ was further proof that this group was becoming anti-democratic and anti-revolutionary. The *Abend-Post* frequently printed articles directed against "the law-abiding people among the democrats", against socialism and communism, as well as against "the revolutionary terror", the servile dependence of the individual on the masses, etc. These ideas were also current among some of the German petty-bourgeois refugees.

At the beginning of his article, Engels quotes passages from the review of Émile Girardin's *Le Socialisme et l'impôt*, which he wrote together with Marx and published in the *Revue* No. 4. The italics at the beginning of the quotation are introduced by Engels. Engels again refers to this review below. p. 486

347 Speaking about the "German disciples of Proudhon" Engels is apparently alluding to Karl Grün and Arnold Ruge, who translated some of Proudhon's works into German and popularised his ideas in the press.

The "'noblest minds of the nation' of the Stuttgart parliament and the Imperial Regency" refers to Ludwig Simon and Karl Vogt—deputies to the Stuttgart parliament (the remnants of the Frankfurt parliament that moved to Stuttgart in the summer of 1849—see Note 222). They were also among the five imperial regents appointed by the parliament (see Note 11). In 1850 Vogt and Simon used the Stuttgart journal *Deutsche Monatsschrift* to propagate anarchist ideas of abolishing every kind of state. p. 487

348 This, third, international review, just like the first and the second published in the previous issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, is a joint work by Marx and Engels (see Note 194), a fact corroborated by Marx's letter to Engels, dated October 20, 1857. Yet, when passages from this review were published during their lifetime, the only author mentioned was Marx. Marx, apparently, wrote the bulk of the text, particularly sections dealing with the economic situation in European countries, and also an analysis of the events in France which Engels later incorporated in the work *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*. In September and October 1850 Marx took extracts from David Morier Evans' *The Commercial Crisis 1847-1848*, London, 1848, and Thomas Tooke's *A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation, from 1839 to 1847 Inclusive*, London, 1848 (Vol. 4 of the five-volume history of prices), which were used for the review.

The full text of the review was never published during the authors' lifetime. Part of it dealing with England, France and Germany was published in the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* (Nos. 305-07, January 31, February 7 and 14, 1851) under the title "Revue der politischen Ereignisse der letzten sechs Monate" von Carl Marx. Another passage, entitled "Geschichte der Handelskrisis von 1845-47" nach Karl Marx, was reproduced in Weydemeyer's New York weekly *Die Revolution* Nos. 1 and 2 of January 6 and 13, 1852.

In 1895, when Engels was preparing a separate edition of Marx's *Class Struggles in France* for publication, he added a fourth chapter which included sections of the review dealing with the economic situation and events in France (see this volume, pp. 507-10 and 516-25). Only these sections, as part of *The Class Struggles*, have ever been published in English.

The editors of this volume have taken account of corrections made by Marx and Engels in the margin of their copies of the *Revue*. p. 490

349 The reference is to the speculative machinations of the Scottish economist and financier John Law in France between 1716 and 1720; he dealt with the issue of securities and the foundation of joint-stock trading companies. The bank which he founded in 1716, and later transferred to the French Government, as well as a number of companies for trade with foreign countries, went bankrupt in 1720.

The *South Sea Company* was founded in England about 1711, officially for trade with South America and the Pacific islands, but its real purpose was speculation in state bonds. The government granted several privileges to the Company, including the right to issue paper money. The Company's large-scale speculation brought it to bankruptcy in 1720. p. 492

350 An Act to Regulate the Issue of Bank Notes, and for Giving to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England Certain Privileges for a Limited Period was introduced by Robert Peel on July 19, 1844. It envisaged the division of the Bank of England into two completely independent departments, each with its own cash account—the Banking Department which performed purely credit operations and the Issue Department which issued bank-notes. The Act established the maximum quantity of bank-notes in circulation guaranteed by definite reserve funds of gold and silver not to be used for the credit operations of the Banking Department. Additional issue of bank-notes was allowed only if the precious metal reserves were increased proportionally. During the 1847 monetary crisis the Act was suspended. p. 496

351 In mid-October 1850 the Emperor of Austria and the Kings of Bavaria and Württemberg met in Bregenz (on the shores of Lake Constance) to conclude a convention against Prussian claims to the hegemony in Germany.

On October 28, 1850, Warsaw was the scene of a meeting between the Russian Emperor Nicholas I, the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph and the head of the Prussian Government, Count Brandenburg, during which Nicholas I resolutely took the side of Austria in the Austro-Prussian conflict. p. 500

352 In 1833 the English Parliament adopted an Act for the Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Colonies. A sum of £20 million was allocated to compensate slave-owners. p. 501

353 On the events in Schleswig-Holstein see Note 291.

In September 1850, a constitutional conflict flared up in the electorate of Hesse-Cassel between the Elector Frederick William I and the Chamber of Representatives. The head of the government, Hans Hassenpflug, who advocated absolutism, dissolved the Chamber and introduced a state of siege in the country, thus evoking vehement protests from the entire population. The Elector and Hassenpflug sought assistance from Austria, disregarding the fact that Hesse-Cassel belonged to the confederation of German states headed by Prussia. Austria and Prussia contended for the right to mount a punitive expedition against the Hesse constitutional movement and their rivalry in Germany became even more acute. Austria countered Prussia's plans by proposing a revival of the German Confederation of 1815, and early in September 1850, at a conference of minor German states in Frankfurt am Main, she secured the restoration of the Confederation and its Diet, where she exercised the predominant influence. Early in November 1850 there were even clashes between Prussian and Austrian detachments on Hesse-Cassel territory. Before long, however, Nicholas I forced Prussia to make concessions, temporarily abandon her plans for hegemony in Germany and let Austria fulfil the punitive mission in Hesse-Cassel. p. 507

354 See Note 122. p. 509

355 See Note 123. p. 509

356 This refers to the international congress of pacifists held in Frankfurt am Main in August 1850 and attended by such prominent figures as the American philanthropist Elihu Burritt, the leader of the English Free Traders Richard Cobden, and the former head of the liberal government in Hesse, Heinrich Jaup; representatives of the Quaker religious sect were also among the delegates. p. 511

357 The reference is to the debate on the Anglo-Greek conflict at the June 1850 session of the English Parliament. In 1850 the British Government presented Greece with an ultimatum and sent ships to blockade Piraeus using as a pretext the burning (in Athens in 1847) of the house of the Portuguese merchant Pacifico, who was a British subject. The real object of this move, however, was to make Greece surrender several strategically important islands in the Aegean Sea.

Russia and France protested and the French Government even recalled its Ambassador from London. During the debate, Lord Palmerston made a speech in the House of Commons demagogically exposing the policy of European states and presenting the Whig Government as the champion of civil rights and liberties. p. 511

358 See Note 279. p. 511

359 During his stay in London in 1850, Julius Haynau, the Austrian field marshal notorious for his cruel repressive measures against the participants in the revolutionary movement in Hungary and Italy, visited the Barclay, Perkins &

Co. brewery, and was physically attacked and forced to flee by its indignant workers. The people of London warmly approved this news. p. 511

360 The enumerated reforms were enacted on Peel's initiative (these included the Bank Act of 1844 and the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846—see Notes 350, 29).

The Bill submitted in 1818 and enacted in 1819 stipulated that the Bank of England was to resume the exchange of bank-notes for gold.

In 1829 the English Parliament passed an Act for Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects. The Catholics, the majority of whom were Irishmen, were given the right to be elected to Parliament and to occupy certain official posts, while the property qualifications for the electorate were raised fivefold. By this would-be emancipation of the Catholics, the English ruling classes sought to enlist the support of Catholic landowners and the upper Irish bourgeoisie.

In 1829, Peel, the Home Secretary, secured the adoption of a law to form a special police corps in London, who were to be directly subordinate to the Home Office. The latter was granted the right to effect control over the police force throughout the country, a role previously fulfilled by the local authorities.

The tariff reform of 1842 lowered customs duties on corn and other imported goods, but introduced income tax as a compensation for the treasury. p. 512

361 *Puseyism*—a trend in the Anglican Church from the 1830s to the 1860s, named after one of its founders, Pusey, an Oxford University theologian. He advocated the restoration of Catholic rites and dogma in the Anglican Church. Many of the Puseyites were converted to Catholicism. p. 513

362 The *High Church*—a group in the Anglican Church, most of whom belonged to the aristocracy; they emphasised the doctrine of apostolic succession and attached great importance to ceremony and symbols. The *Low Church* included members of the middle classes and the lower ranks of the clergy and laid special stress on Christian morality.

*Dissenters* were members of Protestant religious sects and trends in England who to some extent rejected the dogmas and rituals of the official Anglican Church. p. 513

363 The constituent assembly that proclaimed the Roman Republic was elected on January 21, 1849; the majority of its deputies were democrats—supporters of Mazzini. The assembly deprived the Pope of his secular power and introduced a number of progressive social measures. After the downfall of the Republic in July 1849, some of the deputies emigrated to England where they formed a provisional Italian National Committee under Mazzini. p. 514

364 In the spring of 1850, the Austrian Government floated a so-called voluntary loan of 120 million lire in Lombardy and Venice. Since the population refused to subscribe voluntarily, however, it was enforced compulsorily. p. 514

365 The reference is to the Chartist Land Cooperative Society founded on the initiative of O'Connor in 1845 (later the National Land Company, that lasted till 1848). The aim of the Society was to buy plots of land with the money collected, and to lease them to worker shareholders on easy terms. Among the positive aspects of the Society were its petitions to Parliament and printed propaganda against the aristocracy's monopoly of land. (These aspects were emphasised by Engels in 1847 in his article "The Agrarian Programme of the Chartists", see present edition, Vol. 6.) However, the idea of liberating the workers from exploitation, of reducing unemployment, etc., by returning them to the land proved utopian. The Society's activities were not successful in practice. p. 515

[366] See Note 46. p. 516

[367] See Note 125. p. 516

[368] See Note 48. p. 517

[369] See Note 127. p. 520

[370] See Note 56. p. 521

[371] See Note 129. p. 522

[372] The reference is to the so-called Wiesbaden Manifesto (see Note 130). p. 522

[373] See Note 131. p. 523

[374] See Note 132. p. 523

[375] Following the victory of the popular uprising in Berlin on March 18, 1848, the Prussian King Frederick William IV rode on horseback through the streets of the capital (on March 21), wearing a black-red-and-gold armband symbolising German unity. The same day in an appeal "To My People and the German Nation" he swore to take the cause of unifying Germany into his own hands.

* The *Federal Diet*—see Note 7.

The *Little Germany*—see Note 199. p. 525

[376] See Note 187. p. 526

[377] *Mediatisation*—transformation of princes, formerly independent members of the Imperial German Confederation, into subjects of a bigger German sovereign. In the present case, the reference is to Prussia's attempts to subordinate smaller German princes to her hegemony. p. 526

[378] In 1849 the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt and the Hesse-Cassel electorate agreed to join the confederation of German states under the hegemony of Prussia (Prussian Union), but under pressure from Austria and Russia they withdrew in 1850 and sided with Austria. p. 526

[379] An ironical allusion to what Frederick William IV said to the delegates of the Frankfurt National Assembly when he received them on April 3, 1849. He agreed to accept the Imperial Crown offered him by the delegation provided the other sovereigns were in agreement. It was virtually a refusal to accept the Crown, which the Prussian King accompanied with the pompous statement: "If the Prussian shield or sword is needed to Germany against external or internal enemies, I shall not be found wanting, even if I am not called upon." p. 527

[380] The reference is to the Protocol signed on July 4, 1850, by the representatives of Austria, England, France, Denmark, Prussia, Russia and Sweden who met in London to discuss Schleswig-Holstein. The document supported the indivisibility of lands belonging to the Danish Crown, including the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein. Only Prussia refused to sign the Protocol, since two days previously she had concluded a separate peace treaty with Denmark in violation of her allied commitments to the Provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein. In 1852, however, Prussia too had to give official recognition to this document. p. 527

[381] The reference is to the Central Committee of European Democracy (see Note 272). p. 529

[382] An allusion to the polemic that developed in the late 1830s between the clerical historian and journalist Heinrich Leo and the Young Hegelian Arnold Ruge, who

is ironically referred to as Arnold Winkelried, the name of a semi-legendary hero of the Swiss liberation wars. In his pamphlet *Die Hegelingen* (Halle, 1838) Leo, who was a bitter opponent of the Hegelian philosophy, accused Ruge and other Young Hegelians of being atheists and, in particular, of not seeing the difference between divinity and humanity. p. 532

383 When the Communist League split and Marx, Engels and their followers withdrew from the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see this volume, p. 483), the spokesmen of the Willich-Schapper faction brought a suit on behalf of the Society against Heinrich Bauer and Karl Pfänder, supporters of the majority of the League's Central Authority, who, as trustees, held part of the Society's money to be used under the Central Authority's control for the needs of the League and to help political refugees. Bauer and Pfänder were willing to return the money in instalments, provided it was not spent by the factionalists to the detriment of the Communist League. The latter insisted on a prompt return of the entire sum. On November 20, 1850, the English court rejected the Society's suit, but the followers of Willich and Schapper did not halt their insinuations against Bauer and Pfänder and started a libel campaign in the press. (One of their statements was published in the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung*, January 7, 1851.)

This draft statement, intended to refute the insinuations spread by the Willich-Schapper faction, must have been written between December 24 and 31, 1850. In mid-November Engels moved to Manchester and started working for the Ermen and Engels firm (prompted by the necessity of providing material assistance to Marx's family), but towards the end of December he returned to London for a couple of days. The draft, in Engels' handwriting with Marx's corrections, is written in Marx's notebook.

In January 1852, Pfänder, probably with Marx's assistance, drew up a further statement for the press concerning this affair (it was published in the *Schweizerische National-Zeitung* and the manuscript is extant). p. 533

384 This statement was written by Marx after discussion with Engels (see Marx's letter to Engels of January 22 and Engels' letter to Marx of January 25, 1851). It was aimed against Arnold Ruge, who attacked Marx and Engels in the press accusing them, among other things, of being party to the appropriation of the funds belonging to the German Workers' Educational Society in London. (Ruge's insinuations were partly provoked by the Willich-Schapper faction.) On January 27, Marx sent the text of the statement to Manchester for Engels to sign and forward to the press. Marx intended to publish it in the Bremen newspaper *Weser-Zeitung* and then in the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung* but it was not printed in either. The extant original is in Jenny Marx's handwriting. p. 535

385 At the time Engels was working on a series of articles intended for the *Friend of the People*, the weekly edited by George Julian Harney, about leaders of European petty-bourgeois democrats. His intention did not materialise, however, owing to disagreements with Harney. At a later date Marx and Engels used this material for their pamphlet *The Great Men of the Exile* where, giving a satirical characteristic of Ruge, they employed such expressions as the "gutter", "Arnold Winkelried Ruge" and the like, which originally must have occurred in the articles intended for the *Friend of the People* (see present edition, Vol. 11). In the pamphlet, just as in the given statement, Ruge is described as "the fifth wheel on the carriage of state of European central democracy" (this refers to his being a member of the Central Committee of European Democracy—see Note 272). p. 536

386 On February 24, 1851, London was the scene of an international rally known as the "banquet of the equal". It was organised by some of the French refugees headed by Louis Blanc and by the society of Blanquist emigrants (Barthélemy, Adam and others), together with the Willich-Schapper faction, to celebrate the anniversary of the February revolution. Marx and Engels asked their followers Konrad Schramm and W. Pieper to attend the banquet, but the latter were driven from the hall. The organisers of the banquet deliberately concealed the toast sent by Auguste Blanqui, who was in prison at the time, exposing Louis Blanc and other members of the Provisional Government of the French Republic (see Engels' letter to the editor of *The Times*). However, it was published on February 27 in *La Patrie* No. 58 and in a number of other French papers. Early in March, Marx and Engels translated the toast into German and English. The German version was sent to Cologne and printed in leaflet form (30,000 copies), with Berne given as the place of publication. The leaflet was circulated in Germany, where Blanqui's toast was also printed in several German papers. What became of the English translation is not known.

In their letters and works Marx and Engels discuss the circumstances connected with Blanqui's toast (*The Great Men of the Exile, The Knight of Noble-Minded Consciousness*, see present edition, Vols. 11 and 12).

For this volume the text of the toast itself was translated from the French original published in *La Patrie* (No. 58, February 27, 1851) and is given according to the German edition prepared by Marx and Engels. p. 537

387 This letter and the English translation of Blanqui's toast attached to it (see this volume, pp. 537-39) were not published. Engels intended to send this letter to Blanqui (see Engels' letter to Marx of March 10, 1851) but it is not known whether he did so. The extant manuscript is a rough copy of the letter. p. 540

388 Engels is apparently referring to the disputes over the question of the state which Proudhon and Louis Blanc carried on in *La Voix du peuple* from November 25, 1849, to January 18, 1850. Proudhon asserted that Blanc, in his capacity as the French Provisional Government Minister, was, more than any other person, responsible for the defeat of the revolution, and that he was a pseudo-socialist and a pseudo-democrat. p. 541

389 In March 1849 Proudhon was sentenced to three years imprisonment and a fine. p. 541

390 Engels worked on this manuscript in April 1851, without intending to publish it. As he promised Marx in his letter of April 3, 1851, he here gave a detailed analysis, from the military point of view, of the prospects of a war waged by the coalition of counter-revolutionary powers (the resurrected Holy Alliance according to Engels' terminology) against a revolutionary France. Such an analysis of the military potential of the European powers and the correlation of forces between counter-revolutionary and revolutionary camps in the event of a new revolutionary outbreak was necessary as a basis for criticising the adventurist plans of the democratic refugees, including the sectarian group of Willich and Schapper, who gave a voluntarist and superficial appraisal of the prospects of military clashes in Europe and believed that the victory of the revolutionary army was inevitable (by analogy with the events of the French Revolution).

This work opened up a new stage in Engels' regular studies of military theory and history in which he had engaged since his arrival in Manchester in November 1850. He studied thoroughly such works as W. P. Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814*, 6 vols., London, 1828-40, an atlas to Alsison's *Geschichte von Europa*, A. Thiers' *Histoire du*

*Consulat et de l'Empire*, and others. Engels elaborated many of the theoretical propositions in this manuscript in his later works.

The manuscript was published for the first time in 1914 in *Die Neue Zeit*, the theoretical organ of the German Social-Democratic Party. The editors gave a wrong date of writing and supplied the title—"Die Möglichkeiten und Voraussetzungen eines Krieges der Heiligen Allianz gegen Frankreich im Jahre 1852"—which did not quite correspond to the contents of the manuscript. A more exact title was given in Vol. 7 of the second Russian edition of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels published in 1956. In this volume the abbreviated words and dates are written out in full and subdivision into paragraphs is somewhat changed. p. 542

391 At Jemappes (Belgium) on November 6, 1792, the French army under General Dumouriez won a major victory over the Austrian troops. p. 543

392 At Neerwinden (Belgium) on March 18, 1793, the French army under General Dumouriez suffered a defeat from troops commanded by the Austrian field marshal, Duke of Coburg. p. 543

393 At Fleurus (Belgium) on June 26, 1794, the French troops defeated the Austrian army under the Duke of Coburg. This victory enabled the French revolutionary army to enter and occupy Belgium. p. 544

394 The reference is to the Girondist Ministry formed after the popular insurrection of August 10, 1792, triumphed and the monarchy was overthrown; it remained in power until June 2, 1793, when the Jacobin dictatorship was established. p. 544

395 At Tourcoing (France) on May 18, 1794, French troops under General Moreau defeated those of the Duke of Coburg. p. 545

396 An allusion to the initial stage of the Italian campaign undertaken by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1796-97. In April 1796 Bonaparte's army began its offensive from Nice and moved through mountain passes into Northern Italy. Between April 12 and 15, by bold manoeuvring of large military contingents, Bonaparte succeeded first in defeating the isolated groups of Austrians and then (on April 22) in routing their allies, the Piedmontese. By threatening to march on Turin, Bonaparte forced the Kingdom of Sardinia to dissociate itself from the anti-French coalition (April 28). p. 545

397 See Note 93. p. 545

398 *Ninth Thermidor* (July 27-28, 1794)—counter-revolutionary coup d'état that overthrew the Jacobin government and established the rule of the big bourgeoisie. Carnot took an active part in preparing this coup.

*Eighteenth Fructidor* (September 4, 1797)—coup d'état effected by the Directory, with the support of Napoleon Bonaparte, to thwart the restoration of the monarchy. Carnot, discredited by his association with royalist conspirators, fled from France.

*Eighteenth Brumaire* (November 9, 1799)—Napoleon Bonaparte's coup d'état that led to his dictatorship (first he was proclaimed First Consul and then, in 1804—Emperor). Carnot approved of the coup d'état, though on several occasions he made timid attempts to oppose Napoleon. p. 546

399 The *Seven Years' War* (1756-63)—a European war, in which England and Prussia fought against the coalition of Austria, France, Russia, Saxony and Sweden. In

1756-57, the Prussian troops of Frederick II won a number of victories over the Austrian and French armies; however, the success of the Russian forces in Prussia (1757-60) put Frederick II in a critical position, bringing the results of his victories to nought. The war ended with France having to cede some of her colonies (including Canada and almost all of her possessions in East India) to Britain, while Prussia, Austria and Saxony had to recognise the pre-war frontiers. p. 546

400 The *Rhenish Federation*—a confederation of the states of Western and Southern Germany founded in 1806 under the protectorate of Napoleon. These states officially broke with the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, which shortly ceased to exist. When Napoleon lost the military campaign of 1813 the confederation fell apart. p. 547

401 See Note 92. p. 547

402 In April 1809 the battle between Napoleon's army and Austrian troops raged for five days in the district of Regensburg in Bavaria. The engagements at Abensberg and Eggmühl were stages in this major battle, in which the Austrian army was defeated and had to retreat. p. 548

403 During the Russo-Turkish war (1787-91) Russian troops, under Alexander Suvorov, captured the fortress of Ochakov on December 17, 1788. The success of this operation was prepared by the utter defeat of the Turkish landing force at Kinburn on October 12, 1787. Suvorov himself took part in storming the fortress of Ismail, which was taken on December 22, 1790. p. 548

404 See Note 168. p. 549

405 See Note 203. p. 553

406 In Prussia, young educated people who could afford to buy uniform and weapons could be enlisted as volunteers and, after one year's service, could claim promotion to the rank of an officer in the army reserve. p. 554

407 See Note 105. p. 559

408 The article "The Constitution of the French Republic", printed in the organ of the revolutionary wing of the Chartist party, *Notes to the People* No. 7 for June 14, 1851, was to be the first of a series of articles dealing with the constitutions of European states, as shown by the general heading—"The Constitutions of Europe, Compiled from Original Sources; with the Assistance of Leading Continental Democrats", written above the title of the article. That it was Marx who wrote this article is proved by letters written to Marx by Ernest Jones, the editor of the journal, on May 23, 25 and 30, 1851, as well as by its ideological kinship with Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (see present edition, Vol. 11). The article may have been translated into English by Engels, since Marx did not know English well enough at the time. One more article from this series appeared in the *Notes to the People* under the title "The Prussian Constitution", but it was not written by Marx.

The text of the Constitution, which Marx analyses in the given article, was originally published in *Le Moniteur universel* No. 312, November 7, 1848. The same year it appeared in Paris as a pamphlet. We may assume that Marx used this separate edition. When quoting or rendering some article from the Constitution, Marx introduced his own italics. The articles of the Constitution quoted in the *Notes to the People* are designated as paragraphs (§§). p. 567

[409] Marx is referring to the intervention against the Roman Republic undertaken by the French Government in 1849 (see Note 91). p. 567

[410] The reference is to the French press law adopted on June 9, 1819. Under this law, the amount of security-money to be invested by various periodicals depended on the frequency and place of their publication.

Under the law of July 23, 1850, the previous high rates were extended to publications printed in Lyons and the Rhone department. (This law was originally adopted on July 16, 1850, but it appeared in the press with Article 22 missing, which led the National Assembly to adopt on July 23 a decision to publish it once more. This was done in *Le Moniteur universel* No. 205, July 24, 1850.) p. 569

[411] In 1832, Louis Bonaparte took Swiss citizenship in the canton of Turgau; during his stay in England in 1848 he volunteered as a special constable (the constabulary was a civilian police reserve); together with the police, special constables dispersed the workers' demonstration organised by the Chartists on April 10, 1848. p. 572

[412] See Note 53. p. 576

[413] By *details* the English revolutionary Chartists meant, in their agitation, points 2-6 of the People's Charter: annual elections to Parliament, salaries for M.P.s, a secret ballot, equal constituencies and abolition of the property qualification for candidates. They believed these demands would guarantee the implementation of universal suffrage, which was the first point of the Charter. p. 578

[414] This passage was omitted from the official publication of the speech made by Louis Bonaparte in Dijon on June 1, 1851 (*Le Moniteur universel* No. 154, June 3, 1851) as was pointed out in the newspaper *Le National* of June 3. It was included, however, in an interpellation addressed to the Minister of the Interior in the National Assembly (*Le Moniteur universel* No. 155, June 4, 1851). The full text of the speech appeared in *Le National* on June 4. English and German papers quoted this passage directly or indirectly. It is not yet known which source was used by Marx. p. 579

[415] Marx wrote this note when he and Engels were preparing the third international review (see this volume, pp. 490-532). It is a sort of conspectus or plan of the section of the review in which the authors analyse developments in Germany. Some of the ideas were later developed thoroughly in the review itself, while others were left out of the final version, for instance the economic rivalry between Austria and Prussia. p. 583

[416] See Note 353. p. 583

[417] This refers to measures taken by the government to place the National Bank of Austria under state protection; these included the ministerial decree of May 22, 1848, which allowed the Bank to limit the exchange of bank-notes for hard cash and introduced a compulsory exchange rate; the issue of state paper money with the Bank's assistance early in 1849, and the agreement of December 6, 1849, to regulate reciprocal claims between the Bank and the Exchequer. p. 583

[418] Marx's work "Reflections" is to be found in Notebook VII (pp. 48-52), one of the twenty-four notebooks in which Marx wrote extracts between September 1850

and August 1853. These notebooks contain Marx's excerpts from and synopses of various publications, with his own comments. But in "Reflections" (the text of which is separated from the preceding material and from what follows by horizontal lines), Marx gives a coherent exposition of his own thoughts in order to clear up a number of economic problems for himself. Such a digression from his rule may have been due to the passages from Thomas Tooke's *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle*, quoted in the same notebook, in which the difference between two kinds of trade — trade between various dealers and trade between dealers and consumers—is given according to Adam Smith. In his exposition, however, Marx went beyond this problem and gave a preliminary formulation of his views on certain other economic problems which he examined in detail in his later economic works.

In this work Marx occasionally uses English economic terms such as "dealers", "consumers", "money", "transfer", "trade", "retail dealers", "currency", "savings-banks", "convertibility", "securities" and "short bills". These have not been indicated in footnotes.

The editors have broken the text into smaller paragraphs to facilitate the reading. p. 584

[419] When speaking about trade between "dealers and dealers" and between "dealers and consumers" Marx is referring to Adam Smith's division of trade in its entirety into two different spheres: trade between businessmen alone and trade between businessmen and individual consumers. In Adam Smith's work, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, published in London in 1835-39, this problem is dealt with in Chapter II of Volume III, and in an earlier two-volume edition—in Chapter II, Book II, Volume II. A similar distinction is made by Thomas Tooke in his work *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle, the Connection of Currency with Prices, and the Expediency of a Separation of Issue from Banking*, 2nd ed., London, 1844, pp. 34-36. p. 584

[420] This refers to the English East-India Company, founded in 1600, which for a long time enjoyed monopoly trading rights with India, China and other Asian countries. In India the Company maintained an army and exercised administrative functions. It was one of the principal initiators of territorial annexations and colonial subjugation of the population. During the popular insurrection in India in 1857-59 the British Government was forced to change the form of colonial administration, and in 1858 the East-India Company was liquidated. p. 585

[421] The reference is to the economic crises that developed in England in 1793, 1825 and 1847. The 1847 crisis also enveloped other European countries and the USA. p. 587

[422] The reference is to the standpoint of what was known as the "little shilling men" school, founded by the Birmingham banker Thomas Artwood. Their views were expressed in the book *The Currency Question. The Gemini Letters*, published in 1844. Its authors, Thomas Wright and John Harlow, wrote under the pseudonym of Gemini. p. 588

[423] This document dates from the time of Engels' stay in Switzerland after the defeat of the Baden-Palatinate uprising (see Note 133). At first Engels lived in Vevey, then in the latter half of August 1849 moved to Lausanne. In his letters of August 1, 17 and 23, 1849, Marx invited Engels to London to take part in publishing the journal *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, as well as in

reorganising the Communist League. When he received his permit to leave Switzerland, Engels decided to travel to England via Italy, since the French authorities refused him the right of transit through France. On October 6, 1849, he sailed from Genoa, and after a five-week voyage around the Iberian Peninsula, reached London some time around November 10. p. 595

424 This and other documents published in this volume reflect Marx's efforts to gather together revolutionary forces scattered after the defeat of the 1848-49 revolution and to render support to the revolutionary refugees suffering poverty and privation in England. (On the Committee of Support for German Democrats in Need which later became the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee see Note 180.)

The Appeal of the Committee of Support for German Refugees (which appeared in some of the German newspapers) evoked a response from broad democratic circles. The Workers' Committee of Support for Political Refugees set up in Cologne published a pamphlet entitled *Die Westdeutsche Zeitung und die Westkalmücken*. On September 28, the Workers' Association in Frankfurt, led by Weydemeyer, decided to render support to refugees and announced a collection of funds.

The Hamburg newspaper *Der Freischütz* (No. 86, October 26, 1849) carried the following item describing the activities of the London Committee: "*Appeal for Support for German Refugees* signed by *Karl Marx* ("former editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*"), *Karl Blind* ("former envoy in Paris of the Baden-Palatinate Government"), *Anton Füster* ("former member of the Austrian Imperial Diet in Vienna" who lived for some time in Hamburg), *Heinrich Bauer* (master shoemaker in London) and *Karl Pfänder* (painter in London).—Friendly donations should be addressed to: *Heinrich Bauer*, 64 Dean Street, Soho Square, and marked 'for the Refugee Committee'. That the appeal yielded results is proved, *inter alia*, by the following receipt sent to us.

"Receipt:

"We acknowledge the receipt of a seven-pound bill on the London and Westminster Bank issued in the name of *Herr E. Thiessen* in Stettin and, on behalf of the German refugees, extend our gratitude to those who contributed.

"London, October 16, 1849. The Committee of Support for German Political Refugees."

"Karl Marx, Karl Blind, Heinrich Bauer, Karl Pfänder." p. 596

425 *Serezhans* and other South-Slav army formations performed compulsory military service on the Austro-Turkish border. In 1848 and 1849 the Austrian authorities and Right-wing bourgeois-landowning nationalist elements drew them into the war against revolutionary Hungary. p. 596

426 See Note 180. p. 600

427 This document consists of excerpts from the Indictment of the participants in the Elberfeld uprising in May 1849 (see pp. 159-69 of this volume; Notes 147, 148). The trial took place between April 23 and May 7, 1850, in Elberfeld; altogether 122 people were accused. The Indictment was published in the Cologne newspaper, *Westdeutsche Zeitung*, during April and May. The majority of the defendants were found guilty and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The document presented here reflects the official point of view of the Prussian judicial authorities, yet at the same time proves that Engels played an important part in the uprising, for which he was regarded by Prussian justice as a dangerous state criminal. It is not by chance that Marx wrote to him on August 23, 1849,

urging him to leave Switzerland for London. "In any case your safety demands it. The Prussians would shoot you twice over: 1) because of Baden, 2) because of Elberfeld." p. 602

428 This refers to the Military Commission of the Elberfeld Committee of Public Safety. The Commission was responsible for forming and equipping the insurgents' armed forces, as well as for preparing the city's defences against imminent invasion by Prussian forces. The Committee of Public Safety did all it could to obstruct and impede the work of the Military Commission. p. 602

429 The reference is to the uprising in Solingen and the surrounding area that broke out early in May 1849 in support of the Imperial Constitution. On May 10 the insurgents stormed the arsenal at the neighbouring Gräfrath to obtain the necessary weapons. The municipal authorities were replaced by the Committee of Public Safety. A considerable number of workers took part in the Solingen uprising, but it was defeated owing to the treachery of the bourgeoisie. p. 603

430 The banquet arranged by Blanquist refugees took place in London on February 25, 1850. It was attended by revolutionary refugees of various nationalities, including Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and Ferdinand Wolff.

A report on the banquet was published in *The Northern Star* No. 645, March 2, 1850. Engels' toast was mentioned along with the others, but its author was not named.

A more detailed report on the banquet appeared in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* No. 51 (the newspaper bears the number 50, which is mistaken) on March 1, 1850, and was marked "London, February 26". This report was also reprinted in the *Dresdener Zeitung* No. 55, March 5, 1850. Other versions describing the banquet appeared in the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* No. 55, March 5, 1850, and in *Die Hornisse* No. 54, March 5, 1850. The latter mentioned that the guests included the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx, Engels and Wolff, that Engels raised a toast in honour of the June insurgents, and Wolff of the revolution without phraseology. p. 607

431 The report on the meeting, published in *Die Hornisse*, stated that "Karl Marx, editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, was also present among the guests". *The Democratic Review* for May 1850 carried the report but only the following was said concerning Engels' speech: "A German exile responded and concluded an excellent speech with giving 'The Proletarians of England'".

The *Fraternal Democrats*—an international democratic society founded in London on September 22, 1845. The society embraced representatives of the Left Chartists, German workers and craftsmen—members of the League of the Just—and revolutionary emigrants of other nationalities. Marx and Engels helped in founding this society, and later kept in constant touch with the Fraternal Democrats trying to influence the proletarian core of the society, which joined the Communist League in 1847, and through it the Chartist movement, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The society ceased its activities in 1853. p. 611

432 *Levellers*—representatives of a radical-democratic trend during the English revolution of the mid-seventeenth century. In 1647 they became an independent group on the national scale. The Levellers wanted to transform England into a republic with a one-House Parliament elected by universal suffrage, to remove all inequalities and implement other democratic reforms. p. 611

433 The minutes in Engels' handwriting mirror the struggle waged by the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee, led by Marx and Engels, against attempts

by Rudolf Schramm, Gustav Struve and other petty-bourgeois refugees to form their own committee and to utilise the assistance to the refugees in need for political intrigues against proletarian revolutionaries (see this volume, p. 617). p. 612

434 On the Universal Society of Revolutionary Communists see Note 277.
The agreement referred to was annulled on October 9, 1850, as a result of the split in the Communist League and disagreements that arose between Marx and Engels on the one hand, and the French Blanquist refugees, who supported the sectarian faction of Willich and Schapper, on the other (see this volume, p. 484). The document was apparently written down or copied by Willich. p. 614

435 Heinrich Bauer, previously the treasurer of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee, stayed in Germany until the end of May 1850. He had been sent there as an emissary of the Central Authority of the Communist League. p. 618

436 In the same issue of *Der Freischütz* (No. 98, August 15, 1850) that carried the present accounts, the editors published Karl Pfänder's letter and his receipt issued in the name of the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee. At the same time, the editors voiced their perplexity at not receiving a similar receipt from the other committee (the one consisting of petty-bourgeois refugee leaders). p. 621

437 The meeting was organised by the Fraternal Democrats society to express their solidarity with the workers who had assailed the Austrian Field Marshal Julius Haynau (see Note 359). Reports on the meeting and Engels' speech were published in several English newspapers. The most detailed account appeared in the *Reynold's Weekly Newspaper* No. 5, September 15, 1850. In Germany reports on this meeting were published by the *Deutsche Londoner Zeitung* No. 285, September 13, 1850, which wrote the following: "Engels (former editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*) expressed his heartfelt thanks to the English workers for giving such a worthy welcome to their distinguished countryman (Haynau was born in Churhessen)", and by *Die Hornisse* No. 218, September 18, 1850. p. 624

438 The minutes and some of the documents that follow deal with the struggle waged by Marx and Engels and their supporters against sectarian elements in the Communist League (see Note 343).
In 1852 Marx quoted an excerpt from the minutes in his pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11). The complete text of the minutes, however, remained unknown for a long time and only in 1956 appeared in the magazine of the Amsterdam International Institute of Social History, where it was published according to the two extant copies made from the original, which has not yet been discovered. One of the copies is written by Hermann Wilhelm Haupt who, following the split in the Communist League, was sent to Cologne to report on the London decisions; the other copy is in an unknown hand (probably Wilhelm Liebknecht's). In this volume the translation has been made from the copy written by Haupt and checked against the second copy. Essential differences in wording are mentioned in footnotes. p. 625

439 The *Rules of the Communist League* (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 633-38) were adopted at its Second Congress in December 1847. In the latter half of 1848, the London Central Authority of the League made changes in the Rules and gave this document the vague title of "The Rules of a Revolutionary Party". The clear formulation of the ultimate aims of the proletarian movement given in Article 1 (the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat and the foundation

of communist society without classes) was replaced by a demand for a social republic. The demand to acknowledge communism was omitted from Article 2, which formulated the conditions of membership. Marx and Engels resolutely opposed these changes. On Marx's initiative, the Central Authority formed in Cologne from the local authority worked out new Rules (see this volume, pp. 634-36). p. 626

440 The reference is to the following Communist League members who belonged to the London district: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, the district's President Johann Georg Eccarius, Heinrich Bauer, Hermann Wilhelm Haupt, August Hain, G. Klose, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Pfänder, Konrad Schramm, Sebastian Seiler and Ferdinand Wolff. p. 627

441 See Note 50. p. 627

442 An allusion to Louis Blanc's participation in the bourgeois Provisional Government of France from February to May 1848 (see this volume, pp. 53, 55-56). p. 628

443 The reference is to the Paris Commune of 1789-94, which administered the French capital during the revolution. It played an important part in organising the revolutionary struggle of the masses and in implementing revolutionary measures introduced after the victory of the Jacobins on the eve of the popular uprising of August 10, 1792, up to the counter-revolutionary coup of 9 Thermidor (July 27), 1794. p. 629

444 The text of the resolution of the London Central Authority of the Communist League, similar in content to the proposals submitted by Marx to the Central Authority meeting of September 15, 1850 (see this volume, pp. 625-27), has come down to us as part of another document—the Address of the Cologne Central Authority issued on December 1, 1850. (The Cologne Central Authority was formed early in October 1850, its members being Röser, Bürgers and Otto; some time later they were joined by Daniels and Heinrich Becker.) The Address of the Cologne Central Authority did not fully expose the reasons for the split in the Communist League and even accused both conflicting parties of violating the Rules. Even so, it unequivocally condemned the splitting activities of the sectarian and adventurist faction led by Willich and Schapper and approved the policy of Marx and his followers. In May 1851 Peter Nothjung, emissary of the Cologne Central Authority, was arrested in Leipzig. The minutes found on him were confiscated by the Saxon police and sent to the official organ *Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger* (No. 171, June 22, 1851) to be published as evidence that democrats and Communists were involved in secret conspiratorial intrigues. In addition, both the Address and the resolution of the London Central Authority were published in the bourgeois *Kölnische Zeitung* No. 150, June 24, 1851, and at a later date in the Bill of Indictment against the Cologne Communists—*Anklageschrift gegen 1) P. G. Roeser...* [Köln, 1852] and in Wermuth-Stieber's *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Th. 1, Berlin, 1853. p. 630

445 This document is the last account presented by the Social-Democratic Refugee Committee, which ceased its activities owing to the split in the Communist League and the resignation of Marx, Engels and their followers from the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see this volume, p. 483). p. 631

446 The proposal to expel the representatives of the sectarian faction from the Communist League was made after the factionalists had refused to abide by the

decision of the Cologne Central Authority to set up in London two independent districts of the League, directly subordinate to the Central Authority. Willich, Schapper and their followers formed their own central authority in an attempt to influence all the League organisations and isolate the supporters of Marx and Engels, whose expulsion they announced. In opposition to the Communist League, Willich and Schapper set up their own organisation, which in this and other documents is referred to as the Sonderbund, by analogy with the separatist union of seven Swiss cantons (see Note 25). On November 11, 1850, the London district formed from the supporters of Marx and Engels submitted the proposal in question to the Cologne Central Authority to expel members of the Sonderbund, and particularly its leaders, from the Communist League. The Central Authority endorsed the proposal and incorporated it in its Address of December 1. The text of the proposal has come down to us as part of this Address, which fell into the hands of the police in 1851 and later appeared in bourgeois semi-official periodicals and police-sponsored publications (see Note 444). p. 633

447 The Rules of the Communist League were drawn up by the Cologne Central Authority in November 1850 in conformity with the decision of the London Central Authority adopted on September 15, 1850 (see this volume, p. 630). A copy of the Rules in Heinrich Bürgers' handwriting as well as the Address of the Cologne Central Authority of December 1, 1850, and other documents, were received in London on December 18 (see Jenny Marx's letter to Engels of December 19, 1850). On January 5, 1851, the Rules were approved at a meeting of the London district of the Communist League, at which Marx was also present. He made several remarks in the copy of the Rules which in this volume are in bold type. These remarks may have been made at a later date (early in March 1852) when Marx forwarded the Rules to Weydemeyer in New York (see Marx's letter to Weydemeyer of March 5, 1852).

The police confiscated a copy of the Rules from Peter Nothjung, one of the League members, when he was arrested in May 1851. Among other documents the Rules were printed in the police-sponsored edition: Wermuth-Stieber, *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.* p. 634

448 The annual meeting and the New Year's party arranged by the Fraternal Democrats society were attended by delegations from the German Workers' Educational Society in London (Marx and Engels were no longer among its members), the Hungarian, Polish and other refugee organisations. Marx was present at the meeting together with his wife. Engels, who had come from Manchester for a few days, addressed the meeting in English. p. 637

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*Aston, Luise* (pseudonym of *Meier, Luise*) (1814-1871)—German democratic writer.—242
*Athenaeus* (late 2nd-early 3rd century)—Greek rhetorician and grammarian.—105
*Auerbach, Berthold* (1812-1882)—German liberal writer, later an apologist of Bismarck.—242, 244
*Aylva, Sjoerd* (d. 1509)—leader of the Frisian peasant revolt (1500).—431

B

*Bach, Walter*—mercenary who joined the insurgent peasants in South Germany in 1525; a leader of the Allgäu Troop, betrayed the peasants at the crucial moment.—466, 468
*Baden, Grand Duke of*—see *Leopold Karl Friedrich*
*Ball, John* (d. 1381)—English priest and social agitator, an inspirer of the peasant revolt of Wat Tyler (1381).—413, 414
*Bamberger, Ludwig* (1823-1899)—German journalist, democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; subsequently a liberal, deputy to the Imperial Diet.—196, 224
*Bantelhans (Bantel, Hans)*—a leader of the Poor Konrad society and the peasant uprising in Württemberg and the mountain regions of Swabia in 1514.—436
*Baraguay d'Hilliers, Achille, comte* (1795-1878)—French general, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Bonapartist.—109
*Barbès, Armand* (1809-1870)—French revolutionary, a leader of secret societies during the July monarchy; deputy to the 1848 Constituent Assembly; sentenced to life imprisonment for participation in the popular insurrection of May 15, 1848, and pardoned in 1854; emigrated to Belgium.—35, 37, 88, 129, 316, 541, 576
*Barnabás*—Hungarian priest, took part in the peasant war in Hungary in 1514.—438
*Baroche, Pierre Jules* (1802-1870)—French lawyer and politician, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies; procurator-general of the Court of Appeal in 1849, Bonapartist; member of several cabinets prior to and after the coup d'état of 1851.—38, 129
*Barrot, Camille Hyacinthe Odilon* (1791-1873)—French politician, leader of the liberal dynastic opposition until February 1848; from December 1848 to October 1849 headed a monarchist coalition ministry.—53, 73, 82-84, 86-89, 93, 102, 103, 109, 111, 113, 248
*Barthélemy, Emmanuel* (c. 1820-1855)—French worker, Blanquist, member of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy and participant in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; a leader of the French society of Blanquist emigrants in London; executed on a criminal charge in 1855.—484
*Bastiat, Frédéric* (1801-1850)—French economist and politician.—48
*Bastide, Jules* (1800-1879)—French politician and journalist, an editor of the newspaper *Le National* (1836-46); moderate republican, Minister of Foreign Affairs from May to December 1848.—76
*Batory, Stefan VII de Ecséd* (d. 1535)—representative of a feudal family in Transylvania, led an army which took part in squashing the peasant uprising in Hungary in 1514.—439
*Bauer, Heinrich* (b. 1813)—German shoemaker, prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist

League; emigrated to Australia in 1851.—278, 351, 352, 371, 375, 483, 533, 597-99, 601, 610, 618, 619, 623, 625, 629, 632

*Bauer, Ludwig (Louis)*—German physician, participant in the 1848-49 revolution, President of the London Democratic Association committee for support to refugees.—350, 617

*Beaumarchais, Pierre Augustin Caron de* (1732-1799)—French dramatist.—89

*Beaune, Jean Baptiste Augustin de* (1796-1849)—French politician, monarchist, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies.—22, 122

*Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—German revolutionary, took part in the democratic movement of the 1830s and 1840s in Germany and Switzerland and in the 1848-49 revolution; commanded the Baden people's militia during the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; prominent figure in the First International in the 1860s and delegate to all its congresses; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—180, 223, 224, 231-36

*Becker, Max Joseph* (d. 1896)—German engineer, democrat, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849 and after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland and subsequently to the USA.—210

*Bem, Józef* (1795-1850)—Polish general, prominent figure in the national liberation movement, took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and the revolutionary struggle in Vienna in 1848; a leader of the Hungarian revolutionary army (1848-49); after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey.—169

*Benz*—Berne innkeeper.—249

*Berlichingen, Götz (Gottfried) von* (1480-1562)—German knight, tried to use the peasant uprising of 1525 for his own ends; elected the leader of the Gay Bright Troop, he betrayed the peasants at the crucial moment.—453-55, 462, 463

*Berlin, Hans*—town councillor of Heilbronn; tried to foist a moderate programme on the insurgent peasants after their capture of the town in 1525; deserted to the feudal camp.—461

*Berlin, Hans (Johannes)* (died c. 1560)—in 1525 notary and procurator in Heilbronn, author of the Declaration of the Twelve Articles, interpreted the insurgent peasants' demands in a moderate vein.—455

*Bernigau* (d. 1849)—German democrat, member of the Cologne Committee of Public Safety in 1848; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; sentenced by a Prussian court martial and executed.—346

*Berryer, Pierre Antoine* (1790-1868)—French lawyer and politician, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Legitimist.—113

*Bertin, Louis Marie Armand* (1801-1854)—French journalist, Orleanist; publisher of the *Journal des Débats* in 1841-54.—39

*Beseler, Wilhelm Hartwig* (1806-1884)—Schleswig-Holstein politician; head of the Provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein in 1848, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—527

*Beust, Friedrich von* (1817-1899)—Prussian officer, committee member of the Cologne Workers' Association (1848); an editor of the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* (September 1848-February 1849); took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, professor of pedagogy.—218

*Beyerle*—refugee in London.—612

*Blanc, Jean Joseph Louis* (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian, member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; emigrated to England in August 1848.—53, 55, 59, 63-66, 73, 85, 97, 128, 307, 359, 360, 366, 367, 537, 540, 541, 628

*Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist, organised several secret socie-

ties and plots; adhered to the extreme Left of the democratic and proletarian movement during the 1848 revolution.—27, 35, 37, 64, 65, 88-89, 127, 128-29, 316, 322, 377, 537-40, 576

*Blenker, Ludwig* (1812-1863)—German democrat, former officer, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; subsequently emigrated to the USA and fought in the Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—149, 196-99, 206, 209, 226, 230, 232, 233, 234

*Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German journalist, democrat, took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois emigrants in London in the 1850s; became a national-liberal in the 1860s.—175, 182, 354, 597, 600

*Bloem, Anton* (1814-1885)—German lawyer, deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing, later Left Centre) in 1848.—158

*Blomfield, Charles James* (1786-1857)—English theologian, bishop of London (1828-56).—513

*Blum, Robert* (1807-1848)—German democrat, journalist, leader of the Left in the Frankfurt National Assembly; took part in the defence of Vienna in October 1848; court-martialled and executed.—149, 198, 220, 222

*Bobzin, Friedrich Heinrich Karl* (b. 1826)—German artisan; member of the German Workers' Society in Brussels in 1847; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; together with Struve headed the German petty-bourgeois emigrants in London.—617, 619

*Boccaccio, Giovanni* (1313-1375)—Italian author of the Renaissance.—413

*Bocquet, Jean Baptiste*—French democrat, supporter of the newspaper *La Réforme*; took part in the 1848 revolution in France and emigrated to London after its defeat; friend of Alexander Herzen; member of the General Council of the First International (1864-65).—314

*Boecker (Böker)*—member of the Cologne Town Council.—158

*Böheim, Hans (Pfeiferhänslein, Pauker)* (d. 1476)—shepherd, popular preacher in Niklashausen, inspirer of the peasant movement in the bishopric of Würzburg and surrounding districts; burned at the stake.—428-32

*Boisguillebert, Pierre Le Pesant, sieur de* (1646-1714)—French economist, predecessor of the physiocrats, founder of classical political economy in France.—119

*Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, 1st Viscount* (1678-1751)—English deist philosopher and politician.—253

*Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Bonaparte, Jérôme* (1784-1860)—younger brother of Napoleon I, King of Westphalia (1807-13).—112

*Bonaparte, Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul, Prince* (1822-1891)—son of Jérôme Bonaparte, cousin of Louis Bonaparte; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—112, 113

*Borgia (Borja), Cesare, Duke of Valentinois and Romagna* (c. 1475-1507)—member of an influential Italian feudal family, son of Pope Alexander VI, tried to establish a powerful absolutist state, famous for his unscrupulousness.—112

*Borme, Daniel* (called *Borme fils*) (1821-c. 1872)—French chemist, participant in political conspiracies, police agent.—37

*Born, Stephan* (real name *Buttermilch, Simon*) (1824-1898)—German typesetter, member of the Communist League; leaned towards reformism during the 1848-49 revolution; supreme commander of the Dresden uprising of 1849; turned his back on the workers' movement after the revolution.—215

*Bötticher, Karl Wilhelm*, from 1864 *von* (1791-1868)—Prussian statesman, *Oberpräsident* of Eastern Prussia (1842-48).—10

*Bouchotte, Jean Baptiste Noël* (1754-1840)—French officer, prominent figure in the French Revolution, Jacobin, War Minister (1793-94).—545, 563

*Bourbons*—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15, 1815-30).—13, 16, 17, 36, 95, 112

*Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, Count von* (1792-1850)—Prussian general and statesman, head of the counter-revolutionary Ministry (November 1848-November 1850).—158, 596

*Bréa Jean Baptiste Fidèle* (1790-1848)—French general, took part in suppressing the June uprising of 1848, shot by the insurgents.—97

*Breitenstein, Sebastian von* (1464-1535)—Prince-abbot of Kempten (1523-35)—449, 479

*Brentano, Lorenz Peter* (1813-1891)—Baden democrat, lawyer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; headed the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; after the defeat of the uprising emigrated to Switzerland and then to the USA.—174-76, 178-80, 183-85, 188-90, 214, 215, 220, 234, 238, 239

*Briessmann, Johannes* (1488-1549)—German theologian, follower of Luther.—426

*Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English manufacturer, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League.—19, 116, 272

*Brougham and Vaux, Henry Peter, 1st Baron* (1778-1868)—British statesman, lawyer and writer, Whig.—511

*Brüggemann, Karl Heinrich* (1810-1887)—German journalist, moderate liberal; editor-in-chief of the *Kölnische Zeitung* (1845-55).—526

*Bruhn, Karl von* (b. 1803)—German journalist, member of the League of Outlaws, the League of the Just, and subsequently of the Communist League from which he was expelled in 1850; later editor of the Lassallean paper *Nordstern* in Hamburg (1861-66).—372

*Brunswick, Duke of*—see *Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand*

*Bucher, Lothar* (1817-1892)—Prussian official, journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848; emigrated to London; subsequently a national-liberal, adherent of Bismarck.—349

*Bugeaud de la Piconnerie, Thomas Robert* (1784-1849)—Marshal of France, member of the Chamber of Deputies during the July monarchy, Orleanist; commander-in-chief of the army of the Alps, deputy to the Legislative Assembly in 1848-49.—83

*Bunsen, Christian Karl Josias, Baron von* (1791-1860)—Prussian diplomat, writer, theologian; Ambassador to London (1842-54).—370, 378, 382-83, 391, 511

*Burg-Bernheim, Gregor*—a leader of the peasant uprising in the Margraviate of Ansbach in 1525.—464

*Burritt, Elihu* (1810-1879)—American linguist, philanthropist and pacifist, organiser of several international pacifist congresses.—511

## C

*Cabet, Étienne* (1788-1856)—French writer, utopian communist, author of *Voyage en Icarie*.—64-65, 320

*Camphausen, Ludolf* (1803-1890)—German banker, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prime Minister of Prussia from March to June 1848; Prussian envoy to the Central Authority (July 1848-April 1849).—13, 156

*Capefigue, Jean Baptiste Honoré Raymond* (1801-1872)—French journalist and historian, monarchist.—39, 138, 519

*Carlier, Pierre Charles Joseph* (1799-1858)—Prefect of the Paris police (1849-51), Bonapartist.—124, 338

*Carlyle, Thomas* (1795-1881)—British writer, historian, philosopher, Tory; preached views bordering on feudal socialism up to 1848; later a relentless opponent of the working-class movement.—301-10

*Carnap, Johann Adolph von* (born c. 1793)—Prussian official, Chief Burgomaster of Elberfeld from 1837 to 1851.—165

*Carnot, Lazare Hippolyte* (1801-1888)—French journalist and politician,

moderate republican; Minister of Education in the Provisional Government, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848); after 1851 a leader of the republican opposition to the Bonapartist regime.—27, 128-29, 344

*Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite* (1753-1823)—French mathematician, political and military figure in the French Revolution, Jacobin; took part in the Thermidor coup in 1794.—128, 545, 546, 562, 563

*Carrière, Moriz* (1817-1895)—German philosopher, professor of aesthetics.—242

*Casimir* (1481-1527)—Margrave of Brandenburg, Ansbach and Bayreuth, member of the Franconian line of the Hohenzollerns; organised the suppression of the peasant and urban uprising in Ansbach and Rothenburg.—462-66

*Cato, Marcus Porcius (Cato the Elder)* (234-149 B.C.)—Roman statesman and writer, upheld aristocratic privileges.—76

*Caulaincourt, Armand Augustin Louis, Marquis de*, from 1808 *Duke of Vicenza* (1772-1827)—French general and statesman, Ambassador to Russia (1807-11); Minister of Foreign Affairs (1813-14, 1815).—260

*Caussidière, Marc* (1808-1861)—French democrat, took part in the Lyons uprising of 1834; Prefect of the Paris police after the February revolution of 1848, deputy to the Constituent Assembly; emigrated to England in June 1848.—59, 73, 97, 311-16, 321-24

*Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general and politician,moderate republican; took part in the conquest of Algeria; after the February 1848 revolution, Governor of Algeria; from May 1848 War Minister of France, directed the suppression of the June uprising; head of the executive (June-December 1848).—34, 68, 69, 72, 75-82, 85, 87, 91, 92, 93, 98, 105, 549, 579-80

*Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de* (1547-1616)—Spanish writer.—174, 246, 512

*Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de* (1820-1883)—representative of the elder line of the Bourbons, pretender to the French throne under the name of Henry V.—13, 16, 36, 110, 141, 521

*Changarnier, Nicolas Anne Théodule* (1793-1877)—French general and politician, monarchist; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies; after June 1848 commanded the Paris garrison and national guard; took part in dispersing the demonstration of June 13, 1849, in Paris; banished from France in 1851.—25, 26, 83, 89, 90, 99, 106, 109, 140, 143-44, 520, 523-25

*Charles I* (1600-1649)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-49), executed during the English revolution.—253

*Charles V* (1500-1558)—Holy Roman Emperor (1519-56), King of Spain as Charles I (1516-56).—461

*Charles X* (1757-1836)—King of France (1824-30).—129

*Charles Albert (Carlo Alberto)* (1798-1849)—King of Sardinia and Piedmont (1831-49).—93, 547

*Chenu, Adolphe* (b. 1816)—took part in secret revolutionary societies in France during the July monarchy; *agent provocateur* of the secret police.—311-16, 319-24

*Christoph I* (1453-1527)—Margrave of Baden (1473-1527).—435, 466

*Clemént, Albert*—battalion commander of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in 1849.—215, 218

*Clement VII (Giulio de'Medici)* (1478-1534)—Pope (1523-34).—405, 419, 480

*Cobbett, William* (1762-1835)—English politician and radical writer.—301

*Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer and politician, a leader of the Free Traders and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League.—11, 19, 116, 265, 299, 510, 511

*Columbus, Christopher (Cristobal Colón)* (1451-1506)—Genoa-born navigator, discoverer of America.—332, 334

*Cooper, James Fenimore* (1789-1851)—American writer.—312-14

*Copway, George* (*Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh*) (1818-c. 1863)—chief of the Ojibway Indian tribe, methodist missionary; took part in the Frankfurt am Main Pacifist Congress in August 1850.—511

*Corvin-Wiersbitzki, Otto Julius Bernhard von* (1812-1886)—German democrat, former Prussian lieutenant; took part in the republican uprisings in Baden in 1848; chief of the general staff in Rastatt during the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—224

*Crémieux, Isaac Moïse* (called *Adolphe*) (1796-1880)—French lawyer and politician, a liberal in the 1840s; member of the Provisional Government (February-May 1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies.—53, 91, 359, 537

*Creton, Nicolas Joseph* (1798-1864)—French lawyer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Orleanist.—118

*Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of the English revolution, became Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland in 1653.—256, 301, 302

*Csáky, Miklos* (*Nikolaus*) (1465-1514)—bishop of Csanád (1500-14); killed by insurgents during the peasant uprising in Hungary.—439

*Cubières, Amédée Louis Despans de* (1786-1853)—French general, Orleanist; War Minister in 1839 and 1840; degraded in 1847 for bribery and shady dealings.—117

*Cyrus the Great* (*Koresh*) (d. 530 B.C.)—King of Persia (558-530 B.C.), founder of the Persian Empire.—421

D

*Daire, Louis François Eugène* (1798-1847)—French economist, publisher of works on political economy.—328

*Dairnvaell, G. M.*—French worker, author of pamphlets against the financial aristocracy.—51

*Danton, Georges Jacques* (1759-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Right wing of the Jacobins.—165, 302

*Darasz, Albert* (1808-1852)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement, took part in the 1830-31 insurrection; belonged to the democratic circles of the Polish emigrants; member of the Central Committee of European Democracy.—528

*Daru, Napoléon, comte* (1807-1890)—French statesman, member of the Chamber of Peers (1832-48); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (Right wing) during the Second Republic and Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly (1850-51).—128

*Daumer, Georg Friedrich* (1800-1875)—German writer on the history of religion.—241-46

*Delamarre, Théodore Casimir* (1797-1870)—French banker; journalist; from 1844 onwards owner of the newspaper *La Patrie*; Bonapartist.—39, 342

*Delane, John Thaddeus* (1817-1879)—editor-in-chief of *The Times* (1841-77).—352, 540, 541

*Delessert, Gabriel Abraham Marguerite* (1786-1858)—Prefect of the Paris police (1836-48).—312, 319

*Dembiński, Henryk* (1791-1864)—Polish general and prominent figure in the national liberation movement, took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; commander-in-chief of the Hungarian revolutionary army (February-April 1848) and the Northern Theiss army; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Turkey and later to France.—152, 169

*Demosthenes* (c. 384-322 B.C.)—Greek orator and politician.—113

*Devaisse*—participant in the 1848 revolution in France, member of the Mountain party.—321

*Dickens, Charles John Huffam* (1812-1870)—English novelist.—302

*Didier, Heinrich*—German emigrant to the USA; one of the editors of the *Deutsche Schnellpost* in 1850.—348

*Dietrichstein, Sigmund*, from 1515 *Baron von* (1484-1540)—Viceroy of Styria; suppressed the peasant uprising in the Alpine regions of Austria in 1515-16; taken prisoner by the insurgents during the 1525 uprising and later set free.—440, 475, 476

*Dietz, Oswald* (c. 1824-1864)—German architect, participated in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to London; Communist League member, belonged to the Willich-Schapper sectarian group; subsequently took part in the American Civil War.—633

*Dingelstedt, Franz*, from 1876 *Baron von* (1814-1881)—German poet and novelist, court dramatist from the mid-1840s.—242

*Disraeli, Benjamin, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British politician and writer; adhered to the Young England group in the 1840s, subsequently became a Tory leader; Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—495

*Doll, Friedrich*—German democrat, commercial traveller; took part in the republican uprisings in Baden in 1848; commanded a division during the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—232, 233, 236

*Dortu, Max* (1826-1849)—German revolutionary democrat; took part in the Berlin uprising of March 18, 1848, and in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; sentenced by a Prussian court martial and executed.—346

*Dózsa, Georg* (c. 1474-1514)—small landowner of the Szekler region of Transylvania, a leader of the peasant uprising in Hungary in 1514.—438-39

*Dózsa Gregor* (d. 1514)—brother of Georg Dózsa; took part in the peasant uprising of 1514 in Hungary.—438

*Dreher, Ferdinand*—participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; commanded a battalion of the people's militia in Karlsruhe.—204, 210, 212, 213, 233

*Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German journalist, at first "true socialist", later member of the Communist League and an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; subsequently withdrew from politics.—353, 371, 373, 375, 376

*Drouyn de Lhuys, Édouard* (1805-1881)—French diplomat and politician; in the 1840s Orleanist; after 1851 Bonapartist; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1848-49, 1851, 1852-55, 1862-66), Ambassador to Britain (1849-50).—511

*Duclerc, Charles Théodore Eugène* (1812-1888)—French journalist and politician, moderate republican; member of the *National* editorial board (1840-46); Minister of Finance (May-June 1848).—91

*Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas* (1798-1881)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848), Minister of the Interior (October-December 1848) in the Cavaignac Government; one of the organisers of the suppression of the Paris Commune.—78, 81, 117

*Dujarrier*—French financier.—358

*Dumouriez, Charles François du Périer* (1739-1823)—French general, commanded the northern revolutionary army in 1792-93; betrayed the revolution in March 1793.—542-43

*Dupin, André Marie Jean Jacques* (1783-1865)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49), President of the Legislative Assembly (1849-51); subsequently Bonapartist.—26, 102, 137, 518

*Dupont de l'Eure, Jacques Charles* (1767-1855)—French liberal politician, participated in the French revolutions of 1789-94 and 1830; close to the moderate republicans in the 1840s; President of the Council of Ministers in the Provisional Government in 1848.—53, 359, 537

*Dupoty, Michel Auguste* (1797-1864)—French journalist, took part in publishing several republican-democratic newspapers.—312

*Duprat, Pascal Pierre* (1815-1885)—French journalist, politician, republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the

Second Republic, opponent of Louis Bonaparte.—25

E

*Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—German tailor, prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the First International; later took part in the English trade union movement.—483, 485, 625, 627, 629

*Eckermann, Johann Peter* (1792-1854)—German writer, author of the *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens*.—242

*Eichfeld, Karl*—War Minister of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849.—180

*Eisenhut, Anton* (d. 1525)—clergyman at Eppingen (Palatinate); leader of the local peasant and urban uprising in 1525.—460

*Eitel, Hans*—leader of the Lake Troop of the insurgent peasants (Swabia) in 1525; signed the Weingarten Treaty with Truchsess after which disbanded his troop.—449

*Elector Palatine*—see *Ludwig V*

*Emmermann, Karl*—commander of riflemen in the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army (1849).—229

*Engelhard, Magdalene Philippine (née Gatterer)* (1756-1831)—German poetess.—242

*Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895).—3, 5, 7, 10, 14, 15, 21, 22, 25, 41, 58, 186, 190, 192-95, 197, 200-05, 208-37, 240, 241, 257, 271, 274, 288, 318, 336, 338, 345, 348-51, 353, 354, 370, 371, 378, 379, 380, 381, 384, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 398, 430, 483, 487, 490, 533-37, 540, 542, 564, 588-89, 595, 601, 606, 607, 610, 611, 615, 616, 618, 619, 623, 637

*Ernest Augustus* (1771-1851)—King of Hanover (1837-51).—8

*Ernst* (1464-1513)—archbishop of Magdeburg (1476-1513).—420

*Estancelin, Louis Charles Alexandre* (1823-1906)—French politician; deputy to the Legislative Assembly during the Second Republic, Orleanist.—109

*D'Ester, Karl Ludwig Johann* (1813-1859)—German socialist and democrat, physician, member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; became member of the Central Committee of German Democrats in October 1848; played a prominent part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; subsequently emigrated to Switzerland.—186, 190, 192, 201, 220, 224, 233

*Eugène of Savoy (François Eugène), Prince* (1663-1736)—Austrian general and statesman.—198

*Evans, David Morier* (1819-1874)—British economist.—496

*Ewerbeck, August Hermann* (1816-1860)—German physician and man of letters, leader of the Paris communities of the League of the Just; later member of the Communist League, which he left in 1850.—376

F

*Falloux, Frédéric Alfred Pierre, comte de* (1811-1886)—French politician, Legitimist and clerical; Minister of Education and Religious Affairs (1848-49); initiated the closure of national workshops and inspired the suppression of the June 1848 uprising of the Paris workers.—83, 92, 103, 113

*Faucher, Julius (Jules)* (1820-1878)—German writer, Young Hegelian; advocate of free trade, professed individualistic, anarchist views in the early 1850s.—334, 486

*Faucher, Léon* (1803-1854)—French writer and politician, Malthusian economist, Orleanist; Minister of the Interior (December 1848-May 1849); later Bonapartist.—48, 83, 88, 90

*Favand, Étienne Edouard Charles Eugène*

(1793-1854)—French politician, republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; supporter of the Mountain party; opposed the December 2, 1851, coup d'état.—22, 123, 263

*Fenner von Fenneberg, Daniel* (1820-1863)—Austrian officer, commanded the Vienna national guard in 1848; later commander-in-chief and chief of staff of the Palatinate insurgent army.—195

*Ferdinand I* (1503-1564)—Austrian Archduke; Holy Roman Emperor (1556-64).—448, 456, 466, 467, 475-77

*Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872)—German philosopher.—487

*Feuerbacher, Matern* (c. 1484-c. 1567)—town councillor and a leader of the burgher opposition in Gross-Bottwar (Württemberg); in 1525 leader of the Gay Christian Troop of the insurgent Württemberg peasants and townsmen.—456, 457, 459, 460

*Fickler, Joseph* (1808-1865)—German journalist, a leader of the Baden democratic movement in 1848-49; member of the Baden Provisional Government (1849).—175

*Flocon, Ferdinand* (1800-1866)—French democratic politician and journalist, an editor of the newspaper *La Réforme*; member of the Provisional Government (1848).—53, 323, 359, 537

*Florian*—see *Greisel, Florian*

*Flotte, Paul Louis François René de (Deflotte)* (1817-1860)—French naval officer, democrat and socialist, Blanquist; took part in the 1848 revolution in France; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51).—27, 32, 128-29, 344

*Forner, Anton*—Burgomaster of the imperial city of Nördlingen (Franconia); joined the insurgent peasants in 1525 and headed the plebeian party in the town.—452

*Fothergill, Thomas*—British officer, honorary secretary of the London union of the German refugees (1850).—352

*Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante* (1759-1820)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, Jacobin; took part in the Thermidor coup; Minister of Police under Napoleon I, notorious for his lack of principle.—124, 347

*Fould, Achille* (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist; Minister of Finance several times from 1849 to 1867.—20, 61, 75, 86, 114, 115, 117, 118, 342, 364-65

*Fouquier-Tinville, Antoine Quentin* (1746-1795)—figure in the French Revolution; Public Prosecutor of the Revolutionary Tribunal in 1793.—94

*Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—322

*Foy, Maximilien Sébastien Auguste Arthur Louis Fernand* (1815-1871)—French politician; candidate of the party of Order for the Seine department during the by-elections to the Legislative Assembly on March 10, 1850.—344

*Francis I* (1494-1547)—King of France (1515-47)—328, 447

*Francis Joseph I* (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—11, 528

*Fränkel*—German worker residing in London, member of the Communist League and of the London German Workers' Educational Society (1847); member of the Central Authority of the Communist League (1849-50); supporter of the Willich-Schapper sectarian group.—625, 633

*Frederick II (the Great)* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86)—252, 546, 551, 552, 556

*Frederick III (the Wise)* (1463-1525)—Elector of Saxony (1486-1525); patron of Luther; one of Münzer's persecutors.—417

*Frederick VII* (1808-1863)—King of Denmark (1848-63).—394

*Frederick Augustus II* (1797-1854)—King of Saxony (1836-54).—8

*Frederick William I* (1802-1875)—Elector of Hesse-Cassel (1847-66); Regent (1831-47).—528

*Frederick William II* (1744-1797)—King of Prussia (1786-97).—542

*Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—8, 10, 12-16, 171, 207, 247, 257, 258, 261, 267, 378, 382, 383, 385, 394, 525-28

*Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German romantic and later revolutionary poet; member of the Communist League; one of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49).—353

*Fries, Peter* (born c. 1822)—German lawyer, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; member of the Palatinate revolutionary Provisional Government; emigrated to Switzerland.—372

*Frundsberg, Georg von* (1473-1528)—commander of German mercenaries; took part in suppressing the peasant uprising in Swabia and the archbishopric of Salzburg in 1525-26.—468, 476

*Füster, Anton* (1808-1881)—Austrian theologian, professor of Vienna University; deputy to the Imperial Diet (1848), democrat; emigrated to London and later to the USA.—597, 600

G

*Gagern, Heinrich Wilhelm August, Baron von* (1799-1880)—German moderate liberal politician; deputy to and President of the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre), Imperial Prime Minister (December 1848-March 1849); a leader of the Gotha party after May 1849.—511, 526

*Galeer, Albert Frédéric Jean* (1816-1851)—Swiss teacher and man of letters; democrat, took part in the war against the Sonderbund (1847) and in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—350, 612

*Garnier-Pagès, Louis Antoine* (1803-1878)—French politician, moderate republican, member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris in 1848.—53, 323, 359, 537

*Gatterer*—see *Engelhard, Magdalene Philippine*

*Gaude*—member of the Communist League, close to the Willich-Schapper sectarian group during the split in the League (1850).—633

*Gebert, August*—Mecklenburg joiner, member of the Communist League in Switzerland, later in London, belonged to the Willich-Schapper sectarian group.—633

*Geier (Geyer), Florian* (c. 1490-1525)—German knight, went over to the insurgent peasants (1525), commanded the Black Troop.—453-55, 462-65

*Geismaier (Gaismair), Michael* (c. 1490-1532)—son of a miner, leader of the peasant uprising in Tirol and the archbishopric of Salzburg; secretary of the bishop of Salzburg; later customs official.—476-78

*George* (called *George the Bearded*) (1471-1539)—Duke of Saxony (1500-39), one of the organisers of the suppression of the peasant uprising in Thuringia in 1525.—425

*George I* (1660-1727)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1714-27).—251

*George II* (1683-1760)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1727-60).—251

*Gerber, Erasmus* (d. 1525)—a leader of the insurgent Alsatian peasants (1525).—474

*Gerber, Theus* (died c. 1541)—leader of a troop of Stuttgarters, which joined the Württemberg insurgent Gay Christian Troop in 1525.—457, 460

*Ghillany, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1807-1876)—German historian and theologian.—242

*Gibbs*—a London alderman, acting Lord Mayor of London in May 1850.—352

*Girardin, Émile de* (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician, editor of *La Presse*; often changed his political views; opposed the Guizot Government in 1847; a republican during the 1848-49 revolution; deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1850-51); later Bonapartist.—137, 326-31, 333-37, 487, 518

*Gnam*—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to England, and in 1852 to the USA.—612, 613.

*Goegg, Amand* (1820-1897)—German journalist, democrat; member of the

Baden Provisional Government (1849) and of the First International, joined the German Social-Democrats in the 1870s.—182, 220

*Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von* (1749-1832)—German poet.—241, 242, 246

*Görgey, Arthur* (1818-1916)—military leader of the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary, a commander and, from April to June 1849, commander-in-chief of the Hungarian army; voiced the conservative sentiments of the nobility; advocated agreement with the Habsburgs and later capitulation; War Minister (from May 1849).—184

*Götz*—see *Berlichingen, Götz von*

*Götz, Christian* (1783-1849)—Austrian general, took part in suppressing the Italian national liberation movement and in the war against revolutionary Hungary in 1848-49.—547

*Goudchaux, Michel* (1797-1862)—French banker, republican, Minister of Finance in the Provisional Government in 1848.—73

*Gourgaud, Gaspar, baron* (1783-1852)—French general and monarchist politician, deputy to the Legislative Assembly during the Second Republic.—109

*Grail, E. de*—French Legitimist politician; lost the by-election to the Legislative Assembly in the department of Gard on January 13, 1850.—22

*Grandin, Victor* (1797-1849)—French manufacturer and conservative politician, member of the Chamber of Deputies (1839-48); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—48

*Grandménil*—French journalist, democrat; member of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy; one of the founders and publishers of the newspaper *La Réforme*.—313

*Granier de Cassagnac, Bernard Adolphe* (1806-1880) — French journalist, lacked principles in politics; prior to the 1848 revolution, Orleanist, later Bonapartist.—39, 138, 519

*Gray, Simon* (18th-19th cent.)—English economist.—588

*Grebel, Konrad* (1489-1526)—head of an Anabaptist sect in Zurich, follower of Münzer; agitated for a revolution in South Germany.—426

*Greiner, Theodor Ludwig*—German lawyer, democrat; member of the Palatinate Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated to Switzerland and subsequently to the USA.—200-02, 372

*Greisel, Florian*—German priest, took part in the 1525 Peasant War in Swabia.—458

*Grey, Sir George* (1799-1882)—British Whig statesman, Home Secretary (1846-52, 1855-58 and 1861-66) and State Secretary for the Colonies (1854-55).—3, 274, 297, 383-84

*Grün, Karl Theodor Ferdinand* (pen-name *Ernst von der Haide*) (1817-1887)—German writer, "true socialist" in the mid-1840s; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left wing).—345

*Gudin, Charles Gabriel César* (1798-1874)—adjutant of Louis Philippe; from 1846 Marshal of France; was dismissed from his post in 1847 for swindling.—358

*Gugel-Bastian* (d. 1514)—leader of the peasant conspiracy in the Margraviate of Baden in 1514.—438

*Guinard, Auguste Joseph* (1799-1874)—French democrat, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); took part in the Mountain party actions on June 13, 1849.—129

*Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French historian and conservative statesman; from 1840 up to the February revolution of 1848 virtually directed France's foreign and domestic policy.—19, 36, 48, 51, 52, 69, 76, 83, 90, 109, 113, 251-56, 301

*Gutzkow, Karl Ferdinand* (1811-1878)—German writer, member of the Young Germany group; editor of the journal *Telegraph für Deutschland* (1838-43).—242

*Gützlaff, Karl Friedrich August* (1803-1851)—German missionary in China.—266

## H

*Habern, Wilhelm von*—Palatinate marshal, commander-in-chief under Ludwig, Elector of the Palatinate; took part in suppressing the 1525 peasant uprising in the Palatinate.—456, 466

*Hadrian (Publius Aelius Hadrianus)* (76-138)—Roman Emperor (117-38).—591

*Hafiz, Shams ud-din Mohammed* (c. 1300-c. 1389)—Persian poet, Tajik by birth.—244

*Hain, August*—German emigrant residing in London; member of the Communist League, supported Marx during its split.—483

*Hanover, House of*—British royal house (1714-1901).—252

*Hansemann, David Justus* (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Finance Minister (March-September 1848).—156

*Harlow, John* (mid-19th cent.)—British economist of the Birmingham school known as the "little shilling men"; wrote with Wright under the pseudonym of Gemini.—588

*Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the English labour movement; a leader of the Chartist Left wing; editor of the newspaper *Northern Star* and the journal *Democratic Review*; friend of Marx and Engels.—3, 484, 514, 615

*Hassenpflug, Hans Daniel Ludwig Friedrich* (1794-1862)—German statesman, advocate of absolutism, Minister of Justice and the Interior of Hesse-Cassel (1832-37), head of the Hesse-Cassel Ministry (1850-55).—527

*Haupt, Hermann Wilhelm* (born c. 1831)—German business clerk; member of the Communist League; turned traitor during the Cologne communist trial and was released by the police during investigation.—483

*Häusner, Karl*—German engineer, commanded the Rhenish Hessian corps of the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army in 1849.—196

*Haussez, Charles Lemercier de Longpré, baron d'* (1778-1854)—French conservative politician; Minister for the Navy (1829-30).—129

*Hautpoul, Alphonse Henri, marquis d'* (1789-1865)—French general, Legitimist, later Bonapartist; War Minister (1849-50).—22, 26, 32, 113, 123, 128, 137, 143, 144, 261, 518, 523, 524

*Haynau, Julius Jakob, Baron von* (1786-1853)—Austrian Master of Ordnance; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Italy; commanded the Austrian troops in Hungary (1849-50); initiated violent repressions against the Hungarian revolutionaries.—110, 511, 624

*Hecker, Friedrich Karl Franz* (1811-1881)—German democrat, a leader of the Baden republican uprising in April 1848; emigrated to the USA.—149, 198, 232, 238

*Hecker, Karl*—one of the leaders of the Elberfeld uprising in 1849.—164

*Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—248, 267, 302, 422, 488-89, 530

*Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—182-83, 536

*Heintzmann, Alexis* (born c. 1812)—Prussian lawyer, liberal; member of the Committee of Public Safety during the Elberfeld uprising in May 1849; emigrated to London.—164

*Heinzen, Karl* (1809-1880)—German journalist, radical; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England and in the autumn of 1850 to the USA.—3, 4, 183

*Helfenstein, Ludwig, Count von* (c. 1480-1525)—Austrian Viceregent in Weinsberg (Württemberg); was treacherous and cruel towards the peasants; executed by the insurgents.—453-54, 462

*Helvétius, Claude Adrien* (1715-1771)—French philosopher, atheist, Enlightener.—99

*Henneberg, Johann, Count von*—Abbot of Fulda (1521-41).—472, 479

*Henry IV* (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—253

*Henry V*—see *Chambord, Henri Charles*

*Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, duc de Bordeaux, comte de*

*Henry VIII* (1491-1547)—King of England (1509-47).—254

*Herwegh, Georg Friedrich* (1817-1875)—German democratic poet, a leader of the German Democratic Society in Paris.—112

*Heydt, August, Baron von der* (1801-1874)—Prussian conservative statesman, Elberfeld banker; from December 1848 to 1862, Minister of Trade, Industry and Public Works; deputy to the Second Chamber (1848).—603

*Hillmann, Hugo* (1823-1898)—German democrat, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; emigrated to London; later became member of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; joined the Social-Democratic Workers' Party in 1869.—612

*Hipler, Wendel* (c. 1465-1526)—German nobleman who sided with the insurgents during the peasant uprising in Franconia in 1525; principal author of the "Heilbronn programme".—452-54, 461-63

*Hirschfeld, Karl Ulrich Friedrich Wilhelm Moritz von* (1791-1859)—Prussian general, commanded a corps which took part in suppressing the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849).—208

*Höchster, Ernst Hermann* (born c. 1811)—Elberfeld lawyer, democrat, Chairman of the Elberfeld Committee of Public Safety in May 1849.—164, 175

*Hodde, Lucien de la (Delahodde)* (1808-1865)—French writer, member of secret revolutionary societies during the Restoration and the July monarchy, police agent.—311-16, 320, 323

*Hohenlohe, Albrecht* and *Leopold, Counts von*—petty Franconian rulers.—452, 453

*Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701), Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918).—171, 209, 347, 464

*Homer*—semi-legendary Greek epic poet, author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.—195, 258

*Horace* (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) (65-8 B.C.)—Roman poet.—105

*Hosszú, Anton*—a leader of the peasant uprising in Hungary in 1514.—439

*Hubmaier, Balthasar* (c. 1480-1528)—Waldshut priest, follower of Münzer, one of the inspirers of the peasant and urban uprising in the Black Forest.—426, 446

*Hudson, George* (1800-1871)—British capitalist, known as the "railway king".—358

*Hugo, Victor Marie* (1802-1885)—French writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—33, 112, 136, 138, 517

*Hühnerbein (Hünerbein), Friedrich Wilhelm* (born c. 1817)—German tailor, member of the Communist League and of the Committee of Public Safety during the Elberfeld uprising in May 1849.—602

*Huss* or *Hus, John* or *Jan* (c. 1369-1415)—Bohemian religious reformer and ideologist of the national movement; professor of Prague University from 1398, and rector of the same from October 1402 to April 1403; burnt at the stake as a heretic.—413

*Hutten, Frowin von*—cousin of Ulrich von Hutten, courtier of the Elector of Mainz; took part in suppressing the peasant uprising (1525).—466

*Hutten, Ulrich von* (1488-1523)—German poet, advocate of Reformation, ideologist of and participant in the knights' uprising in 1522-23.—417, 442-45, 466

## J

*Jacoby, Johann* (1805-1877)—German physician, petty-bourgeois journalist, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly; joined Social-Democrats in 1872.—9

*Jakob*—a leader of the peasant uprising of "shepherds" (1251) in France; born in Hungary.—413

*Jansen, Johann Joseph* (1825-1849)—German democrat, member of the Communist League; a leader of the

Cologne Workers' Association (1848), supporter of Gottschalk; shot for his participation in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—346

*Jansen, Karl* (born c. 1830)—German democrat, schoolteacher; took part in the Elberfeld uprising in May 1849; brother of Johann Joseph Jansen.—603

*Jaup, Heinrich Karl* (1781-1860)—German lawyer, liberal; head of the Hesse-Darmstadt Government (1848-50); President of the Pacifist Congress in Frankfurt am Main in August 1850.—511

*Jean Paul* (pseudonym of *Johann Paul Friedrich Richter*) (1763-1825)—German satirical writer.—302

*Jellachich (Jellačić), Josef, Count* (1801-1859)—Austrian general, Ban of Croatia; took part in suppressing the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary and Austria.—596

*Joachim of Floris* (c. 1132-1202)—Italian abbot, mystic, preached a "second coming of Christ"; his teaching was condemned by the Catholic Church as heretical.—420

*John (Johann) (the Steadfast)* (1468-1532)—Duke of Saxony; from 1525 Elector of Saxony; one of the persecutors of Münzer; organised the suppression of the peasant uprising in Thuringia (1525).—424

*John (Johann)* (1782-1859)—Archduke of Austria; Imperial Regent of Germany (June 1848 to December 1849).—7,10

*Joinville, François Ferdinand Philippe Louis Marie, Prince de* (1818-1900)—duke of Orleans, son of Louis Philippe; emigrated to England after the February revolution of 1848.—16, 36

*Jones, Ernest Charles* (1819-1869)—leading figure in the English labour movement, proletarian poet and journalist, a leader of the Left Chartists, friend of Marx and Engels.—514

*Joss, Fritz from Untergrombach* (died c. 1525)—organiser of secret peasant alliances and conspiracies in South Germany (1513).—433-35, 440

*Jung, Rudolph*—merchant, witness at the trial of the participants in the Elberfeld uprising of May 1849.—603

K

*Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh*—see *Copway, George*

*Kant, Immanuel* (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—114

*Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand* (1735-1806)—Duke of Brunswick (1780-1806); commander-in-chief of the Austro-Prussian army which fought against revolutionary France.—542

*Kilinski, Karl*—Hungarian refugee residing in London (early 1850s).—240

*Kinkel, Johann Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and journalist, democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrated to London, where he became a petty-bourgeois refugee leader and came out against Marx and Engels.—215, 227-28, 229, 345-47

*Klein, Jakob*—German plasterer; took part in the Palatinate uprising of 1849; refugee residing in London.—600, 612

*Kleiner, W.*—German refugee residing in London.—350, 600, 612

*Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb* (1724-1803)—German poet, representative of German Enlightenment.—245

*Klose, G.*—German refugee residing in London, member of the Communist League, sided with Marx during the split in the League.—483

*Knierim*—battalion commander in the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army (1849).—220-22

*Knigge, Adolph Franz Friedrich Ludwig, Baron von* (1752-1796)—German writer.—244

*Knopf von Leubas*—see *Schmidt, Jörg*

*Konrad III von Thüngen* (1466-1540)—Bishop of Würzburg (1519-40); organised the suppression of the uprising of peasants and urban plebeians in Franconia in 1525.—455, 465-66

*Körner, Hermann Joseph Alois* (1805-1882)—German democrat, teacher of

drawing; a leader of the May 1849 uprising in Elberfeld; emigrated to Switzerland, then to the USA.—372

*Kossuth, Lajos* (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; headed bourgeois-democratic elements during the 1848-49 revolution; head of the Hungarian revolutionary Government; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated first to Turkey and then to England and America.—183, 200, 205, 206, 214, 552

*Krug, Wilhelm Traugott* (1770-1842)—German philosopher.—242

*Kübeck, Karl Friedrich, Baron von Kübau* (1780-1855)—Austrian statesman, Finance Minister after the March 1848 revolution.—10

*Kunowski*—Prussian major, War Ministry official; extreme monarchist.—379, 383

*Kunze, August*—German journalist.—242

*Kurz*—Swiss officer.—236

L

*Lacrosse, Bertrand Théobald Joseph, baron de* (1796-1865)—French politician, Orleanist; Minister of Public Works during the Second Republic; from 1850 Bonapartist.—104

*La Fayette, (Lafayette), Marie Joseph Paul Ives Roch Gilbert Motier, marquis de* (1757-1834)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, one of the leaders of the moderate constitutionalists (Feuillants); participated in the July revolution of 1830.—543

*Laffitte, Jacques* (1767-1844)—French banker and liberal politician, headed the government in the early period of the July monarchy (1830-31).—48

*Lagarde, Barthélemy* (1795-1887)—French politician, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; adherent of the Mountain party.—122

*La Hitte, Jean Ernest Ducos, vicomte de* (1789-1878)—French general, Bonapartist, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1849-51).—129

*Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de* (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; one of the leaders of the moderate republicans in the 1840s; Minister of Foreign Affairs and virtual head of the Provisional Government in 1848.—53, 58, 65, 68, 303, 359, 362, 515, 530, 537

*Lamartinière, Felix de* (born c. 1808)—publisher of the Bonapartist newspaper *Le Pouvoir*.—39, 140, 520-21

*Lamourette, Antoine Adrien* (1742-1794)—French bishop, deputy to the Legislative Assembly (1792); executed as a counter-revolutionary in 1794.—139, 519

*Lamparter, Gregor* (1463-1523)—adviser to Duke Ulrich of Württemberg.—437

*La Rocheja(c)quelein, Henri Auguste Georges Du Vergier, Marquis de* (1805-1867)—French politician, one of the leaders of the Legitimist party; deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848), senator during the Second Empire.—54

*Laurentius*—see *Mészáros, Laurentius*

*Law, John* (1671-1729)—Scottish economist and financier, Director-General of Finance in France (1719-20).—491

*Leclerc, Alexandre*—Paris businessman, supported the party of Order and took part in suppressing the workers' uprising in June 1848.—32, 135, 516

*Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1874)—French writer and politician, a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats, editor of *La Réforme*; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government in 1848, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (leader of the Mountain party); fled to England following the events of June 13, 1849.—53, 61, 64, 65, 71, 73, 81, 88, 91-93, 98, 99, 101-03, 106, 117, 129, 136, 323, 359, 364, 516, 528, 537, 541

*Lehmann, Albert*—German worker resident in London, leading figure in the League of the Just and in the London German Workers' Educational Society; member of the sectarian group of

Willich and Schapper in the Communist League.—625, 629, 633

*Lemoinne, John Marguerite Émile* (1815-1892)—French journalist, correspondent of the *Journal des Débats* and later its editor-in-chief.—138, 519

*Leo, Heinrich* (1799-1878)—German historian and writer, extreme monarchist, ideologist of Prussian junkerdom.—523

*Leoni, Josef*—German refugee in London.—612-13

*Leopold Karl Friedrich* (1790-1852)—Grand Duke of Baden (1830-52).—162, 175, 179, 180, 181, 184, 215

*Lerminier, Jean Louis Eugène* (1803-1857)—French conservative lawyer and writer, professor of comparative law at the Collège de France (1831-39); resigned as a result of a campaign of protest by the students.—90

*Le Sage, Alain René* (1668-1747)—French writer.—315

*Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—leading figure in the German and international working-class movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution, member of the Communist League, one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—483

*Limpurg*—a family of Franconian counts.—455

*Lochner, Georg Wolfgang Karl* (1798-1882)—German philologist.—242

*Locke, John* (1632-1704)—English dualist philosopher and economist.—253

*Lorcher*—adviser to Duke Ulrich of Württemberg.—437

*Loreck*—participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, captain.—204, 211

*Louis IX (Saint)* (1214-1270)—King of France (1226-70).—13, 110

*Louis XI* (1423-1483)—King of France (1461-83).—402, 443

*Louis XIII* (1601-1643)—King of France (1610-43).—253

*Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—119, 252

*Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—131

*Louis XVIII (Louis le Désiré)* (1755-1824)—King of France (1814-15 and 1815-24).—18, 22

*Louis Bonaparte*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Napoleon*—see *Napoleon III*

*Louis Philippe I* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orléans, King of the French (1830-48).—18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 34, 35-36, 48-50, 53, 76, 78, 80, 82, 108, 111, 114-18, 138, 141, 251, 263, 311, 321, 357, 363, 519, 521, 541, 568, 624

*Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, comte de* (1838-1894)—Louis Philippe's grandson, pretender to the French throne.—36, 141, 521

*Lourdoueix, H. de*—French politician, Legitimist, defeated in the by-election to the Legislative Assembly in the department of Gard on January 13, 1850.—22

*Löwenstein, Ludwig* and *Friedrich, Counts von*—petty Franconian rulers.—453

*Lucas*—member of the Workers' Association in Mülheim (Rhineland) in 1849; refugee in London.—613

*Ludwig V* (1478-1544)—Elector of the Palatinate (1508-44); took part in suppressing the knights' uprising of 1522-23; one of the organisers of reprisals against insurgent peasants in Franconia in 1525.—437, 444, 454, 455, 460, 462, 464, 465, 466

*Lüning, Otto* (1818-1868)—German physician and writer, a "true socialist" in the mid-forties, editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, later became a national-liberal.—387-88

*Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—prominent figure of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany, ideologist of the German burghers.—411, 416-21, 423-27, 429, 441-42, 446

M

*Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, advocated a misanthropic theory of population.—83

*Manstein, Johann*—German soldier who took part in storming the arsenal in

Prüm; executed in October 1849.—171

*Mantel, Johann* (c. 1468-1530)—German theologian, preacher at Stuttgart, follower of Münzer.—426

*Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von* (1805-1882)—Prussian conservative statesman, Minister of the Interior (November 1848-November 1850), Prime Minister (1850-58).—158, 182, 212

*Manteuffel, Rudolph von*—captain in the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army (1849); relative of Otto Theodor Manteuffel.—212

*Marat, Jean Paul* (1743-1793)—a Jacobin leader during the French Revolution.—540

*Marche*—French worker who in 1848 demanded from the Provisional Government the introduction of the right to work.—55

*Marie de Saint-Georges, Alexandre Pierre Thomas Amable* (1795-1870)—French lawyer and politician, moderate republican; Minister of Public Works in the Provisional Government in 1848; later Minister of Justice in the Cavaignac Government.—63, 359, 366, 537

*Marrast, Armand* (1801-1852)—French writer and politician, a leader of moderate republicans, editor of *Le National*; member of the Provisional Government and Mayor of Paris (1848), President of the Constituent Assembly (1848-49).—23, 53, 65, 72, 77, 78, 91, 98, 99, 263, 315, 319, 359, 515, 537

*Marx, Karl* (1818-1883).—6, 41, 50, 66, 86, 110, 130, 171, 181-84, 186, 241, 257, 277, 286, 301, 336, 338, 342, 345, 348, 349, 351-54, 357, 362, 370, 371, 377-81, 383, 385, 386, 387, 389, 390-91, 483, 484, 485, 490, 533, 535, 536, 537, 567, 584, 585, 589, 606, 610, 615, 618, 620, 623, 625, 628, 629, 636

*Mathieu de la Drôme, Philippe Antoine* (1808-1865)—French democrat; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, sympathised with the Mountain party.—90

*Matthäus Lang* (c. 1468-1540)—Archbishop of Salzburg (from 1519); inspired the persecution of adherents of the Reformation, and reprisals against the insurgent peasants and townsmen in 1525.—475-77

*Mäurer, Friedrich Wilhelm German* (1811-1885)—German writer, democrat, member of the League of Outlaws, later of the League of the Just.—242

*Maximilian I* (1459-1519)—Holy Roman Emperor (1493-1519).—433, 437, 439, 448

*Maximilian II* (1811-1864)—King of Bavaria (1848-64).—8, 151

*Mayerhofer, Rudolph*—Deputy Minister of War in the Baden Provisional Government (1849), obstructed radical military action.—176, 180

*Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—a leader of the national liberation and democratic movement in Italy; head of the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850).—513-14, 528, 532, 541

*McCulloch, John Ramsay* (1789-1864)—Scottish economist who vulgarised David Ricardo's theories.—584

*Meininghaus, Heinrich*—innkeeper, witness at the trial of the participants in the May 1849 Elberfeld uprising.—602

*Meissner, Alfred* (1822-1885)—German democratic writer; in the mid-forties a "true socialist", subsequently a liberal.—242

*Melanchthon, Philipp* (1497-1560)—German theologian, closest associate of Luther, whom he assisted in adapting Lutheranism to the interests of princes; took a hostile attitude towards Münzer's revolutionary ideas.—424

*Menzingen, Stephan von* (d. 1525)—German knight; headed the insurrection of Rothenburg petty burghers and plebeians in March 1525.—452, 465

*Mersy*—commander of the 3rd Division in the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army; emigrated to the USA, fought on the side of the Northerners in the American Civil War.—226, 227, 229, 230, 232

*Mészáros, Laurentius* (d. 1514)—priest of Szeged, a leader of the peasant insurrection in Hungary in 1514.—438, 439

*Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von* (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21), Chancellor (1821-48); an organiser of the Holy Alliance.—10, 624

*Metzler, Georg*—a leader of the peasant uprising in Odenwald (1525), and commander of the Gay Bright Troop; belonged to the moderate party.—452-54, 461, 463

*Mieroslawski, Ludwik* (1814-1878)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement; took part in the insurrection of 1830-31, in the preparations for the uprising of 1846 and in the 1848-49 revolution; later, a leader of the moderate wing of Polish democratic emigrants; sympathised with Bonapartism.—152, 179, 184, 195, 196, 206, 212, 218, 219, 222-23, 226, 230, 231

*Mirbach, Otto von* (born c. 1800)—retired Prussian artillery officer, democrat, commandant of Elberfeld during the May 1849 uprising.—602, 604

*Mniewski, Theophil* (1809-1849)—Polish revolutionary, commanded a regiment in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; executed in Rastatt in 1849.—219

*Mohammed* (*Muhammad, Mahomet*) (c. 570-632)—founder of Islam.—244

*Molé, Louis Mathieu, comte* (1781-1855)—French statesman, Orleanist, Prime Minister (1836-37, 1837-39); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic.—109

*Molière* (real name *Jean Baptiste Poquelin*) (1622-1673)—French dramatist.—139, 519

*Moll, Joseph* (1813-1849)—German watchmaker prominent in the German and international working-class movement; a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; President of the Cologne Workers' Association (from July to September 1848), member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats; killed in battle during the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849.—200, 201, 225-29, 278

*Monk* (*Monck*), *George, 1st Duke of Albemarle* (1608-1670)—English general and statesman; originally a royalist, he later served in Cromwell's army, helped restore the Stuart dynasty in 1660.—89

*Monnier*—member of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy in France; became secretary-general of the police prefecture after the February 1848 revolution.—313

*Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de Tryon, comte de* (1810-1870)—French politician and writer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Orleanist, leader of the Catholic party, supported Louis Bonaparte during the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, but shortly afterwards sided with the opposition.—118, 119, 136, 517

*Mörder, Florian*—Minister of the Interior in the Baden Provisional Government (1849).—176

*Moreau, Jean Victor Marie* (1763-1813)—French general, fought in the wars of the French Republic against the coalition of European states; defeated the Austrians at Hohenlinden (1800).—236

*Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—306, 531

*Müller, Hans von Bulgenbach* (d. 1525)—led and then betrayed the Black Forest peasants in 1525.—446, 447, 449, 466, 467

*Müller, Jakob* (born 1823) — German lawyer, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, civil commissary in Kirchheimbolanden; emigrated to the USA.—200

*Mundt, Theodor* (1808-1861)—German writer, member of the Young Germany literary group; professor of literature and history at Breslau and Berlin.—242

*Münzer, Thomas* (c. 1490-1525)—leader of the urban plebeians and poor

peasants during the Reformation and the Peasant War in Germany, advocated egalitarian utopian communism.—404-05, 413, 415, 418-27, 432, 442, 446, 448, 450, 461, 469-73, 475-76

N

*Napier, Sir William Francis Patrick* (1785-1860)—British general and military historian.—544

*Napoleon I Bonaparte* (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—17, 18, 22, 25, 80-84, 98, 119, 122, 124, 142-44, 155, 198, 200, 260, 286, 347, 523, 524, 542, 544-50, 552, 553-54, 555-56, 559-60, 563, 564, 568-69, 576

*Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—Prince, nephew of Napoleon I, President of the Second Republic (1848-51), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—16, 20, 22, 25-26, 28, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 75, 82-87, 89, 90, 92, 94, 96-99, 101-03, 110-14, 118-20, 123-25, 127-29, 139-45, 262, 342, 511, 519-25, 528, 572, 576-80

*Natzmer, Hermann von* (1806-1858)—Prussian officer, sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment in a fortress for refusal to shoot at the people during the storming of the arsenal in Berlin on June 14, 1848; escaped in 1849, took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising; emigrated to Switzerland, later to England; settled in Australia in 1852.—196

*Necker, Jacques* (1732-1804)—French banker and politician, several times Director-General of Finance in the 1770s and 1780s, attempted to carry out reforms.—265, 302

*Nerlinger*—participant in the Offenburg democratic movement (1848) and the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849).—233

*Nesselrode, Karl Vasilyevich, Count* (1780-1862)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1816-56), Chancellor of State from 1845 onwards.—547

*Neuhaus*—physician from Thuringia; commanded a detachment of the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army in 1849.—229

*Neumayer, Maximilian Georg Joseph* (1789-1866)—French general, supported the party of Order.—144, 524-25

*Ney, Napoléon Henri Edgard* (1812-1882)—French general, Bonapartist, adjutant of President Louis Bonaparte, deputy to the Legislative Assembly of 1850-51.—112

*Nicholas I* (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—8, 258, 259, 262, 511, 528, 547, 556-57, 624

*Noack, Ludwig* (1819-1885)—German theologian and philosopher.—242

*Nostradamus (Michel de Notre-Dame)* (1503-1566)—French physician and astrologer, mystic.—245

*Nothjung, Peter* (1821-1866)—German tailor, member of the Cologne Workers' Association and of the Communist League, one of the accused at the Cologne communist trial (1852).—376, 602

O

*Oastler, Richard* (1789-1861)—English politician, Tory philanthropist.—291, 293, 298

*Obermüller*—German journalist, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849.—204, 212, 233

*Oborski, Ludwik* (1787-1873)—Polish colonel, participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; emigrant resident in London, member of the Fraternal Democrats society; commanded a division in the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army (1849).—226, 227, 231

*O'Connor, Feargus Edward* (1794-1855)—a leader of the Left wing in the Chartist movement, editor of the newspaper *The Northern Star*; reformist after 1848.—377, 514-15

*Orleans, House of*—French royal dynasty (1830-48).—81, 95, 111-12

*Orleans, Duchess of*—see *Orléans, Hélène Louise Elisabeth*

*Orleans, Duke of*—see *Louis Philippe I*
*Orléans, Hélène Louise Elisabeth, Duchesse d'* (1814-1858)—Princess of Mecklenburg, widow of Ferdinand, Louis Philippe's elder son.—36, 111
*Oswald, Eugen* (1826-1912)—German journalist, democrat, took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden (1848-49); emigrated to England after the defeat of the revolution.—219
*Oudinot, Nicolas Charles Victor* (1791-1863)—French general, Orleanist, in 1849 commanded troops dispatched against the Roman Republic.—93, 94, 101, 102, 549
*Ovid* (*Publius Ovidius Naso*) (43 B.C.-c. 17 A.D.)—Roman poet.—541

P

*Pache, Jean Nicolas* (1746-1823)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, Jacobin, War Minister (October 1792-January 1793), Mayor of Paris (February 1793-May 1794).—545, 563
*Pagnerre, Laurent Antoine* (1805-1854)—French publisher, republican; deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848.—91
*Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount* (1784-1865)—British statesman, Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51). Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65); Tory at the beginning of his career, from 1830 onwards, Whig.—511, 513
*Paris, Count of*—see *Louis Philippe Albert*
*Parmentier*—French manufacturer and financier.—117
*Peskevich, Ivan Fyodorovich* (1782-1856)—Russian general-field marshal; commander-in-chief of the army sent to suppress the Polish insurrection in the summer of 1831, and of the army that took part in suppressing the Hungarian revolution in 1849.—547, 556
*Passy, Hippolyte Philibert* (1793-1880)—French economist and politician, Orleanist, several times member of the government during the July monarchy; Minister of Finance during the Second Republic.—111, 117
*Peel, Sir Robert* (1788-1850)—British statesman, moderate Tory, Prime Minister (1841-46); repealed the Corn Laws (1846).—19, 293, 496, 511
*Peucker, Eduard von* (1791-1876)—Prussian general and statesman, Minister of War in the so-called Imperial Government in Frankfurt (July 1848-May 1849); took part in quelling the uprising in the Palatinate and Baden in 1849.—158, 199, 230
*Pfänder, Karl* (c. 1818-1876)—German artist, prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; emigrated to London in 1845; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, of the Central Authority of the Communist League, and of the General Council of the First International; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—351, 483, 533, 597, 598, 601, 610, 618-20, 629, 632
*Pfeifer* (*Pfeiffer*), *Heinrich* (d. 1525)—popular preacher, followed Münzer; a leader of the uprising in Mühlhausen (1525).—469, 473
*Philip I* (1479-1533)—Margrave of Baden, in 1525 took part in suppressing the peasant uprising in South Germany.—438
*Philip I* (*the Magnanimous*) (1504-1567)—Landgrave of Hesse; took part in suppressing the insurrection of knights in 1522-23; organised the suppression of the peasant uprising in Thuringia in 1525.—444, 467-69, 475
*Pilhes, Victor Apollinaire Ferdinand* (1817-1879)—French journalist, democrat, member of secret revolutionary societies during the July monarchy, supported the newspaper *La Réforme*; deputy to the Legislative Assembly during the Second Republic.—312
*Pitt, William* (1759-1806)—British statesman, Tory; Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06).—364
*Pius IX* (*Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti*) (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—92, 112, 302, 303, 512, 513

*Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—78

*Pradié, Pierre* (1816-1892)—French lawyer, republican; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; wrote pamphlets defending the Republic against Louis Napoleon.—263

*Praslin, Charles Laure Hugues Théobald, duc de Choiseul* (1805-1847)—French aristocrat; his trial in 1847 for murdering his wife had political repercussions.—358

*Prassler, Kaspar*—leader of insurgent detachments of peasants and miners in the bishopric of Salzburg (1525).—475

*Pregizer, Kaspar*—cutler in Schorndorf (Württemberg), one of the organisers of the Poor Konrad society; took part in the uprising of peasants and townsmen in Württemberg in 1514.—436

*Prince of Prussia*—see *William I*

*Proudhon, Pierre Joseph* (1809-1865)—French writer, economist and sociologist, a founder of anarchism; deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1848.—134, 387, 486-87, 508, 541, 585, 588

*Pulszky, Ferenc* (1814-1897)—Hungarian politician, writer and archaeologist, a Pole by birth; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated, contributed to the *New-York Daily Tribune* in the 1850s; in 1867 returned to Hungary after amnesty and became deputy to the Diet (1867-76 and 1884-97).—240

R

*Rabmann, Franz* (d. 1525)—popular preacher, follower of Münzer, took part in the uprisings of the Black Forest and Klettgau peasants and plebeians (1525).—426

*Radetzky* (*Radetzki*), *Josef, Count of Radetz* (1766-1858)—Austrian field marshal, commanded the Austrian forces in Northern Italy from 1831; suppressed the Italian national liberation movement in 1848 and 1849.—10, 547, 548

*Radowitz, Joseph Maria von* (1797-1853)—Prussian general, conservative statesman; a Right-wing leader in the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848 and 1849.—10

*Rakow, Heinrich*—German officer, took part in the struggle for the liberation of Schleswig-Holstein (1848) and in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849); commanded the Kaiserslautern Battalion of the Baden insurgent army.—207

*Ramorino, Gerolamo* (1792-1849)—Italian general, took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; commanded the Piedmontese army in 1849; his tactics led to the victory of the Austrian counter-revolutionary forces.—548

*Raphael Sanzio* (1483-1520)—Italian painter of the Renaissance.—311

*Raquilliet, Felix* (1778-1863)—staff general in the Polish insurgent army (1830-31); emigrated to France; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; for a time was acting commander-in-chief of the Palatinate armed forces.—195

*Raspail, François Vincent* (1794-1878)—French naturalist, journalist and socialist close to the revolutionary proletariat; took part in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; deputy to the Constituent Assembly.—53, 54, 64, 65, 75, 81, 88, 359

*Rateau, Jean Pierre Lamotte* (1800-1887)—French lawyer; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic, Bonapartist.—86, 90

*Raumer, Friedrich Ludwig Georg von* (1781-1873)—German historian; Imperial Ambassador to Paris (1848); deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right Centre).—242

*Rausch, Friedrich Wilhelm* (born c. 1820)—Barmen printer, participant in the Elberfeld uprising (May 1849).—603

*Ravez, Auguste Marie Simon* (1770-1849)—French statesman, royalist, deputy to the *Chambre introuvable* (1815-September 1816); President of the Chamber of Deputies (1819-28);

deputy to the Legislative Assembly during the Second Republic.—122

*Reichardt, Joseph Martin* (1803-1872)—German lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly, member of the Palatinate revolutionary Provisional Government (1849).—195

*Rembrandt van Rijn* (1606-1669)—Dutch painter.—311

*Reventlow, Friedrich, Count von* (1797-1874)—German conservative politician, member of the Schleswig-Holstein Provisional Government (1848).—527

*Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist.—334, 530

*Richard von Greifenklau* (1467-1531)—Elector and archbishop of Trier (1511-31), bitter opponent of the Reformation; took part in suppressing the knights' uprising in 1522-23 and the peasant uprising in 1525.—444, 466

*Rintoul, Robert Stephen* (1787-1858)—English journalist, editor-in-chief of *The Spectator* (1828-58).—380, 381, 384

*Riotte, Karl Nikolaus* (born c. 1816)—German lawyer, democrat, member of the Committee of Public Safety during the Elberfeld uprising (May 1849).—164

*Roberts, William Prowting* (1806-1871)—English lawyer connected with the Chartist and trade union movements.—534

*Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de* (1758-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, leader of the Jacobins, head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—22, 77, 165, 540, 611

*Robinson, W. R.*—Governor of the Bank of England (1847).—493

*Rohrbach, Jäcklein* (c. 1498-1525)—one of the chiefs of the peasant uprising in Franconia (1525); known for his irreconcilability towards the nobility.—453-57, 460, 461

*Ronge, Johannes* (1813-1887)—German clergyman, an initiator of the "German Catholics" movement; participant in the revolution of 1848-49.—241, 242, 532

*Rothschilds*—dynasty of bankers with banks in many European countries.—51, 263

*Rothschild, Jacob (James), baron de* (1792-1868)—head of the Rothschild banking house in Paris.—50, 51, 268

*Rouher, Eugène* (1814-1884)—French politician, Bonapartist, deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies during the Second Republic; Minister of Justice (1849-51).—137, 518

*Rudolf II von Scherenberg* (c. 1405-1495)—Bishop of Würzburg (1466-95); suppressed the peasant uprising led by Hans Böheim in 1476.—430

*Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; a leader of German petty-bourgeois refugees in England in the 1850s; became a national-liberal after 1866.—182, 183, 486-87, 528, 532, 535-36

*Rühel (Rühl), Johannes*—German lawyer, counsellor in Saxony, relative and follower of Martin Luther.—419

*Russell, Lord John Russell, 1st Earl* (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader, Prime Minister (1846-52 and 1865-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53 and 1859-65).—510

*Ryschka, Martin*—Hungarian refugee in London.—240

## S

*Sachs, Hans* (1494-1576)—German artisan, poet and composer of the Reformation, founder of the Meistersinger school in Nuremberg.—246

*Sadler, Michael Thomas* (1780-1835)—English economist and politician, philanthropist, sympathised with the Tory party.—291, 298

*Saint-Just, Antoine Louis Léon de Richebourg de* (1767-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution, a Jacobin leader.—545

*Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de* (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—110, 306

*Saphir, Moritz Gottlieb* (1795-1858)—Austrian humoristic poet.—242

*Sauer, Heinrich*—a witness at the trial of the participants in the Elberfeld uprising of May 1849.—603

*Schappeler, Christoph* (1472-1551)—German doctor of theology, advocate of the Reformation; in 1524-25 joined the plebeian opposition in Memmingen (Upper Swabia).—426, 467

*Schapper, Karl* (c. 1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; a leader (1848-49) and President (February-May 1849) of the Cologne Workers' Association; after the revolution, a leader of a sectarian group in the Communist League, later member of the General Council of the First International.—226, 533-34, 537, 625, 627, 628, 629, 633

*Schärttner (Scherttner), August* (1817-1859)—cooper in Hanau, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; refugee in London, member of the Communist League; sympathised with the sectarian group of Willich and Schapper.—621, 633

*Schill, Ferdinand von* (1776-1809)—Prussian officer, commanded a guerrilla detachment fighting against Napoleon's forces; killed in 1809 during an attempt to raise a national liberation uprising.—174

*Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von* (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—241, 242, 248

*Schily, Victor* (1810-1875)—German lawyer, democrat, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849); emigrated to France; member of the First International.—201

*Schimmelpfennig, Alexander* (1824-1865)—Prussian officer, democrat, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; emigrant; sympathised with the sectarian group of Willich and Schapper; fought for the Northerners in the American Civil War.—196, 210-13

*Schlinke, Ludwig*—retired Prussian officer, business clerk, participant in the revolutionary events in Breslau (1848), general quartermaster in the Baden-Palatinate insurgent army (1849).—235

*Schmidt, Jörg* (known as *Knopf von Leubas*) (born c. 1480-1525)—Upper Swabian peasant; participant in the Peasant War of 1525, a leader of the Allgäu Troop.—468

*Schmid, Ulrich*—ironsmith, leader of the Baltringen Troop of insurgent Swabian peasants in 1525.—449

*Schmitt, Nikolaus* (c. 1806-1860)—German journalist and lawyer, democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly, Minister of the Interior in the Palatinate Provisional Government (1849).—201

*Schneider, Georg*—former captain of mercenaries in the service of the French; took part in the *Bundschuh* peasant conspiracy and in preparations for an abortive peasant insurrection in Upper Rhineland (1513).—434

*Schön, Ulrich* (d. 1525)—participant in the Peasant War of 1525; a leader of the Leipheim Troop.—450, 458

*Schönhals, Karl von* (1788-1857)—Austrian general and military writer, took an active part in suppressing the revolution in Italy (1848-49).—10, 268

*Schramm, Jean Paul Adam, comte de* (1789-1884)—French general and politician; Minister of War (1850).—144, 524

*Schramm, Konrad* (c. 1822-1858)—German proletarian revolutionary, member of the Communist League, refugee in London from 1849; manager of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*, friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—6, 483, 606, 625, 629

*Schramm, Rudolf* (1813-1882)—German democratic journalist; deputy to the

Prussian National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; emigrant in England; follower of Bismarck in the 1860s. —349, 350, 612

*Schuberth & Co.*—Hamburg bookselling firm from 1826.—5

*Schurz, Karl* (1829-1906)—German democrat, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849); emigrated to Switzerland; subsequently US statesman.—372

*Sébastiani, Horace François Bastien, comte* (1772-1851)—French marshal, diplomat, Orleanist; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1830-32), Ambassador to London (1835-40).—69

*Sefeloge, Maximilian (Max)* (1820-1859) —former Prussian soldier, took part in an attempt to assassinate Frederick William IV; died in a lunatic asylum.—378, 382, 383, 386

*Ségur d'Aguesseau, Raymond Joseph Paul, comte de* (1803-1889)—French lawyer and politician; sympathised with all the ruling parties one after the other; represented the party of Order in the Legislative Assembly.—129

*Seiler, Anton*—German soldier, took part in storming the arsenal in Prüm; executed in October 1849.—171

*Seiler, Sebastian* (c. 1810-c. 1890)—German journalist, member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee in 1846, member of the Communist League, participant in the revolution of 1848-49 in Germany. —483

*Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of* (1671-1713)—English moral philosopher, politician. Whig.—253

*Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—English dramatist and poet.—206, 230

*Sickingen, Franz von* (1481-1523) —German knight who joined the Reformation, leader of the knights' uprising in 1522-23.—417, 442, 444-45, 481

*Sigel, Franz* (1824-1902)—Baden officer, democrat, one of the military leaders of the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849; emigrated to Switzerland and later to England; lived in the United States from 1852, in the American Civil War fought for the Northerners.—174, 179, 226, 230-37, 372

*Simon, Levi*—small tradesman, witness at the trial of participants in the Elberfeld uprising of May 1849.—603

*Simon, Ludwig* (1810-1872)—German lawyer, democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; emigrated to Switzerland in 1849.—247, 248, 249, 250, 486-87

*Singerhans (Singer, Hans)*—a leader of the Poor Konrad society and of the peasant uprising in Württemberg and in the mountain regions of Swabia (1514).—436

*Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, representative of economic romanticism. —584

*Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—531, 584-85

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*Deutsche Schnellpost für europäische Zustände, öffentliches und sociales Leben Deutschlands*—organ of the German moderate democratic émigrés in the USA published in New York twice a week from 1843 to 1851. Karl Heinzen was its editor in 1848 and 1851.—348, 601

*Deutscher Zuschauer*—a German radical weekly published by the petty-bourgeois democrat Gustav Struve from December 1846 to April 1848 in Mannheim and from July to September 1848 in Basle.—176

*Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger*—a daily newspaper published in Dresden from 1848 to 1904, initially of a liberal trend; from October 1, 1848, the official organ of the Saxon Government; was taken over by the state on April 1, 1849.—630, 633

*The Economist. Weekly Commercial Times, Bankers' Gazette, and Railway Monitor: a Political, Literary, and General Newspaper*—a weekly published in London since 1843.—498, 501, 507

*Die Evolution. Ein politisches Wochenblatt*—a democratic weekly of German refugees in Switzerland edited by Johann Philipp Becker; was published in Biel (Berne canton) in 1848 and 1849.—183

*Fliegende Blätter*—a satirical weekly published in Munich from 1845.—187

*Frankfurter Journal*—a daily newspaper published in Frankfurt am Main approximately from 1655 up to 1903; followed a liberal line in the 1840s.—193

*Der Freischütz*—a literary and artistic newspaper published in Hamburg from 1825 to 1878.—623

*La Gazette de France*—a Paris royalist daily published under this title from 1762 to 1792 and from 1797 to 1848.—54

*The Globe*—see *The Globe and Traveller*

*The Globe and Traveller*—a London daily published from 1803 to 1921; until 1866, organ of the Whigs, later of the Conservatives.—385, 513

*Die Hornisse*—a German democratic satirical newspaper published by H. Heise and G. Kellner in Cassel from 1848 to 1850.—610-11, 620

*The Illustrated London News*—a weekly published from 1842.—24

*Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a Paris daily published from 1789, organ of the government during the July monarchy; took a monarchist stand during the 1848 revolution.—38, 73, 138, 519

*Karlsruher Zeitung*—a daily newspaper published from 1757, official gazette of the Grand Duchy of Baden, organ of the Brentano Government in 1849.—183-84, 193

*Kölnische Zeitung*—a Cologne daily published from 1802 to 1945, organ of the liberal bourgeoisie; took an anti-revolutionary stand and attacked the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49.—151, 158, 193

*Landbötin*—see *Bayerische Landbötin*

*Le Moniteur du Soir*—a Paris daily published from 1837; supported the July monarchy; from 1848 organ of the Bonapartists.—344

*Le Moniteur universel*—a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1789 to 1901; official organ of the government (1799-1814, 1816-68).—26, 57, 67, 69, 94, 108, 112, 114, 144, 343, 368, 525, 567

*Le Napoléon*—a weekly published in Paris from January 6 to May 19, 1850, the mouthpiece of Louis Bonaparte.—124

*Le National*—a Paris daily published from 1830 to 1851, organ of the moderate republicans in the 1840s.—20, 23, 27, 53, 58, 65, 72, 76-79, 81-84, 88-91, 95, 98-99, 105, 107, 110, 126, 128, 140, 322-23, 367, 521

*Neue Deutsche Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a democratic daily published from 1848 to 1850, initially in Darmstadt (until April 1, 1849) and then in Frankfurt am Main; edited by Otto Lüning and, from October 1, 1849, also by Joseph Weydemeyer.—351, 387-88, 597, 601, 618, 620

*Neue Oder-Zeitung*—a Breslau (Wrocław) democratic daily published from 1849 to 1855; Marx was its London correspondent in 1855.—282

*Neue Preussische Zeitung*—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848, organ of the Prussian junkers and court circles; also known as the *Kreuz-Zeitung* because its title included a cross with the device "Forward with God for King and Fatherland".—370, 383, 385-86

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*—a daily newspaper edited by Marx, organ of the revolutionary proletarian democrats during the German revolution of 1848-49; was published in Cologne from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849 (with an interval from September 27 to October 12, 1848).—5-6, 41, 66, 68-69, 81, 86, 88, 132, 156, 171, 181, 187, 192, 202, 247, 348, 353, 379, 384, 386, 388, 535-36, 547, 597, 602-03, 605

*Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue*—a journal published by Marx and Engels from December 1849 to November 1850, theoretical organ of the Communist League.—5-6, 41, 50, 58, 100, 111, 138, 148-49, 151-52, 154, 167, 175, 185, 195, 241, 246, 250, 256, 270, 300-01, 310, 325, 337-38, 341-42, 344, 347-48, 354, 387, 398, 485-86, 504, 519, 531-32, 605-06

*New-Yorker Schnellpost*—see *Deutsche Schnellpost*

*New-Yorker Staatszeitung*—a German democratic daily published in New York from 1834; later an organ of the US Democratic Party.—601

*Norddeutsche Freie Presse*—a German newspaper published in Altona from 1849 to 1851; prior to 1849 it appeared under the title *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung*.—598, 601, 618, 621, 623

*The Northern Star*—central organ of the Chartists, a weekly published from 1837 to 1852, first in Leeds and later in London; was founded and edited by Feargus O'Connor; George Julian Harney was a member of the editorial board. Engels contributed to *The Northern Star* from 1843 to 1850.—3-4, 379, 514, 599, 601, 624, 637

*Notes to the People*—a Chartist weekly edited by Ernest Jones and published in London in 1851 and 1852; Marx and Engels supported it and contributed a number of articles.—573, 580

*Nürnberger Bote*—see *Nürnberger Courier*

*Nürnberger Courier*—a daily newspaper published in Nuremberg from 1842 to 1862 as a continuation of the *Friedens- und Kriegs-Courier*, founded in 1673.—242

*La Patrie. Journal du commerce, de l'agriculture, de l'industrie, de la littérature, des sciences et des arts*—a daily published in Paris from 1841; in 1850 it spoke for the party of Order (the counter-revolutionary monarchist bourgeoisie) and later took a Bonapartist stand.—94, 130, 342-44, 541

*Le Peuple. Journal de la République démocratique et sociale*—a social-reformist newspaper published in Paris from 1848 to 1850; from April 1848 it appeared under the title *Le Représentant du Peuple*; from September 1848 to June 13, 1849, under the title *Le Peuple*; from October 1, 1849, to May 14, 1850, under the title *La Voix du peuple*, and from June 15 to October 13, 1850, under the title *Le Peuple de 1850*. Its editor was Proudhon.—105, 130, 138

*Le Pouvoir*—a Bonapartist daily founded in Paris in 1849; published under this title in 1850 and 1851.—38-39, 140, 520

*La Presse*—a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1836; opposed the July monarchy in the 1840s; in 1848 and 1849 it was moderate republican, later Bonapartist.—110, 126, 627

*Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger*—a newspaper published in Berlin from 1819, semi-official organ of the Prussian Government until April 1848; changed its title several times.—207, 257

*Le Proscrit. Journal de la République universelle*—a monthly published in Paris in 1850, organ of the Central Committee of European Democracy. Only two issues appeared. In late October 1850 it was turned into a weekly which was published under the title *La Voix du Proscrit* in Saint-Amand (France) till September 1851.—528

*Punch, or the London Charivari*—a comic weekly paper of a liberal trend, founded in 1841.—338

*The Red Republican*—a Chartist weekly published by George Julian Harney in London from June to November 1850.—512

*Die Reform. Organ der demokratischen Partei*—a newspaper published by Arnold Ruge and H. B. Oppenheim and edited by Eduard Meyen, organ of the petty-bourgeois democrats; appeared in Leipzig and Berlin from April 1848, and in Berlin from the summer of 1848 to the early 1850s.—182

*La Réforme*—a daily newspaper published in Paris from 1843 to 1850, organ of the republican democrats and petty-bourgeois socialists.—71, 88, 105, 312-14, 316, 320, 322

*La République*—a daily newspaper published in Paris from February 1848 to December 1851, organ of the radical republicans.—37

*Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*—a daily newspaper founded on January 1, 1842, as the organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition. It was published in Cologne till March 31, 1843. From October 15, 1842, to March 17, 1843, it was edited by Marx and assumed a strongly pronounced revolutionary-democratic complexion, which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—386

*Schnellpost*—see *Deutsche Schnellpost*

*Schweizerische National-Zeitung*—a liberal daily published in Basle from 1842 to 1858.—268, 601

*Le Siècle*—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939. In the 1840s it was an organ of the opposition, demanding electoral and other reforms.—23, 110, 126, 140, 263, 521

*The Spectator*—a weekly published in London since 1828, originally liberal, later conservative.—380, 384, 390-91

*Staatszeitung*—see *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*

*The Sun*—a liberal daily published in London from 1798 to 1876.—378-79

*Tages-Chronik*—a democratic paper published in Bremen from 1849 to 1851. It was edited by R. Dulon. From January 1851 it appeared under the title *Bremer Tages-Chronik. Organ der Demokratie.* Arnold Ruge contributed to it in 1851.—391, 535-36

*The Times*—a daily newspaper published in London since 1785.—3-4, 12, 37, 338, 352, 510, 513, 540-41

*La Voix du peuple*—see *Le Peuple*

*Weser-Zeitung*—a liberal daily published in Bremen from 1844 to 1930.—390-91

*Westdeutsche Zeitung*—a democratic paper published by Hermann Becker in Cologne from May 25, 1849, to July 21, 1850.—6, 597, 601, 604, 609-10, 618, 620

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